RACE, GENDER, AND SEXUALITY: CONSTRUCTIONS OF LATINIDAD IN JANE

THE VIRGIN

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LITZY GALARZA

Dr. Cristina Mislán, Thesis Supervisor

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined
the thesis entitled

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presented by Litzy Galarza,

a candidate for the degree of master of arts,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

__________________________________________

Professor Cristina Mislán

__________________________________________

Professor Alexis A. Callender

__________________________________________

Professor Cynthia M. Frisby

__________________________________________

Professor Keith Greenwood
DEDICATION

Dedico mi tesis a los míos, a mi familia.

A todas las personas que amo y siempre me han dado aliento.

A mi madre. A mi abuelo Rosendo.

A mis dos hermanas que siempre han aguantado my lengua.
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Jane The Virgin debuted on the CW in fall 2014 at a time when anti-immigrant, particularly anti-Mexican and anti-Latin@, sentiment in the U.S. was reaching an all-time high. This TV show was the latest to offer representations of Latin@s at the forefront and advanced a distinct political stance on immigration by calling for #immigrationreform. Through a critical and intertextual analysis of the first season, this study sought to complicate existing critiques of the show by addressing the ways in which race/ethnicity and gender were utilized to construct pan-Latinidad identities. Findings indicate the show deserves praise for serving as an educational agent in exposing audiences to telenovela tropes, presenting hybrid identities, and complicating pan-Latinidad identities. Consistent with previous literature on Latin@ representation in film/television, this study finds the show’s narratives racialize and sexualize Latin@s and falls short of its potential to shatter virgin/whore dichotomous discourses. Only when compared to white masculinities, are Latinos portrayed as sexual deviants lacking self-discipline but are given more sexual agency than their female counterparts. Findings suggest Jane The Virgin superficially celebrates the independence and family unity of the Villanueva women but reinforces and advances traditional gender norms where women are expected to be caretakers and deferential to men. The show should be criticized for its negative portrayals of women who exercise sexual agency, which is labeled and linked to deviant spirituality. Ultimately, the show’s representations are significant in educating audiences about the assimilation of Latin@s, now the nation’s largest ethnic group, into the U.S.
INTRODUCTION

In 2010, the population of Hispanics\(^1\) in the United States totaled 50.5 million according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Between 2000 and 2010, the Latin@\(^2\) population grew by 43 percent and now represents 16 percent of the nation’s total population (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). Since government data identified the Latin@ population as the fastest growing minority in America, accounting for 56 percent of the net population growth between 2000 and 2010 (Dreas & Pardo, 2011), the media industry has sought to create and harness the marketing power of Hispanics for sources of revenue (Dávila, 2002). However, this growth in population size has not translated to greater representation of Latin@s in the media (Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, and Robson, 2014; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005).

As the population of Latin@s, now the largest ethnic group in the United States, continues to rise, so does the significance of studying, interpreting, and challenging contemporary representations of Latin@s in U.S. popular culture. One of the latest television shows to feature representations of Latin@s is *Jane The Virgin*\(^3\) (Snyder Urman, Silverman\(^4\), Pearl, Granier, & Silverling, 2014). The show has been largely

\(^1\) To this day both terms, ‘Hispanic or Latino,’ refer to “person[s] of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race” (Humes, Jones & Ramirez, 2011). Though most academic literature on representation of minorities utilize the terms Hispanic and Latin@ interchangeably, this study will emphasize the latter. Both terms refer to ethnic and not racial backgrounds as explained by Luther, Leper & Clark (2012). However, the term Latin@ is the preferred term for this study because the term is more socially acceptable and is a visible reminder of multiple, including gendered, identities.

\(^2\) This term is preferred to symbolize Latina/o because it does not textually privilege the masculine or feminine.

\(^3\) Referred to as JTV interchangeably throughout this text.

\(^4\) As a reminder, Ben Silverman was also a producer of the show *Ugly Betty*. 

successful in attracting a portion of America’s mainstream viewers, averaging slightly under two million per week (Ryan, 2015), and is also broadcast in a handful of other countries. A minority of the show’s viewership in the United States, 21 percent, is Latin@ (Ryan, 2015). Nevertheless, developing a critical understanding of representations of Latin@s on this and other television shows can help audiences better understand the narratives and images being constructed about Latin@s.

Because journalists and TV commentators have identified a number of ways in which *Jane The Virgin’s* portrayals of Latin@s stand apart from previous television shows featuring Latin@s, it is important to critically examine how the show deepens societal understanding of *Latinidad* representations. This study focuses on contributing critical understandings of intersectional representations of race/ethnicity and gender in *Jane The Virgin*. More specifically, this study focuses on the construction and representation of femininity. There is great significance in analyzing new shows that offer representations of minority groups because they can help track progress or regression in terms of relying on or defying racial and gendered stereotypes. Though causal links cannot be established, research indicates these representations can have real-life implications, as “white viewers are more likely to report a belief in the veracity and evenhandedness of these portrayals” (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005, p. 111). Stereotypes become effective because “learning occurs not just from a single show, but from content implied in a pattern of television messages such as racial and ethnic stereotypes, or the presence or absence of characters from a particular group” (Katzew, 2015).

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5 JTV is also broadcast in Australia (Idato, 2014), Canada (Vlessing, 2014), the UK (Munn, 2014), New Zealand (“Quirky new comedy”, 2015), and Southeast Asia (http://www.sonychannelasia.com/programs/jane-virgin, N.D.)
Furthermore, television shows and other popular cultural productions are significant because they contribute to and makes sense of culture in society. These productions have the ability to educate and influence audiences on a range of issues including race, ethnicity, and foreignness (Katzew, 2011; Cortés 2004).

Before engaging in a thorough analysis of the show, this scholar expressed several criticisms which were not addressed in the media. The first criticism is that at least one character, Xiomara, is exoticized and hypersexualized through wardrobe. Of the three generations of Latinas, Jane’s mother is consistently dressed more provocatively. The second critique is that even though the show’s dialogue might seemingly take issues of ethnicity and identity as implied, *Jane The Virgin* commodifies difference, and advances certain constructions of gender, ethnicity, and Latin@ culture. This is most notably evidenced by the show’s adoption of a distinctly political position on immigration. In claiming the show has universal appeal and is not a ‘Hispanic’ show, the producers and cast, one could interpret, are negating the unique national identities of Latin@s. These identities are the same unique and complex identities that have made the show successful in the United States and abroad. Yet, the producers and members of the cast themselves, evidently value Latin@ identity and the “Hispanic market” when it comes to viewership and ratings, as they increasingly target this demographic. For example, Jaime Camil served as an ambassador in promoting the premiere of *Jane The Virgin* in Mexico through a partnership with *Lifetime* in November 2015. Camil dubbed his own voice for the Spanish-language version of the show for Latin-American and Spanish-speaking audiences (C, E. G., 2015).
Previous studies on intersectional representations of Latin@s in television contextualize this study (most notably, Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán, 2013; Katzew, 2011; Avila-Saavedra, 2010; Merskin, 2007). This body of literature highlights the ways in which Latin@ identities have been constructed over time. In addressing intersecting aspects of Latin@ identity, scholars have argued Latinidad is largely constructed through femininities (Valdivia, 2011; Báez, 2007). Thus, it follows this study of the first season of Jane The Virgin addresses the following questions: How does gender play a role in reinforcing or defying Pan-Latinidad through intersectional representations of Latin@s? How is femininity constructed and portrayed on the TV show Jane The Virgin? How is Latina femininity constructed or derived from its relationship(s) with masculinity? Utilizing pan-Latinidad and intersectionality as theoretical frameworks, this study explored the intersectional representations of both race/ethnicity and gender in television through a critical textual and intertextual analysis.

This study’s findings indicate the show relies on many aspects of pan-Latinidad in constructing complex identities for the Villanueva women to both defy and reinforce rigid constructions of pan-ethnic identities. This scholar argues the religious component of pan-Latinidad embedded on Jane The Virgin facilitates and upholds the virgin/whore dichotomy through Catholicism. Drawing on Tumanov (2011) and Lara’s (2008) scholarship on virgin/whore dichotomous discourse, this study argues Xiomara, Petra, and Luisa are portrayed as women who possess deviant sexuality and spirituality. However, an oppositional reading of these women’s characters would suggest they embody sexual agency, or what Tumanov (2011) calls female sexual choice. In addressing representations of the masculinities of Rogelio, Michael, and Rafael, this
study’s findings indicate the presence of a double standard where masculine sexual agency is devoid of religious narratives and privileged. This study suggests *Jane The Virgin* superficially celebrates the independence and family unity of the Villanueva women but reinforces and advances *machista* gender roles where women are expected to be caretakers and deferential to men. *Jane The Virgin* deserves praise for serving as an educational agent in exposing audiences to telenovela tropes, presenting hybrid identities, and complicating *pan-Latinidad* identities. However, the show should be criticized for its negative portrayals of women who exercise sexual agency. Ultimately, the significance of this study lies in the fact *Jane The Virgin* advances new articulations of hybrid identity which might serve to ease concerns about the ‘browning’ of the United States through assimilating narratives.
The TV show *Jane The Virgin* has been a surprising hit with a limited mainstream audience since its debut on The CW in fall 2014. Its popularity gained even more momentum when Gina Rodriguez, who plays Jane Villanueva, won the 2015 Golden Globe for best comedic actress\(^6\). Shortly thereafter, CBS, the parent network, announced a second season (THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, Jan. 12, 2015) and moved to premiere the sophomore season a week earlier than anticipated (Caparras, 2015). In addition, Netflix announced its purchase of the show’s global streaming rights\(^7\) in late September 2015 (Steel, 2015). The television show, developed and produced by Jennie Snyder Urman and Ben Silverman, is a loose adaptation of *Juana la Virgen* (Fariña, 2002), a Venezuelan telenovela\(^8\) created by Perla Farias.

*Jane The Virgin* is the first television show to feature, not one but three, Latinas as main characters (Martinez, 2015). The show situates the viewer in the lives of three generations of Villanueva women. Jane Gloriana Villanueva is an aspiring writer and waitress at The Marbella, a hotel in Miami owned by the Solano family. Her mother Xiomara Gloriana Villanueva, played by Andrea Navedo, is an aspiring singer and

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\(^6\) It should be noted that Gina Rodriguez is only the second Latin actress to win a Golden Globe in this category. America Ferrera won the title in 2007 for her representation of Betty Suarez in *Ugly Betty* (THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, Jan. 12, 2015).

\(^7\) The likelihood that JTV will be reproduced, or glocalized, to better fit other national contexts, as *Ugly Betty* (Silverman & Hayek, 2006) was, is diminished because JTV’s narrative seemingly does not center on Latin@ identity as difference and the show will now be streamed globally. Thus, making representations of Latin@s on this show much more relevant because these particular narratives of being Latin@ in America are globalized.

\(^8\) Literature on telenovelas has been largely excluded here. For a concise yet informative review of the differences between U.S. soap operas and Latin American telenovelas, see Avila-Saavedra’s (2010) article on *Ugly Betty*.
children’s dance instructor. Jane’s grandmother Alba Gloriana Villanueva, portrayed by former Miss Puerto Rico and actress Ivonne Coll, is religiously devout and in the country illegally (Stanley, 2015). The show is filled with drama of the likes only seen in Spanish telenovelas, with Jane being accidentally artificially inseminated with the sperm of Rafael Solano, whose character is played by Justin Baldoni, the son of a rich hotel owner. At the request of her religious grandmother, Jane vows to abstain from sex until marriage but because of a medical mixup, Jane ends up a pregnant 23-year-old virgin (Martinez, 2015).

The show is narrated by a face-less Anthony Mendez, who often provides sardonic asides. Producers of the show brilliantly integrate social media and graphics into visual representations of the show, providing viewers with “tongue-in-cheek emojis, info bubbles, text message exchanges and hashtags [that] serve as a kind of pop-up Greek chorus” (Stanley, 2015). Though the show accentuates drama and over-the-top characters like Jane’s long-lost and telenovela star for a father, portrayed by Mexican actor Jaime Camil, critics praise JTV for avoiding the use of lazy stereotypical representations of race and ethnicity as markers of difference (Stanley, 2015; Ryan, 2015, Martinez, 2015).

Ethnicity, as Stanley (2015) suggests, is both crucial but taken as matter of fact on Jane The Virgin. Unlike Ugly Betty (Silverman & Hayek, 2006), Cristella (Hence, Alonzo, Clements, Adelstein, & Levy, 2014), and Modern Family (Levitan, et. al.,

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9 Mendez received the show’s only 2015 Emmy nomination for Outstanding Narrator, a category that was created in 2014 (Terrero, 2015).
10 Where the main character Betty Suarez, a Mexican-American woman, breaks the mold and works at a fashion magazine, where her minority status is stressed (Stanley, 2015).
11 A show about Cristela, a Latina law student who interns at an all-white law firm (Stanley, 2015)
12 Sofia Vergara’s character Gloria is cast as a sexpot, where her ridiculous accent and cultural background often lead to comic misunderstandings (Stanley, 2015).
2009) among others, JTV avoids plot representations where the main character is situated in a fish-out-of-water context where cultural collisions drive the narrative (Stanley, 2015). Martinez (2015) also praises the show for avoiding storylines that are racially loaded to depict Latin@s as socially awkward and for avoiding the use of racial and ethnic humor to construct Latin@ identity. Martinez (2015) commends the show for embedding a distinctly Latin@ perspective on issues of immigration and citizenship. Alba is an undocumented immigrant from Venezuela and is nearly deported, due to medical-repatriation laws, when she ends up at the hospital. In this scene viewers are presented with the hashtag #immigrationreform, thus embedding a political stance on this contemporary issue (Martinez, 2015). Alba’s dilemma is temporarily resolved by Michael Cordero, played by Brett Dier, Jane’s ex-boyfriend and police detective.

Members of the show’s cast have been vocal about the importance of Latin@ representation in television. For Ivonne Coll, this meant challenging stereotypical representations of Latinas by refusing to be cast as a maid13 (Ryan, 2015). On Jane The Virgin, Coll’s character is a home health worker and a single mother. Even in portraying the role of Jane’s grandmother, Coll has challenged stereotypical representations of the Latina grandmother who is always cooking in the kitchen (Ryan, 2015). Coll highlights the importance of presenting the Villanueva women as “complete human beings, with their thoughts, with their intelligence, with their nuances. They disagree. They’re not a monolith, which we [Latinas] have been depicted as most of the time” (Ryan, 2015).

Camil describes Hollywood’s representations with which Latin@ identities have long

13 Rodriguez also acknowledged having turned down stereotypical role representations of Latin@s throughout her career, including a role in Eva Longoria’s Devious Maids. Rodriguez has publicly declared it her mission to promote positive and heroic representations of Latin@s (Duca, 2015).
been constructed, including the use of piñatas, tacos, fiestas, and excessive shouting, as cultural markers of difference (Ryan, 2015). These stereotypical representations, Rodriguez argues, are difficult to relate to in real life and lead to exclusion rather than inclusion (Ryan, 2015).

Avoiding stereotypical representations of Latin@s without diminishing the importance of acknowledging ethnic and national differences, especially in marketing television shows to diverse demographics, is a difficult tightrope to manage. In a conscious attempt to market JTV to Latin@ viewers, the network sought to connect the cast to Latin@ media outlets. This tactic had limited success, as only 21 percent of the show’s viewership is Latin@ (Ryan, 2015). Though this is the largest viewership percentage for this demographic among the CW’s lineup, it falls short given the size of the Latin@ population. Members of the cast, with Rodriguez at the forefront, have taken it upon themselves to further promote the show. The power of Latin@s as a source of revenue and market value is acknowledged when Rodriguez says,

[M]y Twitter fans are of all ethnicities, all cultures, all religions and they’re vocal about it. And I have a lot of Latino followers and a lot of fans that are vocal, but, you know, [Latin@s] are 54 million plus in this country. We could singlehandedly make this show 14 million viewers a week. And we haven’t (Ryan, 2015).

At the same time, Coll says JTV is “not a Hispanic show, but it is a show about a Hispanic family” (Stanley, 2015).

As a testament to the fact Latin@s are not a homogeneous group, Gina Rodriguez has witnessed resistance to and challenges to her embodiment of what she calls “Latino-
ness” (Zeilinger, 2015; Hou & Rodriguez, 2015; “Gina Rodriguez in heated exchange,” 2015). To celebrate being featured on the cover of People En Español, Rodriguez posted the cover on her Instagram account, along with a Spanish translation expressing her gratitude to the magazine for empowering Latin@s in the United States. Rodriguez was taken aback by intra-racial criticism of her Spanish grammar exhibited by other Latin@s (Zeilinger, 2015).

In another incident worth mentioning, Rodriguez responded to a comment on Twitter where she was accused of using her Latin@ heritage as a marketing tool. This particular incident is an example of contestation over, not just Latin@ identity, but also the commodification of culture (“Gina Rodriguez in heated exchange,” 2015). The Twitter user also ridiculed her Spanish-speaking abilities. Rodriguez is not fluent in Spanish though her parents are Puerto Ricans. The assumption Latin@s share a common language is categorically false, as millions of U.S. Latin@s’ use of Spanish as a primary language drops with each new generation (Zeilinger, 2015).

Rodriguez’s responses14 to these criticisms indicate her understanding of the limitations and benefits of constructions of Latin@s as a homogenous group. Rodriguez says, “I think that women should uplift women. I think that cultures should uplift cultures. [Latin@s] are seen in this country as one, so if we’re not one, then we become a disintegrated, non-structured, non-powerful unit, instead of being a unit of strength and power [emphasis added]” (Hou & Rodriguez, 2015). Moreover, her response transcends both gender and race because she acknowledges her intersecting identities and mentions

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14 Rodriguez primarily took to Instagram to respond to the hatred exhibited on her page @hereisgina. On this platform, she condemned the use of social media for putting others down (Zeilinger, 2015). Her full response can be found here: [http://mic.com/articles/123761/jane-the-virgins-gina-rodriguez-and-latino-racism-on-instagram](http://mic.com/articles/123761/jane-the-virgins-gina-rodriguez-and-latino-racism-on-instagram)
her gender first. In doing so, Rodriguez hints at the fact she is affected by both her gender and race. She also hints at the purchasing and political power potential of unified Latin@s. As a woman of color, Rodriguez says, she does not get to turn her heritage on and off and argues individuals get to define what being Latin@ means or looks like for themselves. Furthermore, Rodriguez’s response to criticisms about Latin@ marketing power underscores her understanding that visibility and being marketed are not one and the same, “‘I walk around Brown, I don't advertise it to get ahead, if that marketing tool worked we would be represented more!’” (“Gina Rodriguez in heated exchange,” 2015).
The journey to critically understanding Latin@ representation in media begins with questioning what and whom represents Latin@ identity. This Latin@ identity has been imposed, internalized, and challenged by society. However, the journey begins with historically contextualizing the creation of the term Hispanic and the synonymous conceptualization of Latin@. This discussion is followed by addressing the evolution of the terms utilized and contested to describe Latin@ identity in academic scholarship. The discussion shifts toward addressing how this social group has been historically represented in film and television. These representations cannot be addressed without a discussion of scholarship on tropicalism, which highlights many of the specific stereotypes or tropes utilized to conjure images of Latin@s in U.S. popular culture. Due to the deployment of these tropicalisms and stereotypes in the media, mediated Latin@ identity becomes primarily gendered and thus intersectional and hybrid in nature. The concept of intersectionality as it relates to Latin@ identity will also be addressed and followed by the author’s concluding thoughts and argument for continued studies on intersecting representations of mediated Latin@ identity on television.

**Historical Context of Pan-Latinidad**

It is important to contextualize the historical treatment of Mexicans, whom would later became the primary social group labeled under the term Hispanic.\(^\text{15}\) Indigenous

\[\text{15 The term Hispanic, as coined by the Nixon administration for census purposes, which later led to the creation of “Hispanic Market,” can be “understood as an ‘imagined community’ in which social and political alliances are formed based on ‘lived experience and historical memory” (Báez, 2007, p. 110; citing (Flores 2000, p. 197)).}\]
people from Mexico and Spanish settlers inhabited much of the mainland, in what is now
U.S. territory, later conquered by Europeans. Mexico ceded a portion of its territories to
the United States following the Mexican-American war, under the Treaty of Guadalupe
Hidalgo, in 1848. The United States government vowed to uphold landownership of some
territories owned by Mexican citizens. Like Native Americans, Mexicans had their lands
taken from them and sold to whites. The U.S. government conjured images that were
“highly disparaging of Mexicans as being mentally inferior to Caucasians and criminal in
nature” to justify the usurping of lands that were not part of the treaty (Luther, Leper, &
Clark, 2012, p. 84-85). The images produced by the U.S. government were adapted by
the mass media in the twentieth century and continue to be utilized to construct narratives
and images of not only Mexicans 16, but Hispanics in general (Luther, Leper, & Clark,
2012, p. 84-85).

Though it is clear the term Hispanic was coined in the 1960s to describe an
ethnicity that encompasses both diverse races and ancestries once under Spanish rule, the
origin of the term Latin@ is unclear. However, the latter term, which represents people of
Latin American origin or descent within the United States, also originated in the United
States (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012, p 84). The term Hispanicidad has been identified in
literature as a notion of collective identity based on language. For Latin@s, this common
language is Spanish though few exceptions exist, most notably Brazil (Avila-Saavedra,
2010, p 137). Oboler (1995) is credited with having developed the term Latinidad, which
serves to define the aspirations for a collective identification of Latin@s within the
United States. Scholars generally agree this identity, shared by diverse national groups, is

16 It is important to note the term Hispanic is often conflated with references to Mexican peoples. Mexicans
are Hispanic, but not all Hispanics are Mexicans. The same logic applies with the term Latin@.
based on a combination of language, common history, or collective resistance to domination (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p. 137).

Though early conceptions of Latinidad stood in contrast to Anglo-American culture, scholars also largely ignored contrasts to other terms like Chican@ or Puerto Rican. With this negation of differences, Latinidad suggests “a Latin American heritage identity that crosses boundary lines among the various specific national origin groups, and implies a panethnic group” (Caminero-Santangelo, 2013, p. 14). However, this pluralized Latin@ identity lacks social cohesion as a category and discourse in comparison to other ethnic minorities (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p 137). Scholars have increasingly moved away from depicting Latin@ identity as homogenous, though they continue to challenge the existence of a pan-ethnic Latinidad (Caminero-Santangelo, 2013, p. 23).

Mayer (2004) identifies pan-Latinidad as a paradigm used by scholars to suggest an emerging cross-cultural unity advanced by self-identified Latin@s (p. 114), which Báez (2007) identifies as reconstructions of Latinidad through social and political alliances formed among individuals from various nationalities (p 110). This paradigm adopts shared practices as opposed to representations imposed by society, where pan-Latinidad becomes both a signifier of plural cultural identities and a unique cultural group that opposes assimilation and acculturation processes of becoming ‘American’ (Mayer, 2004, p 114; citing (Flores, 1993)). Mayer (2004) critiques the paradigm of pan-Latinidad for being capable of rendering invisible the complexities of diverse cultures within the economic, political, and social contexts it attempts to describe. Furthermore, “by ameliorating the divisions between Latinos, the centers of power within Latino

Latin@s embody what is known as a hybrid identity. The concept and theory of hybridity is another way to conceptualize intersecting identities, which emerged from postcolonial studies. Hybridity emphasizes the impact of colonization on indigenous cultures, “group identity and the individual’s simultaneous and innovative expression of these new intersections” (Shields, 2008, p 305). The notion here is that at any point in which diverse cultures make contact and collide, either involuntarily as has been through colonization or voluntarily through immigration, new cultural articulations emerge (Shields, 2008, p 305). This hybridity signifies a third space17 “where bodies and identity resist stable categories,” and where “meaning is ambivalent, contradictory, and historically shifting” (Molina Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004, p 213-214).

Ultimately, even though the concept of Latinidad and its identifiers are always contested, the term defined by Oboler (1995) always refers to people of Latin American origin within the United States (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p 137). All other conceptualizations of Latin@ identity adopt this understanding. Though most scholars have abandoned the use of the term pan-Latinidad, this author adopts it in a conscious

17 In the context of Latin America, and Mexico in particular, Gloria E. Anzaldúa’s (1987) articulation of “La Nueva Mestiza,” situated in Chicana studies, is most relevant. Anzaldúa (1987) addresses the colonization of the indigenous people of Mexico by the Spanish, the loss of landownership at the hands of the U.S. government, and the continued oppression and subjugation experienced by Mexican immigrants in the United States. “The new mestiza” represents a hybrid identity that “is a product of the transfer of cultural and spiritual values of one group to another” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 78). These hybrid identities found on the U.S./Mexico border, led to the creation of borderlands theory.
effort to acknowledge both the collective identity of Latin@s and their individual national identities. This author argues the term *Latinidad*, most commonly employed in literature, is equally capable of homogenizing the diverse national and cultural identities that are part of a broader Latin@ identity.

However, the term *pan-Latinidad* serves as a visual reminder to avoid flattening difference in the name of diversity whenever possible. Furthermore, it seems fitting to utilize this term because, unlike *Ugly Betty, Jane The Virgin* breaks away from relying on the typical and familiar nationality, Mexican-American, to represent Latin@ identity on television (Katzew, 2011, p 313). The producers of *Jane The Virgin* opted to present a narrative about a Venezuelan-American family, which arguably makes the show an educational tool in exposing audiences to a nationally-specific culture not typically presented in American television. Thus, by relying on the term *pan-Latinidad*, I identify, wherever possible, national specificities of culture and origin to add complexity to our understanding of Latin@ identity on this show. In addition, I also highlight the similarities uniting diverse nationalities and cultures to create this collective *pan-Latinidad*.

Thus, in this study, the term *pan-Latinidad* is understood as a highly contested concept for the collective pan-ethnic identity of peoples of Latin American origin on the presupposition they share any one of the following: a common language, religion, culture, and/or a shared history of political and economic subjugation and resistance to assimilation or acculturation within the United States. As a result, this paradigm becomes both a signifier for diverse individual national identities and a collective identity capable of transcending national borders.
**Historical Representations in Film & Television**

Now that a basic understanding of *pan-Latinidad* has been presented, the discussion shifts to address historical representations of Latin@ identity in both film and television. These representations inevitably relate to scholarship on tropicalism.\(^{18}\) Aparicio & Chavez-Silverman (1997) argue tropicalism is “the system of ideological fictions with which the dominant (Anglo and European) cultures trope Latin American and U.S. Latino/a identities and cultures” (p. 1). These ideological fictions are achieved “through the troping of Latinidad as exotic and Other” (Báez, 2007, p 121). This *hegemonic tropicalization* particularly refers to a process which “circulates and exploits gender-based myths and stereotypes about Latin American and Latino/a sexuality” (Aparicio & Chavez-Silverman, 1997, p. 10). Through the use of tropes or stereotypes,\(^{19}\) tropicalism “erases specificity and homogenizes all that is identified as Latin and Latin@” (Molina Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004, p. 211).

Tropes of *Latinidad* can represent both physical and behavioral characteristics. Gendered physical characteristics of tropicalism include characterizations of Latinos as “the male Latin lover, macho, dark-haired, [and] mustachioed.” Tropicalizations of Latinas are “characterized by red-colored lips, bright seductive clothing, curvaceous hips and breasts, long brunette hair, and extravagant jewelry” (Molina Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004, p. 211). Behavioral characteristics include Latina subjectivities which have historically been encoded as having “tropical, exotic, hyper-eroticized sexualit[ies]”

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\(^{18}\) Tropicalism is indebted to Edward Saaid’s *orientalism* (Aparicio & Chavez-Silverman, 1997).

\(^{19}\) Specific tropes and stereotypes attributed to Latin@ identity will be manifested throughout this literature review.
(Aparicio & Chavez-Silverman, 1997, p. 10). These tropes include notions of Latinas as far more sensual, sexual, promiscuous and sexually available, and even exotically dangerous than white women (Merskin, 2007, p 135-136). Thus, Latinidad or Latin@-ness is often constructed through attributes of “bright colors, rhythmic music, and brown or olive skin” (Molina Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004, p 211). Or as Jaime Camil, from Jane The Virgin, simply put it, through the use of piñatas as cultural props and shouting as a behavioral characteristic of Latinidad (Ryan, 2015).

These tropes developed over time and were found in early film representations of Hispanics (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012, p 89). Thus, the discussion can now turn toward broad historical representations of Hispanics and Latin@ identity in film and television. Here, Latin@s were one-dimensionally and stereotypically represented as “violent Mexican revolutionaries, gypsies, violent half-breeds, Latin lovers (Don Juans) and exotic and sexualized señoritas” (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012, p. 86). By and large, stereotypical representations of Latin@s in films as “domestic workers, lazy gardeners, and ominous gang members” were typical from the 1970s through the 1990s and largely remain unchallenged when Latin@s are not part of film production (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012, p 88-89).

According to Luther, Leper, & Clark (2012), these same stereotypes and tropes of Latinidad were transferred over to entertainment television. In entertainment television,

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20 Few studies have addressed the fact that black Latin@s are hardly presented in the media. Joyce’s (2010) dissertation addresses the representation of race in the context of Brazilian telenovelas. In particular, the study utilizes the telenovela Duas Caras (2007-2008) because it directly addresses race and racism through presenting the first Afro-Brazilian protagonist and hero. In addition, the novela openly addresses race through plot and dialogue—which was never done previously (Joyce, 2010, p 1).

21 The earliest film productions to feature Latin@ producers surfaced in the late 1960s. Luis Valdez, recognized as the father of Chicano theatre, produced I am Joaquin at the time. In 1981, he produced Zoot Suit, which addressed the wrongful murder conviction of a group of Mexican Americans. These films served to tell the stories of Mexicans’ civil rights struggles at the time (Luther, Leper & Clark (2012, p 88).
the 1950’s show *I Love Lucy* was seminal in exposing American audiences to Ricky Ricardo, portrayed by Cuban-born American Desi Arnaz (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012, p 89). Between the 1970s and 1990s, shows like *Chico and the Man* (1974-1978), *a.k.a. Pablo* (1984), and *I Married Dora* (1987-1988) were presented in attempts to address the changing ethnic landscape of the United States (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012, p 89). These programs were largely unsuccessful, as *a.k.a. Pablo* and *I Married Dora* were cancelled. In the 2000s, more popular shows emerged including *The George Lopez Show* (2002-2007), *Desperate Housewives* (2004-2012), and *Ugly Betty* (2006-2010) (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012, p 91).

ABC’s *Desperate Housewives* (Cherry, 2004), a show featuring Mexican-American actress Eva Longoria as retired model and cheating wife Gabrielle Solis, is credited for have triggered the “Eva Effect,” which signaled placing Latin@s in leading roles on network television could be profitable (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012, p 91). Among other television shows to feature representations of Latin@s, none has been more influential than *Ugly Betty* (Silverman & Hayek, 2006). The show was an adaptation from the Colombian telenovela *Yo Soy Betty, la Fea* (Fernández, 1999). According to McCabe (2013), this was the first telenovela adaptation to reach U.S. primetime (Artz, 2015, p 213).

Here it is important to highlight the commodification and transnationalization of Latin American culture through the global production and distribution of telenovelas. In a U.S. context, this commodification and consumption extends to Latin@ identities through television shows adapted from telenovela formats. Artz (2015) provides a succinct overview of the telenovela industry’s transnational ownership structures, conventions,
codes, and narrative themes. Artz (2015) suggests telenovela production and transnationalization does not serve as a ‘contra-flow’ of media content representing alternative cultural representations against Western-dominated media. Instead, Artz (2015) argues the telenovela industry and genre provides a ‘comple-flow’ (p 212) of content which “contribute[s] to a consumerist culture of individualism, acceptance of authority, and citizen passivity” (p. 193). Thus, even if telenovela formats are imported and adapted for local audiences, the narratives remain the same and so do the production goals. This is because telenovelas are value-laden with stories where protagonists’ goals include “morality plays about affluence and wealth” which become “markers of success, happiness, and goodness” (Artz, 2015, p 216). The goals of production are ‘driven by the same economic gains of the large media conglomerates’ (Artz, 2015, p 219) where telenovelas produce and sell audiences to advertisers (p 211-212) and thus provide “complementary programming for transnationalist capitalist cultural hegemony” (p. 219).

In 2009, ABC launched Modern Family where Colombian Sofia Vergara is cast as Gloria Delgado-Pritchett, the wife of a white businessman (Gallegos, 2012, p 34). Gallegos (2012) argues that decades-old stereotypes about Latinidad authenticity were utilized to construct Gloria’s character. Vergara plays the role of the ‘exotic other’ or what Sandoval-Sánchez (1999) calls the ‘Latin foreign other.’ Gloria is portrayed as a trophy wife and is sexualized through attire. Much like Longoria on Desperate Housewives, Vergara “wears tight jeans, tight shirts, and tight dresses” (2012, p 34). In addition, Gloria speaks with a thick accent and her broken English is constantly ridiculed, even by her own son Manny. As a result, Gallegos implies Gloria’s character embraces
the role of the “spitfire” Latina. The term, coined by Ramírez Berg (2002), suggests Latinas are loud and short-tempered (Gallegos, 2012, p 35).

Gallegos (2012) also argues stereotypical representations of Gloria as a constant-screaming Latina and objectification of her body are not the only visible problems. As a result of both characteristics, Gloria’s character is not taken seriously. Gallegos, in agreement with Beltrán (2009), notes this is because Latin accents are utilized to characterize roles as comedic or villainous (Gallegos, 2012, p 35). In addition, Gallegos (2012) highlights the appearance of the stereotypical “Latin lover” character who portrays Manny’s father. Fitting into the stereotype, Manny’s father is portrayed as an “exotic, adventurous, irresponsible, and unreliable dad capable of seducing women by being gentle” (Gallegos, 2012, p 35).

Representational Intersectionality

Discussions about Latin@ identity and representation of Latin@s in the media must shift toward gendered representations of identity in order to better understand women’s unique experiences in identity formation. Furthermore, because Latin@ identities are inherently hybrid, the concept of intersectionality must be addressed.

Intersectionality is both a theoretical framework and a method of analysis utilized in numerous academic disciplines (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013 p 303). The term itself is attributed to Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), whose work is situated within feminist studies and critical race theory. Crenshaw (1989) critiqued antidiscrimination laws and feminist theories for its use of a single-axis framework that privileges the experiences and histories of otherwise privileged members of a group, i.e. white women (p 40). In this study, Crenshaw (1989) argued feminist theory and antiracist
policy largely excluded black women because both encompassed discrete sets of experiences which did not address the intersection of race and gender (p 40). A year later, Crenshaw (1991) advanced a theory of intersectionality where she conceptualizes the term in three different forms, structural, political, and representational intersectionality. The latter is utilized to address the cultural constructions of women of color and to identify “both the ways in which these images are produced through a confluence of prevalent narratives of race and gender, as well as a recognition of how contemporary critiques of racist and sexist representation marginalize women of color” (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1283).

Since its early conceptions, intersectionality has been concerned with identifying “the ways in which social positions and group membership overlap and change the experience of social identity” (Shields, 2008, p. 303). Early on, a model of layered oppressions was developed where “the more marginalized statuses that the individual identified with (or was identified as occupying), the greater the oppression” (Shields, 2008, p. 303) Most relevant to Latin@ identity is Martinez’s (1972) identification of a tripartite oppression, caused by forces of racism, imperialism, and sexism, suffered by Chicanas and all non-white women. Chicano men also endure oppression through racism and imperialism. But minority women alone, are burdened by oppression through sexism. Martinez (1972) also highlights the fact Chicanas and Latin American women share similar histories and problems, mainly the “rape of women, an entire continent and its people” (p. 113).

As a result of intersecting oppressions, scholars began to acknowledge the impossibility of studying gender without also “considering other dimensions of social
structure/social identity that play a formative role in gender’s operation and meaning” (Shields, 2008, p. 303). By studying multiple dimensions of social structures and social identities, intersectionality studies attempt to address issues of inequality. The categories used to study intersectional identities including race, gender, social class, and sexuality “encapsulate historical and continuing relations of political, material and social inequality and stigma” (Cole, 2009, p. 173). In questioning the role of inequality, intersectional studies, “draws attention to the ways that multiple category memberships position individuals and groups in asymmetrical relation to one another, affecting their perceptions, experiences and outcomes,” rather than merely describing similarities and differences (Cole, 2009, p. 173).

For this study, intersectionality refers to the processes in which individual and groups’ multiple dimensions of social identity, in this case ethnicity (i.e. pan-Latinidad) and gender, interact and shape one another through existing and reproducing systems of dominance, privilege, oppression, and inequalities. Because this study focuses on representations of Latin@ identities on television, representational intersectionality is also relevant, as the term describes popular culture’s construction of women of color through imagery.

A number of scholars’ analysis of intersecting representations of Latin@s on film (Báez, 2007) and television (Katzew, 2011; Valdivia, 2011, Merskin, 2007) contribute to and contextualize discussions of intersectionality and Latin@ identity for this study. In addition, studies by Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán (2013) and Avila-Saavedra (2010) are also relevant to this discussion because they engage in textual analysis of Ugly Betty. Even though they may not necessarily directly address intersectional
representations of ethnicity and gender, Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán (2013) and Avila-Saavedra’s (2010) studies significantly contribute to understanding constructions of Latinidad on television. In addition, Molina Guzmán & Valdivia’s (2004) study on contemporary gendered and racialized representations of Latin@s and Latinidad within U.S. media and popular culture is also relevant.

Using the films Selena (1997), Girlfight (2000), and Real Women Have Curves (2002) as case studies, Báez argues these films embody hybrid, fluid, and complex Latinidades feministas that ultimately transgress and challenge historical representations of Latinas in U.S. film. The ways in which these films represent the dynamics and intersectionality of race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and class also challenge gendered and racialized notions of authenticity (Báez, 2007, p 109). Báez’s (2007) study is informed by theories from both Latin@ cultural studies and feminist media studies which situate Latinidad as a complex and hybrid pan-ethnic formation of identity. Through a comparative representational analysis of the three films, Báez (2007) employs contextual and intertextual analysis to assess how mainstream film has conceptualized minority representations (p 113).

Báez’s study finds an uneven intersection between Latinidad and feminism in the films. However, the films offer hybrid and multiple representations of Latina subjectivity. In the case of Selena, the study finds Latinidad is an explicit issue where feminism is realized in its liberal form. In Girlfight, Latinidad is merely a backdrop for radical and postfeminist representations of feminism at the core. Real Women Have Curves serves as the film with a more nuanced integration of Latinidad and feminism through a focus on class and body issues, which the author codes as Latinidad and feminism respectively (p
Báez finds all three protagonists fall under the rubric of the tropicalized “Latin look” that permeates representations of Latinas in U.S. popular culture (2007, p. 121). Ultimately, Báez argues the three films rupture dominant narratives found in cinematic representations of Latinas because they portray complex, hybrid Latina subjectivities (2007, p 122-124).

Katzew’s (2011) ambitious critical analysis of two seasons of *Ugly Betty* also focuses on two intersecting aspects of Latin@ identity. The study examines gender and sexuality of Latin@ bodies, particularly the choice of Mexican bodies, through a theoretical framework which identifies television as an educational agent. Katzew (2011) finds *Ugly Betty* challenges but also complements stereotypes of Latin@ identity in mainstream television (p 315). The bodies of Latinas on *Ugly Betty* result in a tripartite categorization where a Latina may be educated/smart and good/moral but not beautiful, or she may be sexy but uneducated, or she may be sexy/smart but immoral and manipulative. Katzew (2011) questions where representations of Latinas as “physically attractive, educated, intelligent and decent” can be found in television (p 307).

In addressing sexuality and gender, Katzew (2011) finds *Ugly Betty’s* depictions of three Latino bodies differ and destabilize but also reinforce stereotypes about Latinos. The show’s producers never label Justin, Betty’s nephew, as gay or latently gay, thus he is gender bending. Ignacio’s character, Betty’s dad, challenges stereotypes of the typical hyper-masculine macho or patriarch of the family in every episode. Betty’s dad is often depicted cooking in the kitchen or ironing clothes and watching telenovelas, all of which are activities traditionally relegated to represent the role of women. Through Santos,
Justin’s dad, the show’s producers reinforce the stereotype of Latino men as criminals and Latin Lovers (Katzew, 2011, p 308-310).

The show was the first to position a Latina as the main character in English-language television. In addition, *Ugly Betty* challenged mainstream television by consistently presenting more Latin@ characters than other programs at the time. Katzew (2011) also finds that placing Betty Suarez in a diverse world counters mainstream media depictions which extensively portray “minority group members as rarely having intimate or moderately close and positive relationships with whites,” as Betty develops relationships with her white boss and his mother (p. 316).

The significance of Katzew’s (2011) study lies in its theoretical framework, which positions television as an educational agent. Like other scholars, Katzew (2011) adopts the view that “television is a cultural force that not only entertains, but informs and educates” (p 301). Among these scholars, Cortés (2004) argues “the media offer a curriculum about race, ethnicity, culture and foreignness through the images, messages and ideas they disseminate” (Katzew, 2011, p 302). In addressing the role of television as an educational agent, Katzew (2011) also acknowledges Gerbner et al’s (2002) cultivation theory, which suggests “viewers who are continuously exposed to media image about race construct beliefs that are consistent with the dominant media images” (p. 303).

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22 Jane The Virgin arguably presents more Latin@ characters than *Ugly Betty*. Four distinctly Latin@ characters portrayed by Gina Rodriguez, Ivonne Coll, Andrea Navedo, and Jaime Camil are always at the forefront. In addition, the voice of Anthony Mendez, the Latin-lover narrator is always present. The nationalities/ethnicities of other characters, including Rafael Solano, Luisa Alver, and Lina, portrayed by Justin Baldoni, Yara Martinez and Diane Guerrero respectively, are ambiguous but arguably also Latin@.
Valdivia’s (2011) study of global television flows partly focuses on *Ugly Betty*. Here, Valdivia (2011) explores commodified gendered and hybrid cultures of Latin@s, in the context of global television by utilizing *Ugly Betty* as an example, that are reproduced and normalized for global consumption. Valdivia (2011) argues for a textured understanding of gendered meanings and cultural hybridity in discourses of Latin@ identities (p 54). Utilizing *Latinidad* as both a conceptual and cultural framework, Valdivia (2011) analyzes disjunctures between lived realities and three commodified constructions of hybridity, including global television, girl culture, and celebrity bodies. Through inclusion of transnationalism, hybridity, and *Latinidad*, Valdivia complicates existing conceptualizations of gendered Latin@ identities which transcend borders and nationalities.

Like Báez (2007) and Merskin (2007), Valdivia (2011) addresses intersectional representations of *Latinidad*. Valdivia’s (2011) study notably extends to encompass transnational representations of Latin@ identity to highlight the fact Latinas are more often than not utilized to represent and sell difference, the foregrounding of female characters, whether in television, mediated doll lines, or celebrity culture, demonstrates a strategic deployment of *sexualized femininity* [emphasis added]. In none of these three areas is there a male counterpart, suggesting that it its Latinas who are stereotypically amenable in the marketplace to the production of a commodified ethnic sexuality (Valdivia, 2011, p. 53).

Most importantly, Valdivia’s (2011) findings help caution against flattening of difference within *Latinidad* and hybrid identities including their intersections. These globalized and gendered representations are increasingly important, as what is Latin@ is
increasingly marketed and targeted for global popular cultural production, commodification, and consumption for both Latin@ & non-Latin@ audiences, as echoed by Avila-Saavedra (2010, p 146).

As previously mentioned, it was *Desperate Housewives*’ placement of Eva Longoria as a leading character which signaled the profitability of marketing Hispanics to mainstream America and thus, non-Latin@ audiences (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012, p 91). Merskin’s (2007) study questions the potential to advance constructive representations of Latinas through *Desperate Housewives*’ character, Gabrielle Solis. This potential is short-lived according to Merskin. Through the construction of dialogue, Gabrielle Solis’ presentation, and Longoria’s off-screen life, stereotypes/tropicalizations of Latinas are reinforced to perpetuate the “hot Latina” stereotype (Merskin, 2007, p 133; p 147). Merskin (2007) relies on Keller’s (1994) tripartite typology of Latina stereotypes that cast Latinas as cantina girls, suffering señoritas, and vamps (p 137).

Merskin’s textual analysis of the first season finds Gabrielle Solis’ role not only contributes but perpetuates the stereotypes long characterized as representations of Latinas on film and television. Furthermore, the analysis indicates Longoria’s off-screen media exposure reinforced and conflated her stereotypical representation of Gabby, the character, and her own person (Merskin, 2007, p 138-146). Gabrielle embodies the cantina girl by being a tease, a flirt, and making herself available as a sexual object. What’s more, she is also cast as a suffering señora. Gabrielle is married and her character shifts from fulfilling the role of the “good wife” to suffering señora when she becomes entangled with her gardener, John. In this love triangle, Gabrielle suffers and makes sacrifices for her white lover. Gabrielle’s character evolves throughout the season to also
embody the vamp stereotype. She learns to utilize her body, sexuality, and intelligence to her advantage in order to manipulate the men in her life. All three categorizations are fluid and ultimately conflate to present Gabrielle, and Longoria, as the stereotypical “hot Latina” (Merskin, 2007, p 147).

Merskin’s study and continuation of Keller’s (1994) tripartite typology of stereotypes (p. 137) is rigorously informed by other studies of Latina stereotypes. Furthermore, the study builds on the work of Molina Guzmán & Valdivia (2004) by examining the construction and representation of Gabrielle Solis and whether Longoria’s off-screen media exposure reinforces Gabby’s stereotypical representation. Ultimately, Merskin’s study is relevant because it gets at both racial and gendered constructions of stereotypical Latina representations on television. The study addresses the use of stereotypes, particularly the stereotypes which came to embody the images of the “hot Latina,” to construct an ‘other’ from a perspective of white superiority that serves to preserve hegemony and the status quo. The importance and impact of stereotypical representations is identified through consistency in its use. This consistency serves as key to adding credibility, a sense of truth, and longevity to stereotypical portrayals of the ‘otherized’ group. Merskin’s review nods to accumulation theory as a way to partially explain the effectiveness of stereotypical media representations (Merskin, 2007, p 134-138).

Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán’s (2013) findings indicate ethnic differences and social constructions of the “other” are established through Ugly Betty’s characters or

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23 DeFleur & Dennis’ (1998) theory “predicts that if the mass media, including advertising, present information in ways that are consistent, persistent, and corroborated, this instruction is likely to have long-term powerful effects” (Merskin, 2007, p. 135).
social actors, as well as the spaces and images which are visualized and constructed through narrative discourse (p 121). Through the incorporation of the theme of social exclusion/inclusion, Betty’s character fights for social and cultural inclusion at Mode, which represents a physical and social space for white American culture. While asserting family and cultural values, Betty is given room to both be different and excluded, but also part of and included in Mode’s cultural and social structure. Because Betty is able to transcend her social condition of exclusion, *Ugly Betty* signifies a rupture in which American culture allows room for the possibility of her acceptance (p 132). Like Avila-Saavedra (2010), Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán (2013) find Betty comes to represent the Latin@ population in the United States, which is normally identified as “other” and excluded from social and cultural inclusion into mainstream society (p 117). However, Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán’s (2013) findings deviate from Avila-Saavedra’s (2010) in that they gloss over Betty’s dual community and ignore the fact she also does not fully belong in her Latin@ community (Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán, 2013, p 122-123). Avila-Saavedra (2010) identifies and better addresses this duality, where Betty is referred to as a “fish out of water” to reflect the clash of two cultures, Mexican/Latin@ and American, in her hybrid identity. She is too “Americanized” within the context of her more traditional and old-fashioned Mexican-American family and her Latin@ identity also makes her an outsider at Mode, which is symbolic for mainstream Anglo society (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p 138-144).

Furthermore, though both Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán (2013) and Avila-Saavedra (2010) acknowledge tensions between ethnic otherness and cultural assimilation could never be reconciled, they do so in different ways. Avila-Saavedra
(2010) acknowledges and adopts this argument by asserting these tensions are inherent to the negotiation of U.S.-Latin@ identities (p 146), which is predated and advanced by Molina Guzmán & Valdivia (2004). The latter argue contemporary Latin@ identities are shaped by colonialism, globalization, and transnationalism. Within the U.S., *Latinidad* functions as a hybrid form which challenges and remaps dominant hierarchies and popular notions of place and nation because hybrid identities are racially, ethnically, and culturally fluid. It follows Latin@s cannot lay claim to authentically pure ethnic identities, Molina Guzmán & Valdivia (2004) argue, because of their hybrid cultural and personal histories. Instead, they might lay claim to, or reject, multiple ethnic identities (Molina Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004, p 214).

Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán (2013) acknowledge the premise that Betty could never feel included in mainstream American society because of her ethnic otherness. This ethnic otherness cannot be transcended by adopting different customs, which is why Betty does not and cannot undergo a physical metamorphosis (p 120). Even in this multicultural society, conjured as a new construction of narrative discourse through the show, barriers between “us” and “them” persist and she continues to be “otherized” and excluded (Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán, 2013, p 125-126). It isn’t until Betty undergoes a sociocultural transformation, i.e. assimilation and integration into a cultural space where she is initially rejected, that her ethnic difference could be reconciled and given room to belong (Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán, 2013, p 132).

Both Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán (2013) and Valdivia’s (2011) studies are notable because they address concepts of glocalization,24 which is a process of

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24 Literature on glocalization has been largely excluded here. For a great example of how *Ugly Betty* was glocalized for a Belgian context, see Adriaens & Biltereyst (2012;2011).
globalizing the local and localizing the global, and transnationalization of Latinidad as cultural products (p 114-115; p 55-57). Valdivia (2011) finds the United States’ version of Ugly Betty was the most successful adaptation of the original Colombian telenovela Yo Soy Betty, la Fea (Fernández, 1999). The national version of Ugly Betty was then transnationalized25 to other countries and competes with local adaptations. Latinidad as defined and centralized in the narrative of the U.S. show, would otherwise be unsuccessful in countries like Colombia. In these countries, Betty would just signify “ugly” rather than an ethnic or racial other. This is because Latinidad is not a marker of difference in Latin America, as this identity is specific to a U.S. context. Rather, Latin American telenovelas primarily employ class as a regional marker of difference. It must be noted, however, that skin color likely plays a role in determining which Latin@s get more visibility26 and are cast for telenovelas. For example, Katzew (2011) highlights Yo Soy Betty, la Fea “echoes many Latin American telenovelas, in which the main characters have light complexions”27 (p. 316). Thus, Ugly Betty comes to represent contemporary gendered Latinidad. Furthermore, her character exemplifies the national

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25 With Netflix’s release of Jane The Virgin to a global audience (Steel, 2015), the show becomes transnationalized. Rather than being glocalized, the show is simply streamed abroad online. Because JTV’s narrative seemingly does not center Latin@ identity as difference, it is also unlikely the show will be glocalized. The globalization of Jane The Virgin elevates the importance of studying and deconstructing its portrayal of Latin@s.

26 Valdivia (2011) also addresses the factors that affect the transnationalization of U.S. Latinas, including Shakira, Salma Hayek, Celia Cruz and Jennifer Lopez, and finds that even though Cruz is arguably the most talented, her racialized persona garnered less visibility in the United States (p 64). Cruz “embodied not only that musical hybrid of hybrids but the unsettled meaning of a musical star whose ethnicity did not match dominant discourses of Latinidad –she was too dark” (Valdivia, 2011, p. 62). Furthermore, Valdivia (2011) indirectly suggests having a lighter complexion allows for greater transnationalization, “their [Shakira, Hayek, Cruz, & Lopez’] hybridities demonstrate that while mixture is endemic, certain mixtures are more powerful, commodifiable, and therefore transnationally circulated” (p. 64).

27 Katzew (2011) notes that an implicit assumption that the main protagonists on Yo Soy Betty, la Fea are of the same race. This telenovela cast a black character in a secondary role but producers did not address issues of race and racism through this portrayal (Katzew, 2011, p 316).
identity crisis facing the United States, where immigrant populations defy rigid constructions of race (Valdivia, 2011, p. 55-57).

Similar to Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán (2013), Avila-Saavedra’s (2010) findings indicate the show relied on common cultural and ethnic stereotypes to portray Betty as a cultural other, which serves to strengthen notions of collectivity among Latin@s. The second articulation of Latinidad endorsed by the show portrays Betty as trying to cross cultural and economic gaps through assimilation. In doing so, Betty challenges traditional understandings of what it means to be Latin@ in the United States. Through Betty, the show constructs a new U.S.-Latin@ identity that is part of a larger American identity (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p. 138-144). This identity extends beyond Spanish fluency and adherence to traditional family relations, cultural practices, and norms. Furthermore, this U.S.-Latin@ identity is capable of transcending race, class, and social mobility (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p. 145).

Avila-Saavedra’s (2010) study notably advances the idea that a common Latin@ identity is not exclusive to Spanish-speaking Latin@s in the United States, thus rejecting earlier notions seemingly advanced by Rodriguez (1996) and Davila (2001; 2002) that a U.S.-Latin@ identity could only exist in media through Spanish articulations (p. 137). Avila-Saavedra (2010) identifies Spanish as a common language and disconnection from mainstream society as the essence of a mediated Latin@ identity. Latin@ identity is established on Ugly Betty through secret dialogue between the text and Latin@ viewers (p 141). This is done through cultural references only understood by Latin@s, among
them is the inclusion of special appearances by popular and recognizable Latin@ actors, actresses, and musicians 28 (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p 141).

This author identifies Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán (2013), Katzew (2011), Avila-Saavedra (2010), and Merskin’s (2007) studies on intersectional representations of Latin@s in television as seminal given that they most closely inform this study’s aim and methodological framework. Though the theoretical frameworks differ, Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán (2013), Avila-Saavedra (2010), and Merskin (2007) engage in textual analysis of the shows’ first seasons, while Katzew (2011) analyses two seasons. Though Avila-Saavedra (2010) and Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán’s (2013) studies largely ignore the complexities of Betty’s gendered representation on Ugly Betty, their findings remain useful. Valdivia’s (2011) study is partially significant, as it addresses transnational and intersectional representations of Latin@ identity.

Evidently, all studies of pan-Latinidad must be intersectional. This scholar advances this argument for several reasons. The first being because pan-Latinidad is inherently a hybrid identity, studies must address the intersection of ethnicity and the influence of colonialism on identity formation, including the power relationships which affect representation of this hybrid identity in mass media. Furthermore, as Valdivia (2011) suggests, Latin@ identity, and its commodification, has generally been constructed on the backs of women. Though stereotypical representations of Latino men exist, the tropes utilized time and again to represent racial/ethnic difference are gendered to address femininity, sexuality, and standards of beauty. Thus, identifying the

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28 Already, this scholar identifies the show Jane The Virgin employs some of the same tactics, including the use of Spanish and frequent appearances by Latina pop star, Paulina Rubio, among others.
relationships between these multiple identities and their representation on television should help guide our understanding of gendered representations of Latina identity. The television show *Jane The Virgin* offers the perfect opportunity for studying intersectional representations of *pan-Latinidad* (i.e. ethnicity) and gender, as three of the show’s main characters are Latinas. Thus, this study of the first season of *Jane The Virgin* seeks to answer the following questions: *How does gender play a role in reinforcing or defying Pan-Latinidad through intersectional representations of Latin@s? How is femininity constructed and portrayed on the TV show *Jane The Virgin*? How is Latina femininity constructed or derived from its relationship(s) with masculinity?*
DATA ANALYSIS

This study is best situated in television and critical cultural studies. Thus, the analytical tools selected to conduct this study were critical textual and intertextual analysis. As Gray & Lotz (2012) suggest, the critical analysis of texts is “a central technique for helping us to unpack what this world of images, messages, and representations mean” (p. 27). It is important to clarify to the reader the term “text” is conceptualized differently than what the common term refers to. In academia, a text becomes an “item of culture that users deem to have enough coherence to treat as a single object” (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p. 27). In the case of television studies, the television programs themselves are viewed as texts. Thus, textual analysis can also include visual images.

Through critical analysis of television shows, scholars have long addressed questions about how stories are told on television, including storytelling strategies, and the relationships between these stories and society and culture (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p 39). More specific approaches to textual analysis were adopted within television studies. Polysemy is one that must inevitably be addressed in this study. Barthes advanced the theory that all texts are open to interpretation and multiple meanings, polysemy, rather than one, monosemy. In other words, one show’s discourse can advance many meanings depending on the individuals interacting with the text. Thus, “the textual analyst must always be aware of how television can be read in different ways, how its messages may play into different audiences, how varying life experiences or past viewing experiences will recode what is being watched and so on” (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p 43-44).
With this in mind, this scholar must acknowledge the influence her own situated life experiences and identities might have on drawing interpretations and conclusions from an analysis of the show *Jane The Virgin*. This scholar identifies as Latina. Furthermore, her life experiences as a naturalized Mexican-American likely influence and shape her understanding of intersecting issues of gender, ethnic identity, immigration, and citizenship. This scholar acknowledges a white female or male scholar may gather different interpretations from scenes related to issues of immigration, religion, and other aspects of Latin@ culture. Due to these intersecting identifications of race and gender, the scholar plans on also taking reflective notes to address her own thoughts and expectations as they relate to the visual images being analyzed (Creswell, 2009, p 182).

Critical analysis is most fitting for this study because most analyses of television have centered on some aspect of identity (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p 46). The two aspects of identity most relevant to this study are race/ethnicity and gender. Few studies, such as those mentioned above, have addressed the intersection of both identities on television in the context of Latin@s because this socially-constructed group is still highly underrepresented in media (Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, and Robson, 2014; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Furthermore, this scholar chose critical analysis because she sought to contribute to and complicate existing discussions about the show’s representations of Latin@s.

As Gray and Lotz suggest (2012), critical analysis is not about negatively critiquing text. This method of analysis seeks to “pr[y] under the surface for deeper meanings and connects these meanings to broader social analysis and commentary” (p.
Here, analysis becomes “critical” when the analyst is open to being surprised or challenged through analysis of the text, which leads to an analysis that lends itself for the exploration of a wide range of issues, and ultimately leads to a better understanding of the text. Critical analysis thus should better help readers understand why and how the text in question is significant (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p 46).

In addition, this study sought to engage in intertextual analysis of the show. Intertextuality is a useful way to identify interactions between different texts. References from one text to another are the simplest forms of interaction. In the case of television, it is the mention of one show in another show. By identifying ways in which shows or segments “explicitly invoke” other shows or segments, scholars can add context to an analysis of a particular show and its audiences. Intertextuality requires audiences to be familiar with or have an understanding of multiple genres and not all audiences might pick up on the criticisms being made from one show to another. Though these intertextual references can seem insignificant and sometimes go unnoticed, they are capable of adding and transforming the meaning of the texts they invoke (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p 130). These intertextual links establish meaning and demonstrate “how much of a show’s form and structure borrows from, builds upon, edits, speaks back to, and/or revisits form and structure from elsewhere” (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p. 131).

Thus, no text can be understood in a vacuum or in isolation from others, which underscores the importance of intertextual analysis (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p 131). As Gray & Lotz (2012) suggest, “and if the text only comes to mean anything, only comes into existence, because it draws on and builds upon other texts, this poses a way for textual analysis to situate any given show within a history of shows” (p. 132). Intertextual
analysis is also beneficial for determining the importance of a show’s messages regarding issues of gender and race, among other topics. The importance can be measured in a number of ways. For example, if a show is the first to do or say something unique, then its representations will be meaningful to society. Perhaps the significance, or lack thereof, lies in the show’s adherence or deviance from current and previous programming through subtle but meaningful adjustments to expected norms. (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p. 132).

Another component of intertextual analysis this study sought to engage with was audiences’ interactions with the show. These interactions particularly relate to the cast of the program. Gray & Lotz (2012) suggest protagonists and other celebrities carry an intertextual history of appearances on other shows. Audiences might pick up on this history and the meanings that travel with certain celebrities to influence our interactions with their new character representations (p 132-133). Altogether, this study sought to utilize intertextual analysis to add depth, context, and identify greater meaning for the show’s representations and messages on race/ethnicity and gender.

Qualitative research highlights meaning making processes. The same is true about making meaning out of images and text in the media. Studies of television shows engage in analysis of either, and often both, textual or visual images to draw bigger connections between society and the mediated world. Building on the work of other scholars, this author seeks to engage in analysis that draws from both theoretical frameworks of Latinidad, redefined in this study as pan-Latinidad, and intersectionality to address questions of gender and identity representations on the television show Jane The Virgin.

The first season of Jane The Virgin is comprised of 22 episodes, which last 42 minutes each. These episodes first aired on television in a time period between October
13, 2014 and May 11, 2015. The scholar obtained access to the first season through Netflix. She streamed each episode with English subtitles on her living room television through a Roku device. Before streaming each episode, the episode number and Netflix’s description for that particular episode was written on a sheet which lists all the episodes to be analyzed. The analyst proceeded to simply watching each episode without taking physical notes and without pausing to familiarize herself with the episode’s plot. It is at this time that she took mental notes about what stood out to her the most. This was done to sharpen the viewer’s thinking and observational skills on matters of wardrobe, but also on behavior and interaction among the characters. After watching each episode for the first time, a short and informal summary of what stood out most, what was intriguing, and any questions or concerns was written.

The second viewing of each episode consisted of taking detailed notes. The analysis proceeded in an unstructured and open-ended manner. Thus, the scholar took notes on topics and matters as they emerged. The analysis began immediately, as one episode contextualized the next and helped guide the scholar in identifying patterns. If a concept/topic was repeated over and over again, it was noted. Additionally, if a concept/topic dropped off or was entirely absent, this too was noted. The focus tended to shift toward interactions, dialogue, physical characteristics of a particular location, i.e. the Villanueva home, a character’s personality, and their attire. The scholar revisited previous episodes to identify whether she missed the emergence of a particular topic, matter, or pattern after streaming all the episodes during the second-viewing.

Thus, the second viewing of a particular episode included a countless number of pauses. In fact, though the episodes are roughly 42 minutes a piece, detailed analysis for
the second viewing of each episode took about three hours. When dialogue was crucial in revealing something or in helping get a particular point across, the scholar relied on subtitles. In particular, a search for the soundtrack of each episode was conducted and notes were made to identify when melodies were played for the audience. It is here that attention was given to sounds and the text written on the screen.

In analyzing her notes, the scholar identified larger patterns and themes only after sifting through notes on each episode and organized them into the following categories: telenovela/tropes, pan-latinidad, religion/faith/spirituality, gender, and intertextuality. Then a list of character descriptions was made to highlight certain behaviors or characteristics to describe each character. At this point, the analyst began to identify patterns where certain characters were positioned as whores, sluts, evil, etc. Thus, the three overarching themes that emerged include examples which fed into conversations about pan-latinidad/hybrid identities and authenticity, virgin/whore dichotomy discourse, and masculine/feminine discourse on sexuality and gender roles. Existing literature on stereotypes, tropes, and representations of Latinas and Latinidad culture informed and helped guide initial expectations. And when examples which positioned female characters on either side of the virgin/whore dichotomy emerged, the scholar sought to identify scholarship that speaks to this concept.

Though the scholar initially believed visual images would drive the narrative and discourses and thus address the research questions, she found this was not the case. After taking detailed notes on a handful of episodes, she noted it was the interactions and relationships between characters that would guide the discourse and better address the research questions. This study’s arguments therefore were crafted through a reliance on
dialogue and visuals, such as costuming and religious symbols, were utilized to support interpretations of the narratives.

In making sense of the notes, the scholar returned to the literature review previously written on representations of Latin@s in film and television. Here, she sought to identify whether the examples she found confirmed or defied previous representations of Latin@s. Existing literature not only guided initial expectations but also served to prevent this scholar from advancing biased interpretations unsupported by scholarship. Thus, the findings in this study were triangulated with existing scholarship as often as possible. The examples utilized to articulate the arguments in this study were carefully sifted to either confirm or defy existing representations. Those examples that represent new articulations of Latin@ identity were also supported by literature that speaks to the hybrid nature of Latin@ identity.
This study’s analysis of Jane The Virgin yielded three overarching themes. The first theme addresses part of the larger question about pan-Latinidad identities and intersectional representations of Latin@s. In this section, elements of pan-Latinidad are identified, including language, immigration, music, telenovelas, and religion, which contribute to the show’s success in creating depth and complicating pan-Latinidad authenticity through the Villanueva women’s intersecting identities. The second theme squarely addresses how Latina femininities are constructed. Thus, this section builds on religious narratives to expose the show’s reliance on problematic virgin/whore dichotomy discourses to construct femininities. In the third section, this study addresses an extension of the virgin/whore dichotomy in which a double-standard of sexual agency and autonomy emerges. On one hand, Latino men are positioned as hypersexual and stereotypically portrayed as womanizers or playboys. And on the other, white masculine sexual agency and autonomy is privileged and encouraged. The sexual agency and autonomy of Latinas on the show is negated, negatively portrayed, and/or regulated through religious narratives. Combined, these discourses reinforce traditional and machista gender roles in society where women are expected to be caretakers, and deferential to men, and men are expected to be breadwinners.

Complicating Latin@ Authenticity

The first theme identified in this study’s analysis of Jane The Virgin addresses the show’s attempts to add depth and authenticity to the plot and Latin@ characters. As established in the literature review section, part of the focus was to identify examples and
expressions of *pan-Latinidad*. Characteristics of these identities include a shared language, religion, culture, and/or resistance to assimilation or acculturation in a U.S. context. This section will explain how *Jane The Virgin* draws from *pan-Latinidad* to construct complex character identities on the show. The Villanueva women in particular are given hybrid cultural and intersecting identities. Through the integration of language and immigration narratives, producers complicate the Villanueva women’s *pan-Latinidad*. Representations of distinctly Latin music reinforce *pan-Latinidad* identities. It is through intertextuality and drawing on the telenovela genre that producers demonstrate an understanding and identification with *pan-Latinidad* cultures for Latin@ audiences. However, the show simplifies *pan-Latinidad* identities through religious narratives, which perpetuate the notion all Latin@s are Catholic. This study does not argue the show presents ‘authentic’ *pan-Latinidad* identities, because authenticity is subjective. It does argue, however, the show minimally complicates these identities.

In Episode 1, audiences are introduced to Alba Gloriana Villanuava as she teaches ten-year-old Jane a lesson about virginity. Alba speaks to Jane in Spanish, which means Jane minimally understands the language. Jane communicates with Alba in English, thus confirming Alba understands English. A handful of instances in which Alba says several words in English are peppered throughout the season. In fact, it is not until Episode 20 where audiences hear Alba speak a full sentence in English. Alba’s primary use of Spanish goes unquestioned and does not impede her communication with Xiomara and Jane. This lack of English could be interpreted as a symbol of generational resistance to acculturation through language.

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29 Jane serves as a translator and intermediary between Alba and Michael, as he is not fluent in Spanish. This dynamic is visible in Episode 2, where Alba suggests Jane should keep the baby.
Alba’s predominant use of Spanish rather than English is only addressed when Magda threatens to have her deported. Magda tells Jane,

I looked your grandmother up on the Internet. No sign of her. That and the fact that she really does not [emphasis added] speak English, it just got me thinking. Is your grandmother here legally? See, I don’t mind either way, but those immigration authorities sure do (Episode 20).

From this interaction, audiences can gather an important assumption about language in the United States. The assumption is that individuals might be undocumented because they do not speak English.

In Episode 2, the narrative confirms young Jane can not only understand Spanish, but can also speak and translate for her grandmother. Alba asks for Jane’s help in looking up the word ‘diabetes’ on the computer. This moment is crucial in a number of ways. Not only does it confirm generational differences in use of technology, but it draws on identification with Latin@ and immigrant audiences through intersecting identities. Jane not only learns about diabetes in English, but code-switches and translates this information for Alba into Spanish. In doing so, Jane exhibits the ability to navigate between two cultures and languages. Because Alba does not speak, and presumably does not read, English, she relies on Jane for help understanding complex medical terminology.

This particular scene exemplifies the intersecting identities of Jane. At a young age, children of immigrants learn to navigate multiple cultures and languages and, in many ways, are forced to take on responsibilities that could affect the survival of our families in the United States. Survival requires a degree of assimilation, or minimal
acculturation, into society and acquiring, according to Avila-Saavedra, 2010), English is crucial because it is equated with power and money (p 139). Spanish, on the other hand, is considered ‘low in prestige’ (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p 139). Jane’s ability to translate and help her grandmother at a young age becomes a symbol and reminder that she is part of an immigrant household, which becomes a mixed-status\textsuperscript{30} household when Alba confirms she and her husband migrated to the United States illegally (Episode 8). Of the three Villanueva women, Jane is most assimilated into American culture. She is a second-generation American who graduated from college (Episode 13) and loves to shop at Target, which is arguably representative of America’s middle class\textsuperscript{31} (Episode 5).

A perfect example of Jane’s inability to fully translate to Spanish emerges years later when Alba finds the prescription Xiomara filled for Jane in case she wanted to abort the pregnancy. Alba confronts Jane and tells her she thinks Jane has been lying to her for a long time. Jane gets tongue-tied trying to explain the medical mistake, “oh, abuela, it is not what you think … No I didn’t … I got accidentally … Oh, I don’t even know how to say this in Spanish” (Episode 1). Alba accuses her of having sex and Jane does her best to explain with added hand gestures. This instance again serves as a moment of identification with generations of immigrants or children of immigrants attempting to explain complicated matters to their elders in a language other than English (perceived to be the ‘new’ native language).

\textsuperscript{30} Mixed-status is a term referring to the unique household or family structure of unauthorized immigrants and their children in the United States. A mixed-status household is a home or family structure where one of the parents is undocumented and at least one child is a U.S. citizen. According to the Pew Research Center, thirty-seven percent of undocumented adults were part of mixed-status families in 2008 (Passel & Taylor, 2010). The Pew Research Center estimated, a year later, that 5.1 million children (both U.S.-born and foreign-born) were part of mixed-status homes.

\textsuperscript{31} The Villanueva women are working-class and narratives about working hard and not taking ‘handouts’ emerge in Episode 11. Thus, the show’s narrative minimally positions the Villanueva women as financially independent from the welfare state and arguably aspiring toward middle-class status.
Avila-Saavedra (2010) highlights the use of Spanish for Latin@s becomes one of the ways to distinguish an ‘us’ v. ‘them’ or ‘we’ v. ‘them’ (p 138). However, Avila-Saavedra (2010) acknowledges language can lead to tensions among monolingual and bilingual Latin@s (p 139). These tensions translate into concerns about the loss of language or the primacy of one language, and presumably one culture, over another. As a result, the ability or inability to speak Spanish becomes one of the ways in which competing identities are contested and negotiated by Latin@s. The fragility of a shared language for Latin@s as a broader pan-ethnic community must be acknowledged because this assumption ignores the existence and predominance of indigenous languages for Latin Americans. In addition, English serves as the primary or only language for many US-Latin@s (Caminero-Santangelo, 2013, p 15). The use of Spanish, or code-switching, has often served as a marker of difference in literature (Caminero-Santangelo, 2013, p 14). In television, thick accents have set characters like Ricky Ricardo and Gloria Pritchett apart for not mastering English (Ramírez Berg, 2002, p 70; Gallegos, 2012, p 34-35). Language on *Jane the Virgin* becomes representative of the Villanueva women’s hybrid identities.

A shared language is but one aspect of contested *pan-Latinidad* identities. In addition to language, a shared history of immigration unites Latin@s. The complexity of the Villanuevas’ shared identity also is exemplified by the issue of immigration. Alba’s undocumented status affects all of their lives. In Episode 8, audiences learn about Alba’s fear of government and court in a flashback scene where Xiomara forgets to pay a parking ticket and must attend court. Alba scolds her and young Jane asks why her grandmother is worried. Alba explains how she and her husband moved to ‘North
America,’ meaning the United States, a journey which was not exactly allowed. Xiomara adds, “stupid immigration laws” (Episode 8).

When Alba is pushed down the stairs by Magda and ends up in the hospital, her undocumented status comes up and though unconscious, Alba is threatened with deportation. The doctor tells Xiomara,

look, the hospital is cracking down … your mother is in this country illegally. She has no insurance. And the hospital cannot afford to absorb the cost of her care … when the hurricane lifts, we will have to notify ICE [U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement], and they will deport her to Venezuela, where she can continue to receive care if she needs … it’s called medical repatriation” (Episode 10).

This incident is another crucial moment for several reasons. First, and most importantly, this becomes an educational moment. Not all audiences might be familiar with immigration laws. Thus, the doctor becomes a legal educator. And the screen-text “YES THIS REALLY HAPPENS, LOOK IT UP, ‘#IMMIGRATION REFORM’” appears on the screen, thus embedding a political stance on the issue on behalf of the show (Episode 10). Even Xiomara is not aware of the legality and reality of medical repatriation, as she tells Rogelio “She hasn’t even opened her eyes yet and they want to deport her? I mean, how can they do this?” (Episode 10).

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32 This episode aired on Jan. 19, 2015, just a day before President Obama’s State of the Union Address. According to Swaan (2015), the hashtag surged on Twitter following the episode. In addition, the episode drew its largest audience to date, at 1.4 million viewers. Swann (2015) also suggests the subplot where Alba is a key witness in an ongoing investigation is “too good to be true” and highlights hospitals have complete discretion in enforcing medical repatriation.
Through this incident, the importance of family for Latin@s as a cultural value is highlighted. Rogelio comes to Xiomara’s side and assures her they are a family and he will do everything in his power to help Alba. He tells Xiomara he “left word with a U.S. Ambassador and Gloria Estefan. One of them will stop the deportation. Most probably Gloria Estefan. I should hear back shortly” (Episode 10). Here, Rogelio’s humor places greater faith in the influence, perhaps purchasing power, of a Latina than on a government official. Ultimately, it is the white male character Michael who prevents Alba’s deportation by calling the hospital and claiming “she is a very important witness in an ongoing investigation” (Episode 10). Michael, therefore, becomes the white savior cop who saves Alba from deportation in a rather simplistic way. In Episode 20, Jane turns to Michael for help in prosecuting Magda for pushing Alba down the stairs and to prevent her from contacting immigration authorities to have Alba deported.

By drawing on the issue of immigration, producers of the show potentially create greater identification with the Villanueva women for Latin@ and immigrant audiences. Again, immigration narratives exemplify the complexity of the Villanueva women’s identities and how their lives are lived differently because of Alba’s undocumented status. Audiences learn Xiomara never got a parking ticket again. And Jane decides to withdraw her lawsuit against Rafael’s sister after seeing her grandmother get nervous and worried about the civil procedure. Jane explains to Rafael her decision was partly due to her grandmother’s legal status, “it was because of my grandma. She’s not a legal resident in this country, and the whole thing was making her nervous” (Episode 8).

33 Gloria Estefan is a powerhouse Latina singer and businesswoman who was recently awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom along with her husband Emilio. Both Gloria and Emilio migrated from Cuba and are now American citizens (Johnston, 2015).
Another way in which *Jane The Virgin* reinforces pan-Latinidad identity is through its integration of distinctly Latin American music. This is done not only through melodies, genres, and rhythms, but also through language. Though non-Latino artists’ songs, such as Christina Perry’s *Sea of Lovers* (Episode 4; Episode 19), are also utilized as background music, *Jane The Virgin* only features appearances from artists with Latin American and Spanish roots. The special appearances from internationally acclaimed artists like Juanes, Paulina Rubio, and David Bisbal might appeal to audiences familiar with their music. In addition, the live performances of Juan Cosme, perhaps a lesser known artist, and David Bisbal add a distinct visible and auditory flair from Latin American cultures through dance and music.

As previously mentioned, Juanes’ *Una Flor* (Episode 1) is a recurring theme song for *The Passions of Santos*. Juanes is a Colombian musician, singer, and songwriter whose music falls into several genres including Latin rock and cumbia. On *Jane The Virgin*, Juanes makes an appearance as Elliot Lantana, the “mega producer known for his legendary ear and his legendary eyes” (Episode 8). Lantana agrees to record a demo of the Spanish song *Esta Vez* with Xiomara, as a favor to Rogelio. And when Rafael is sitting alone at the bar, audiences are treated to another song of Juanes, *Me enamore de ti*, from his latest album, released in 2014, *Loco de Amor* (Episode 8).

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34 A genre of music originating in Colombia which incorporates sounds from drums, flutes, maracas, and vocals with West African roots (Cunningham, 2011).
35 A particular instance on the show with Elliot Lantana, the record producer, is worth mentioning here because it demonstrates Xiomara is not taken seriously and is disrespected. Lantana tells Xiomara, “when a friend asks me for a favor, I cannot refuse … Why else do you think we did not make love in the sound booth?” (Episode 8). In other words, had it not been for the fact that Lantana respected Rogelio, the assumption would be that Xiomara would have slept with the producer.
In Episode 3, the show opts for live performances from Puerto Rican native, Juan Cosme (“Songwriter – Juan Cosme,” N.D.). In the beginning of the episode audiences learn Cosme’s *Desde que te fuiste* is Xiomara’s favorite break up song. The song plays in the background as Xiomara and Alba try to comfort young Jane after a boy broke up with her because she told him she was ‘saving herself for marriage.’ Later in the episode, Jane goes to the Marbella, where Rafael’s memorial for Zazo is taking place, and Cosme is performing a fast-paced song titled *Tranquila* with a band (Songwriter – Juan Cosme, N.D.). The salsa melody has distinct elements of conga drums and trumpets which imply exotic sounds of the jungle.

Another artist whose persona and music are referenced often is Paulina Rubio. For audiences that might not be aware, Rubio is a Mexican-American pop artist. Audiences learn Xiomara loves “Paulina Rubio and Jane – the order is not important” (Episode 1). Before the end of this episode, Xiomara performs Rubio’s song *Me gustas tanto* and audiences learn Xo is an aspiring pop artist. Because she has not had her big break yet, Xiomara asks Jane to ask Rafael if she could perform at the Marbella (Episode 2). In Episode 6, Xo finally gets this opportunity and performs a Spanish version of the Mamas and the Papas’ *Dream a Little Dream of Me*. Xiomara is a children’s dance instructor and when Jane and Alba complain about rearranging furniture in their living room for Xiomara’s dance lessons, she remarks, “studio space? What do I look like? *Paulina Rubio*?” (Episode 7).

Xiomara secures another meeting with a record producer and the narrator adds, “and while Rogelio was thanking his God, Xiomara was praying to hers. The one and only Paulina Rubio” (Episode 9). Xiomara is prepping for her meeting and Rubio comes
to life out of a blue poster that hangs in Xiomara’s room as a figment of her imagination.

Rubio encourages Xo and even gives her advice on her appearance, “today is the day Xo, you’re gonna step into your destiny. In different shoes of course? You’re sexy. You’re not a stripper. Pump up the lipstick shade. Yes, go, go, go!” (Episode 9). In the same episode, Rubio makes an appearance thanks to Rogelio. The pop star portrays herself in this episode and encourages Xiomara to keep pursuing her singing career. Rogelio jokingly asks Rubio to make an appearance in one of his telenovelas and Rubio declines. Here, the show draws on elements of irony because Rubio is indeed featured on Jane The Virgin in telenovela-like fashion.

David Bisbal is the last featured artist and the only one to perform on the show other than Cosme. Bisbal is a native from Spain but his music is generally categorized as part of the Latin pop genre. Similar to the appearances by Juanes and Rubio, Bisbal’s appearance and performance on the show is facilitated by none other than Rogelio de la Vega. Rafael wants Bisbal to perform at the Marbella during the music festival known as Calle Ocho in order to bring in more money to the ailing hotel and asks Rogelio for an introduction. Audiences learn this is “one of the Villanueva women’s favorite days of the year,” where “young Jane watched the dancers, she found herself swept up with the fantasy, the romance,” and fell in love with salsa (Episode 16). By highlighting Calle Ocho, producers add connections for Latin@ audiences through cultural experiences. Again, the show serves as an educational agent in creating inter-Latin@ knowledge

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36 Since 1978 this festival has evolved to serve as a showcase of pan-ethnic Latin@ identity for non-Hispanics in Miami’s Little Havana neighborhood, which was initially a showcase of Cuba culture. The festival is part of Lent festivities where people eat, drink, dance, listen, produce and consume Latin@ culture (Price, 2007, p 82). Price (2007) suggests pan-Latinidad is complicated and addresses these complications and examples of solidarity and cleavage among nationalities through examples from Miami, including Calle Ocho.
(Aparicio, 2003) about this music festival and type of dance. Non-Latin@ audiences also learn about these cultural experiences, adding nuance and greater understanding of pan-Latinidad identities for all audiences.

Alba also has a strong influence on another aspect of culture in the Villanueva home. The Villanueva women’s consumption of entertainment also is distinctly Latino. Again, producers of the show add dimension, credibility, and points of identification with Latin@ audiences through intertextual references. Audiences learn Sabado Gigante is Alba’s favorite television show (Episode 11). In addition, audiences learn about a topic of entertainment to avoid with Xiomara, Jennifer Lopez’s representation of Selena Quintanilla in the movie Selena (Episode 11). These two pieces of information are huge for Latin@ audiences. For one, Latin@s likely all know a grandma or mother, or someone who loved watching Don Francisco on Sabado Gigante. And this goes without saying, but Selena is a cultural icon for Latin@s through both music and femininity. However, the most obvious and most pronounced marker of pan-Latinidad on the show is the Villanueva women’s obsession with telenovelas.

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37 Audiences learn Xiomara and Jane are familiar with and watch popular entertainment movies and television shows such as Love Actually (Episode 7), Dirty Dancing (Episode 11), and Orange is the New Black (Episode 14). These are intertextual references which help situate Jane The Virgin in a particular chronology or time period among other television shows and popular entertainment.

38 The show stopped airing in September 2015 after being on air for 53 years, making it the longest-running variety show to date (Rockwell, 2015).

39 Aparicio’s (2003) study on Latinidad through Selena and Lopez’ embodiment of the singer on the movie, helps us understand the importance of Selena’s life and addresses the question of Latinidad authenticity. Through identifying the commonalities shared by both women, including similar historical experiences and being objectified through cultural gazes by “dominant, patriarchal forces, in the public space,” Aparicio advances an oppositional and decolonizing ideology of Latinidad (2003, p 94).

40 Unlike American soap operas, telenovelas from Latin America have a distinct beginning, middle, and end, thereby limiting the number of episodes and length of the show. In addition, telenovelas are adapted as serialized formats and actors are not limited to appearing in only one telenovela at a time. The credibility of multiple characters that an actor portrays at any given time is not diminished by appearing in multiple plots (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p 134).
On *Jane The Virgin*, producers of the show rely on intertextuality to borrow, build upon, and revisit structures\(^{41}\) of other shows (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p 131), particularly the telenovela genre, to drive the show’s plot. This is why the show has been labeled a dramedy, a cross between a drama and comedy, because it relies on telenovela tropes for comedic and satirical effects (Martinez, 2015). Here it is important to make a number of distinctions. At the macro level, the show embraces elements of romance, love triangles, fantasy, and drama as part of the larger narrative. However, the show adds another layer by creating a micro narrative through *The Passions of Santos*,\(^{42}\) a fictitious Spanish-language telenovela watched by the Villanueva women. It is important to note the viewership of *The Passions of Santos* eventually includes many of JTV’s characters\(^{43}\). This smaller narrative further illustrates the tropes embedded within the telenovela genre.

In Episode 1, audiences learn the Villanueva women watch telenovelas together and though “telenovelas have ruined romance” for Jane, she admits her mother and grandmother got her hooked on them. This collective viewing of telenovelas is

\(^{41}\) The show’s adherence to the structure of telenovelas is on display because *The Passions of Santos* airs daily at 4:30 PM, according to the billboard inside the bus (Episode 2), and appears in some way in nearly every episode of *Jane The Virgin*. However, according to Salinas (2014), “despite the DNA running through its veins, *Jane The Virgin* differs from a proper telenovela in key ways: It runs only once a week and it’s already been renewed for a new season. If it were a true telenovela, the story arc would be perfectly contained in just one.”

\(^{42}\) The fictitious telenovela became so popular with viewers of *Jane The Virgin* that the CW and writers of the show agreed to releasing a short novel to address how *The Passions of Santos*’ protagonists, Santos and Blanca, met. This is accomplished through a chapter-by-chapter release in both English and Spanish on the online platform Wattpad (Jarvey, 2015). This short novel becomes a paratext and analysis of the interaction between this text and *Jane The Virgin* is known as analysis of overflow and convergence (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p 135). Here, the focus is on a matrix that includes other media and platforms aside from television. Such analysis would address “the varied texts, industries, and audiences involved” (Gray & Lotz, 2012, p 135).

\(^{43}\) In Episode 6, Petra and Magda watch *The Passions of Santos* when Rogelio, cast as Santos calls himself the President of Ecuadors del Norte. In Episode 7, Ivan watches *The Passions of Santos* in Czech and in Episode 9 he watches in Spanish, hoping to learn how to escape from Petra and Magda from Santos, whom is trapped in a dungeon by pirates. This is an example of how the show draws from telenovela tropes embedded within the micro narrative, including kidnappings and hostage situations (Narasaki, 2015) into the larger narrative. In Episode 8, Petra shows Lachlan the telenovela and tells him she booked the awards’ after-party at the Marbella.
interpreted as a cultural practice and signifier of *pan-Latinidad* identity for several reasons. The first being that the telenovela is in Spanish, thereby capable of uniting diverse nationalities through language, and the second being that the theme song of *The Passions of Santos* is *Una Flor* by Colombian artist, Juanes. In addition, the protagonist of the telenovela, Santos, also referred to as *El Presidente* of Ecuaduras del Norte (Episode 2), is portrayed by Rogelio de la Vega. Because De la Vega is an international telenovela star, he becomes the most important intertextual character on *Jane The Virgin*. As a reminder, the actor who portrays De la Vega is Jaime Camil\(^44\), whom is in fact a Mexican telenovela star with an international following.

De la Vega portrays Santos within the smaller narrative, but turns out to be Jane’s long-lost father\(^45\) (Episode 2), thus satisfying the telenovela trope of the same name (Narasaki, 2015). When Jane finds out about the accidental pregnancy, she imagines having a conversation with Santos. He tries to comfort Jane, saying, “I know exactly how you feel. When I found out the deepest, truest love of my life was really my half-sister born as a result of my father’s secret double life, I was devastated!” (Episode 1). Here, JTV draws on over-the-top drama and the ridiculousness of plots typical of the telenovela genre through the micro narrative of Santos’ fictitious telenovela life.

Audiences are first introduced to the protagonist Santos and Marisol (Episode 2), whom are set against a fictitious backdrop of a setting sun behind an ocean in Episode 1.

\(^{44}\) Producers of the show also conflate the identities of Camil with the character he portrays. For example, Camil has been listed as one of *People En Español*’s Sexiest Men Alive (Acevedo, 2007) and De la Vega claims the same title in Episode 12.

\(^{45}\) Again drawing on intertextuality, the plot highlights young Jane secretly believed Jimmy Smits was her father (Episode 5). Smits is a Puerto Rican actor best known for his portrayal of attorney Victor Sifuentes in *L.A. Law*. Smits is a long-time Latino activist who helped create the National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts (García, 2016).
Here, Santos tells her, “despite the circumstances, there’s one thing I know. We are destined to be together my love” (Episode 1). This scene immediately points to one of the major characteristics of telenovelas, that of romance. Audiences later learn Jane loves telenovelas because they advance “the idea that two people are destined to be together” (Episode 6). From the narrator, audiences also learn why Jane loves telenovelas when she explains to Michael, “why a man professing his love to a woman on a yacht in the snow in front of a semi-realistic background was the epitome of romance” (Episode 6). Thus, audiences are expected to follow smaller narratives through The Passions of Santos and come to the realization the larger narrative of Jane The Virgin parallels and draws from these same tropes alluding to the fact that, as the narrator confirms, “Jane’s life was now the stuff of telenovelas” (Episode 1).

The macro narrative of JTV draws on the fantasy of the telenovela genre in a number of ways. For one, the show draws on elements of fantasy and romance from micro narratives of the telenovelas Jane and her family watch by incorporating certain elements into the larger narrative. For example, audiences learn Jane believes “snow makes everything more romantic” in Episode 6. And when Michael is trying to win Jane back, he confirms she believes in the romance and fantasy of telenovelas which advance narratives of a ‘meant to be’ type of love (Episode 6).

46 In Episode 15, Rogelio talks about the sci-fi telenovela Pasión Intergalactica where he plays second fiddle to his rival Esteban Santiago. In Episode 20, audiences learn Jane’s first telenovela was Los Recuerdos Perdidos de Laurel, where she became ‘well-versed’ on the topic of amnesia, another telenovela trope embedded into the larger narrative when Alba suffers memory loss because of her fall down the stairs.
This notion of “meant to be” conflates with tropes of fairytales, fantasies, and magic throughout the macro-narrative. For example, when Rafael confesses his budding feelings for Jane, elements of destiny and “meant to be” are also part of the narrative,

I’ve never felt the type of connection with anyone in my entire life. I’ve never been the type that believes in fate or destiny. But what are the chances huh? We kissed five years ago and now we’re, we’re here. I know it sounds crazy but doesn’t this just all kind of feel meant to be? (Episode 6).

Rafael’s proposal\textsuperscript{47} to Jane serves as another example of romance, magic, and fantasy drawn from romance novels, another form of telenovelas (Episode 15).

Audiences familiar with the telenovela genre are better suited to understand the satire, sarcasm, and ridiculing of telenovela tropes on \textit{Jane The Virgin}. And like \textit{Ugly Betty}, the use of Spanish on \textit{The Passions of Santos} and intertextual connections create a secret dialogue for Latin@ audiences on this show, which might go unnoticed by non-Latin@ audiences (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p 145). This is a crucial point of distinction, because some audiences may not be familiar with the structures and characteristics\textsuperscript{48} related to telenovelas at all. Here, the presence and role of the narrator becomes important. In order to get non-Latin@ audiences to understand what’s going on, or get

\textsuperscript{47} In the first season, there are two additional proposals. Michael proposes to Jane in the first episode. She agrees to pretend like she said yes because their families show up to celebrate. At the end of this episode, the narrative of \textit{Jane The Virgin} ruptures tradition when Jane proposes to Michael at the police station. \textsuperscript{48} Modern telenovelas fall into two camps –either the telenovela \textit{rosa} or the telenovela \textit{de ruptura} (Avila-Saavedra, 2010, p 134). The former addresses the heterosexual romance and misfortunes of the protagonist couple, while the latter explores problematic social issues. In addition, Latin American telenovelas distinctly address issues of class and social mobility through representations of differences in gender, race, and class (Andriaens & Biltereyst, 2012, p 553). Salinas (2014) suggests, \textit{Jane The Virgin} falls squarely into the “poor-girl-meets-rich-man” category where the “protagonist is pretty, but not too pretty, and the rich guy falls for her first.” In addition, the protagonist is disinterested in the rich guy’s wealth, but is rather looking for true love. Ultimately, though \textit{Jane The Virgin} is not a telenovela, it borrows from both camps.
them in on the satire and comedy so to speak, the narrator becomes an educator for Latinidad culture.

Instead of avoiding the cultural influence of telenovelas, the show fully embraces the genre and is successful in doing so because the narrator can guide non-Latin@ audiences through the narrative. He highlights certain tropes of telenovelas for audiences throughout the show. When Jane gets stuck in an elevator with Michael, the narrator notes, “that, my dear, is the classic telenovela trope [emphasis added] known as the ‘stuck in the elevator’ scenario, in which two characters at odds are … stuck in an elevator” (Episode 10). On other occasions when the larger narrative turns to a surprising twist, the narrator interjects. For example, when Nadine and Michael discover the tunnel beneath a bathtub in one of the hotel rooms at the Marbella, the narrator adds, “oh wow. An unexpected twist [emphasis added]” (Episode 9). In addition, Rogelio’s character becomes an educator as well. This is exemplified when Rogelio tells Jane to write him a telenovela script. After reading her script, the telenovela star reminds his daughter, “telenovelas are all about drama. You know, yelling, crying, scheming, and there’s none of that in here” (Episode 11).

Though non-Latin@ audiences might not notice, producers rely on intertextuality to demonstrate an understanding of not only the telenovela industry, but also other mediums of Latin@ popular culture. For example, the show embeds a fictitious telenovela awards show called the Paloma Awards,49 or as the narrator suggests “the Oscars of the telenovelas,” into the macro narrative (Episode 9). It is important to

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49 Three additional telenovelas including The Boldness of Love, Beautiful Forever, and The Glory and the Temptation, are listed at the Paloma Awards (Episode 9). This fictitious awards show likely imitates the actual telenovela awards show Premios TVyNovelas.
highlight the degree of detail producers of JTV add to this event including a red carpet with Latin@ media presence, a televised awards show, and informal bets on who wins ‘Best Actor’ at the Marbella. Marlene Favela, a telenovela actress in real life, makes an appearance and wins ‘Best Supporting Actress.’ Latin@ audiences familiar with U.S.- televised telenovelas will recognize Favela as an intertextual character because she was the protagonist in telenovelas such as La Gata Salvaje (2002) on Univision (González, 2016) and Los Herederos del Monte (2011) on Telemundo (Vargas, 2012). Favela also had a guest appearance on Ugly Betty (Hansen, 2007). Producers also mimic gossip magazines, perhaps U.S. Weekly, by strategically placing two fictitious editions of También Weekly, featuring De la Vega, in Episodes 1 and 5. In addition, the telenovela studio which produces The Passions of Santos is called Telemasivo Studios (Episode 4), a similar name to the actual Mexican powerhouse telenovela studio Televisa.

From the characters of Alba and Jane, audiences can immediately identify religion as another marker of pan-latinidad. This study argues the show advances a simplistic representation of pan-Latinidad identities because it perpetuates the notion all Latin@s are Catholic. A suspicion of disagreement between Xiomara and Alba on religious views of virginity and sexuality is confirmed in Episode 3. When Jane is dumped by a boy after she tells him she plans on saving herself for marriage, Xiomara’s response is “maybe next time, just don’t tell him about the whole ‘virgin until marriage’ thing.” Alba scolds Xo, as she continues, “relax, I don’t mean have sex. I just mean, put off the conversation. Let him think you like to take things slow.” Alba disagrees, and tells Jane, “a lie by omission is the same as a lie. And little lies spiral into big balls of evil.” She tries to

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50 Rogelio is nominated for his second-consecutive Paloma Award in this category but loses to his rival Esteban Santiago (Episode 9).
comfort Jane by adding she did the right thing and the right man will wait. Jane asks how she’ll know when she’s met the right man and Alba tells her to “trust that little voice in [her] head.” Xo adds, “and that little tingly feeling between your legs.” Alba simply shakes her head in disapproval (Episode 3).

Though Xiomara is not as religiously devout as her mother and daughter, she respects their faith. Audiences see an example of this in Episode 2 when she and Jane are having a conversation on the porch swing about Jane’s immaculate conception. Alba joins and Xiomara corrects herself, “it totally sucks, in a way that doesn’t offend God and whatever plan he has for us” (Episode 2). However, like all mothers and daughters Alba and Xiomara bicker. And when Alba tells Jane she thanks God she ended up being nothing like her mother, Xiomara retorts, “then again, we both ended unmarried and pregnant. So you must have really pissed the Big Man [emphasis added] off” (Episode 3). Xiomara attends Catholic mass (Episode 3) with Alba and Jane, suggesting she is also Catholic. The church has stained-glass windows, pews, and symbols of faith including Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and candles (Episode 3).

Religious symbols and narratives of Catholicism are a core component of the show. Not only does Jane end up a pregnant virgin, she is assigned to complete her student teaching at Our Lady of Sorrows [Catholic] High School (Episode 6). When Sister Margaret, the school principle, learns Jane is a pregnant virgin from her step-sisters, Victoria and Valeria, she decides to distribute –not sell –coins with Jane’s face on

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51 This becomes the first reminder of the fact Jane does not escape the stereotype of the unmarried pregnant woman (Episode 3).
52 In Episode 18, young Jane doubts her faith and through fantasy, a young Jane appears on her shoulder dressed like ‘Doubting Thomas,’ the disciple who doubted Christ’s resurrection. In the present, a pregnant ‘Doubting Jane’ appears on Jane’s shoulder when she begins to doubt Rafael’s commitment to being actively involved in raising their child (Episode 18).
it. Sister Margaret got this idea from the website the twins made to make fun of Jane for not “swip[ing] her ‘V-card’” (Episode 6). Thus, our heroine (Episode 12) becomes “Saint Jane the Virgin” and is compared to St. Theresa (Episode 7). Eventually Jane spends considerable amounts of time giving hugs to churchgoers who believe she is saint because she is a pregnant virgin. When given the opportunity, Jane tells the truth saying she is not a ‘religious messiah’ (Episode 8).

Whether it be through religious symbols including the Virgen de Guadalupe (Episode 4), pre-cana, “catholic marriage counseling led by a priest who has never been married,” or the sound of church organs and choirs (Episode 3), producers of Jane The Virgin unequivocally draw on the religious faith of millions of Latin@s to construct identities for the Villanueva women. Religious convictions serve as additional aspects of Jane and Alba’s intersecting identities. For example, when Alba finds out about Jane’s immaculate conception, she suggests “this is one of those moments when faith is tested” (Episode 1). Though Xiomara is least religious, audiences can identify the influence of Alba and Jane’s faith on her as she attempts to quell her temper (Episode 18) and sexual agency (Episode 10). The influence of religious narratives is so pronounced that it contributes to all three themes addressed in this analysis.

Ultimately, though ethnic identities are taken as a given, producers of the show rely on pan-ethnic identity as the skeletal backbone of the Villanueva women’s characters.54 On one hand, the show complicates pan-Latinidad identities for the

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53 The priest, Father Ortega, is portrayed by Tony Plana who also portrayed Betty’s dad, Ignacio Suarez, on Ugly Betty. Thus, audiences familiar with Ugly Betty will likely recognize Father Ortega as an intertextual character.

54 As a reminder, Rogelio’s character is also distinctly Latino and he speaks to Alba in Spanish. And though his nationality is not addressed, it is likely Rogelio is Mexican-American. After all, he is fond of Machu Pichu and ‘Mexican Ruins’ (Episode 5).
Villanueva women through language and immigration narratives. On the other, it simplifies these identities by advancing religious representations of Latin@s as Catholic. Through the use of language, music, and other cultural aspects of *pan-Latinidad*, including telenovela viewing and telenovela tropes, the show unequivocally constructs distinct and intersecting identities for the Villanueva women. The show is successful in providing depth through intertextual references to telenovelas like *La Reina del Sur* (Episode 14) and *Corazon Salvaje* (Episode 16). Even though producers and the cast reject the notion of JTV being a ‘Hispanic’ show (Stanley, 2015), producers draw from the telenovela genre and utilize intertextuality to establish identifications with Latin@ audiences. This study’s findings do not argue the show provides ‘authentic’ representations of what it means to be Latin@ in the United States. Such an argument would be too simplistic. As this section’s critique demonstrates, *pan-Latinidad* identities are much more complicated and so are most of these representations on *Jane The Virgin*. Because Latin@ authenticity is subjective, one must address a number of instances in which the show’s ‘authenticity’ has been questioned in popular commentary.

Audiences’ responses to the show are a component of intertextual analysis and contribute to critiques of its representations (Gray & Lotz, 2012). On one hand, many Latinas might identify deeply with the Villanueva women, particularly Gina Rodriguez’s portrayal of Jane. A user tweeted about the complexity of the Villanueva’s characters, “OKAY LISTEN. Fiction needs more women like the Villanueva women. Complex, conflicted, #endlessly there for each other. DO IT #JaneTheVirgin” (Stark, 2015). Another fan of the show tweeted, “I try to capture how much @janethevirgin means to me, as a latina seeing myself in media, and I just can’t. there aren’t enough words”
(Rivera, 2015, April 6). This same user also tweeted about Gina saying, “small shout-out to @HereisGina who is everything I want & need in a latina hero #janethevirgin …” (Rivera, 2015, May 11). In 140 characters, this user is alluding to the persistent lack of Latin@ representation in media and embraces Rodriguez as a hero. For this self-identified Latina, there is no doubt Rodriguez is Latina.

However, Rodriguez’s portrayal of Jane has been questioned numerous times, especially because she is not fully fluent in Spanish. Rodriguez has faced verbal attacks by those who argue she is ‘not Latina enough’ and has fiercely defended her identities (Zeilinger, 2015; Hou & Rodriguez, 2015; “Gina Rodriguez in heated exchange,” 2015). As a reminder, Rodriguez has also been accused of using her ethnicity as a marketing tool (“Gina Rodriguez in heated exchange,” 2015). Here, evidence of labeling Rodriguez as an outsider emerges, just as Hayek was criticized in her portrayal of Kahlo because of her “economic status and voluntary decision” to build a life in the United States and claim American citizenship (Molina Guzmán, 2006, p 245).

As new generations of Latin@s continue to emerge and draw from diverse cultures, the boundaries which attempt to define and confine what it means to be Latin@ will continue to blur. As Aparicio suggests, these contestations are indicative of “‘competing authenticities’” which become “forms of negotiations, mutual transculturations, cultural divergences, and power hierarchies” which will inevitably become part of a larger and larger space of pan-Latinidad (Aparicio, 2003, p 92). Thus, Jane The Virgin articulates modern and ambiguous pan-Latinidad identities which do not pigeon-hole the Villanueva women into being ‘strictly’ American or immigrants. Instead, the show articulates multi-dimensional identities reflecting the realities of not only
immigrants, but also multiple generations of Latin@s. Drawing from Molina Guzmán’s (2006) analysis of Hayek’s representation of Kahlo, this study argues the show presents “hybrid discourses of identity [which] assume the continual dynamism of identity categories” (p. 236). Though elements of pan-Latinidad identities are certainly part of the Villanueva women’s characters, thus reinforcing pan-Latinidad, this study argues the show also defies rigid constructions of pan-Latinidad identities.

**Upholding the Virgin/Whore Dichotomy**

The second theme, however, demonstrates how certain narratives reinforce problematic gendered dichotomies, despite the show’s more complex latinidad representations. This section will present literature which addresses this binary and then provide examples of how the show positions female characters on either side of the spectrum. Here the religious component embedded in *Jane The Virgin* facilitates and upholds the virgin/whore dichotomy, which would otherwise fail because women of color are often presented as more promiscuous and sexual than white women (Merskin, 2007, p 135-136). Because of religious and moral convictions, which are also signifiers of pan-Latinidad, producers are able to position Jane as virginal and pure. Devoid of religious narratives, it is arguable whether the show could convincingly advance the same narrative.

Catholicism’s religious narratives, one aspect of the Villanueva women’s pan-Latinidad identities, reinforce traditional gender roles and dichotomous discourses of virgin v. whore and good v. evil. *Jane The Virgin* advances stereotypical narratives where

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55 Luisa and Rafael Solano are ambiguously coded as Latinos and are not Catholic. Luisa’s spirituality will be addressed later, nor does she speak Spanish. Luisa is also lesbian, which defies rigid constructions of Latinas as heterosexual. Rafael speaks very little Spanish (Episode 11) and does not believe in organized religion (Episode 9).
feminine sexual agency is negated and/or frowned upon. Jane becomes la Virgen, or the virgin, yet fulfills and cannot escape the stereotype of the unmarried pregnant woman of color. Her mother Xiomara is la Puta, or the whore, who comes to represent the hot-headed harlot who is incapable of fully fulfilling the role of the sacrificing mother. Petra embodies the role of la Malvada/Manipuladora, or the evil/manipulator, who learns to use her body and sexuality to manipulate men much like Keller’s (1994) Vamp for personal and monetary gain. And Rafael’s sister Luisa becomes la Lesbiana Loca, or the crazy lesbian, who defies the taboo of same-sex eroticism only to be labeled as ‘crazy’ because of her spiritual beliefs. This study argues Xiomara, Petra, and Luisa represent deviant, or what Lara (2008) calls dangerous, sexuality associated with deviant spirituality (p 102) through the virgin/whore dichotomous lens.

As is obvious from the show’s title, Jane, whom I rename Jane, la Virgen, is a virgin and the purpose of the macro narrative is to tell the story of the “immaculate conception of Jane Villanueva” (Episode 1). Jane made a vow to God and her grandmother to remain chaste until marriage (Episode 3). This distinction is important because sexual practices and spirituality are simultaneously utilized to construct Jane as obedient and good. This simultaneity is confirmed by the racialized virgin/whore dichotomy, as applied to Latin Americans & Latinas through a binary opposition between La Virgen de Guadalupe and La Malinche, which “simultaneously regulates spiritual and sexual practices” (Lara, 2008, p 99-100). This binary opposition not only focuses on proper and deviant sexual behavior, but also concerns itself with spirituality and what/which spiritual practices are proper or deviant (Lara, 2008, p 100). Jane’s adherence to Catholic religious narratives translates into sexual abstinence and virtue or proper
sexual and spiritual behaviors. Alba tells Jane to protect her flower (Episode 2), which becomes a symbol of purity and virginity. This narrative about virginity and purity imposed by Catholicism, and Alba on a young impressionable ten-year-old Jane, is utilized to instill fear and shame about sexual desires and comes to dominate the plot. When Jane strays, the white flower petals fall. Nevertheless, Jane remains and is literally a pregnant virgin, thus placing her on the same level as the Virgin Mary herself. In fact, when Jane decides to have sex with Michael, the Virgin Mary sings, “virginity for you and me if you keep your legs closed,” encouraging Jane to remain chaste as the choir echoes, “keep them closed. Keep them closed. Keep them closed” (Episode 3).

When Michael finds out Jane is pregnant, evidence of paternal uncertainty and jealousy bias, which are at the root of the virgin/whore dichotomy advanced through Christian discourse, emerges (Tumanov, 2011). Paternal uncertainty exists because men can never be certain a child is their offspring and thus risk investing in another man’s child (Tumanov, 2011, p 508). Michael knows the baby is not his and tells Jane he wants to be supportive, but does ‘not want to raise some other guy’s kid’ (Episode 1). He later changes his mind (Episode 5). Michael is jealous of Rafael and tells Jane to quit her job after he learns Jane and Rafael kissed five years ago (Episode 3). He does not fully trust Jane. Michael would rather err on the side of caution by assuming infidelity or the possibility of it, thus exhibiting jealousy bias (Tumanov, 2011, p 508-509).

According to Tumanov (2011), this jealousy bias manifests itself in Christian discourse through biblical narratives of a jealous God (p 509-511). Here, the seventh

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56 A single petal falls off the flower Jane framed and put on her wall when she and Michael are getting closer and closer to having sex until she stops him (Episode 1). In Episode 3, flower petals fall off bouquets in the hotel room where Jane and Michael are about to have sex. This element of fantasy becomes a visual reminder of Jane’s promise to God.
commandment, which prohibits adultery, is concerned with paternal uncertainty on behalf of the female (Tumanov, 2011, 509-510). Tumanov (2011) argues the presence of a jealous God in scriptures represents exaggerated anxiety about paternal uncertainty (p. 510). Paternal uncertainty leads to Lewin’s approach-avoidance conflict, where someone experiences anxiety because they are both ‘attracted, and repelled by, the same goal or activity’ (Tumanov, 2011, p 510). In this case, paternal uncertainty is again the cause of this conflict where men are “dependent on a woman for reproduction and yet painfully aware” they might find themselves raising someone else’s child (Tumanov, 2011, p 510). Christianity’s solution to this conflict, according to Tumanov (2011), was to split females into two distinct biblical figures, Mary and Eve. The former represents ‘successful’ virginity and obedience, a combination symbolizing a quest to resolve paternal uncertainty through mythology where religious texts reject female involvement in the reproductive process, condemn sexuality, and endorse virginity (Tumanov, 2011, p 510-511).

The story of the Virgin Mary makes it possible to resolve Lewin’s approach-avoidance conflict, according to Christian discourse, because she gives birth to Jesus without cuckolding Joseph. Even in giving birth, Mary’s hymen remains unbroken according to a Catholic catechism. Tumanov (2011) uses this example to illustrate the fact that “church fathers extended the doctrine of Mary’s virginity beyond the moment of conception” and certified Mary’s virginity as permanent. Thus, paternal uncertainty only manifests itself within the same species (Tumanov, 2011, p 514).

Just as the Virgin Mary does not cuckold Joseph in conceiving a child through the holy spirit (Tumanov, 2011, p 514), Jane does not cuckold Michael because she remains
a virgin and her hymen is unbroken since she was artificially inseminated. However, Tumanov (2011) argues the approach-avoidance conflict remains unresolved. He argues Mary’s impossible status as both maternal and virginal becomes a conceptual tool, which creates a simplistic taxonomy of female sexuality. Instead of addressing the real problem, which is Mary’s unrealistic virginity, the male psyche has evolved to categorize women who do not uphold this standard as whores. Again, discourse on female sexuality becomes polarized to represent behavioral extremes where the Virgin Mary and Eve represent impossible ideologies where women are either virgins or whores (Tumanov, 2011, p 517).

This approach-avoidance conflict and paternal uncertainty remains unresolved for Michael. Though he knows the child is not his, Michael tries to reconcile paternal uncertainty by reminding Rafael he is engaged to Jane and fast-tracking their wedding (Episode 3). Although Jane is a virgin, like Eve once was, there is “no guarantee of immunity from future cuckoldry for [Michael]” (Tumanov, 2011, p. 514). This is because Eve symbolizes virginal failure and disobedience. She is the whore. Rabbinical and biblical sources, including medieval ideologies, have equated all women as ‘daughters of Eve’ whom men must guard against. Men must be wary of all women because they are akin to “poisonous snake[s] and the horned devil,” suggesting paternal uncertainty cannot be eliminated so long as female sexuality persists (Tumanov, 2011, p. 513).

In marrying Jane, Michael would be closer to holding a sexual monopoly over her through mate guarding, or preventing her from mating with another man (Tumanov, 2011, p 508). Ultimately, Tumanov (2011) argues Eve is not only the first to discover sexuality, but also embodies paternal uncertainty. So much so that she comes to represent
“not just female sexuality but specifically female sexual choice [emphasis in original] – the real source of masculine anxiety” (p 512). A woman’s sexual autonomy perpetuates paternal uncertainty and complete male control over a woman’s body, though impossible, becomes “an ideal toward which the male psyche strives because only such a sexual monopoly can alleviate paternal uncertainty” (Tumanov, 2011, p 512-513).

The connection between God and purity is reinforced when Alba tells Jane to remember “God will take care of you because you have lived a life honest and pure [emphasis added]” (Episode 3). Unlike Xiomara, Jane is primarily positioned as a saint. So much so, that Sister Margaret distributes coins with an image of Jane as a saint on them and the narrator calls her “Saint Jane the Virgin” (Episode 7). Jane does not like to lie and given the opportunity, she tells the truth. For example, she tells Petra the truth even though she had prepared a lie when she gets caught snooping around Petra and Rafael’s penthouse (Episode 2). However, Jane does not always tell the truth. She does not tell Michael she is starting to have feelings for Rafael. The narrator, however, justifies Jane’s deception of Michael by suggesting, “what if it was just hormones, the result of a suddenly untrustworthy gut” (Episode 3). And when she breaks up with Michael, Jane does not tell him about Rafael. Again, the narrator adds, “but Jane would never say that aloud. Ever” (Episode 4).

A couple of exceptions to this saintly portrayal of Jane exist. These exceptions demonstrate duality and complexity in Jane’s character, much like the duality that was negated to Nahua goddesses by the Spanish (Lara, 2008, p 101). As Tumanov (2011) and Lara (2008) argue, Christian discourse privileged certain narratives over others. Christianity ignored Mesoamerica’s indigenous Nahua peoples’ multivalent perspective
and the complex dualities of its goddesses and “negatively associated the Christian serpent, devil, Eve, evil, and sin with these Nahua sacred energies” (p. 101). For example, representations of Cihuacoatl, also called Tonantzin, by colonizers “emphasized ‘the goddess’s destructive powers … [and not] her creative potential’” (Lara, 2008, p. 101). The link between sexuality and spirituality is traced to colonial gendered beliefs and Christianity’s ‘disregard for Nahua complementarity and balance’ (Lara, 2008, p. 102). Thus, Lara (2008) suggests “this gendered and racialized othering process links indigenous deities and women to a particularly dangerous sexuality associated with paganism, that is, with dangerous spirituality” (p. 102). For example, when Jane has sexual dreams about Rafael and she confesses to Michael at the pre-cana, he is upset. Jane asks Xiomara for advice in reconciling with Michael and Xo says, “if you were a regular person, I’d tell you to go bang him with gusto” (Episode 4). Instead, Xiomara asks her to think of what Jane’s version of that would be. Jane decides to write Michael a steamy letter detailing a sexual fantasy and the narrator adds, “let’s be real. Jane was a virgin, but not a saint” (Episode 4).

In this study, Jane’s writing could be interpreted as an exercise of sexual agency through Cisneros’ articulation of the female erotic body as a source of power in meaning-making (Lara, 2008, p 117-118). However, because Jane writes this fantasy for Michael and not for herself, as fantasy Michael says, “come, on, you know what I like” (Episode 4), this agency could be a farce. Minimally, this agency and fantasy of Jane’s written desire could be interpreted through a critical consciousness where female desire or wetness has not been our own but “defined to fulfill men’s desires and needs” (Lara, 2008, p. 121). Another interpretation would position Jane as deviating from proper
religious and sexual behaviors and moving from the virginal and pure end of the spectrum toward the middle. But there is no middle ground. So Jane would be exhibiting dangerous spirituality and sexuality according to religious narratives.

In another instance, again through writing, Jane is given a dual personality. When Angelique Harper visits the Marbella, Jane is again inspired to start writing a romance novel. And through this novel, audiences get a different Jane “and when Jane’s writing was flowing, it was as if she had been transformed into another person – a woman named … Juana [emphasis added] (Episode 15). In this fantasy, audiences hear “lush, romantic orchestral music” and see Juana wearing an antique-looking dress showing much more cleavage and thighs than the Jane audiences are accustomed to. In addition, her hair is frizzy and longer, blowing back for dramatic effect, and she wears big earrings and a choker necklace (Episode 15).

Juana from the novel fantasy reemerges when Rafael is upset because Jane rejected his proposal and so does the “lush, romantic orchestral music.” As the narrator suggests, “in that moment, Jane wanted to toss her fears aside and fling herself into his arms” (Episode 15). Fantasy Jane, or Juana, tells Rafael, “my love … you are all I need. Of course I'll marry you” (Episode 15). And here audiences see Rafael with long hair and a cream-colored long-sleeved shirt that is entirely unbuttoned turn back to her. He grabs and swings Juana onto his knee and kisses her, “but, alas, that was the stuff of romance novels” the narrator adds, “and not real life at all” (Episode 15). Through the use of telenovela and romance novel tropes of fantasy and romance, the show facilitates the transformation of Jane into a more sensual and sexualized Juana. This name change to
Spanish suggests Latinas are more sexual and serves as one of the few examples where Jane is exoticized on the show.

Racialized bodies are to be distrusted according to Western ideologies of good v. evil (Lara, 2008, p. 100), thus, it follows Juana represents Jane’s other side. And if Jane is good, then Juana likely is not. Jane is religiously devout, and it is questionable whether her dual character Juana is as well. And though the show presents this duality in Jane’s character through fantasy, it is outweighed and negated as quickly as it comes by religious narratives. Building on this duality would help move Jane away from this problematic binary of being represented as either a virgin or a whore. In adding ‘complementarity and balance,’ (Lara, 2008, p. 102) to Jane’s sexuality and spirituality, the show could shatter this dichotomy. Instead, religious narratives rectify Jane’s behavior and deny her sexual agency — fictitious or not.

These exceptions are counterbalanced by religious narratives of God and “divine intervention,” which are utilized to explain why Jane is able to endure and avoid having sex even when she is willing and seemingly ready to do so. While at church, the priest reminds Jane and the congregation, “God is faithful. He will not let you be tempted beyond what you can bear. And when we are tempted, he will provide a way out [emphasis added] so that we can endure” (Episode 3). And God seemingly provides Jane with a way out that evening. Luisa pulls the fire alarm at the Marbella and guests are forced to evacuate just as Jane and Michael are about to have sex. Michael asks Jane, “think your grandma put in a call to the Big Guy?” and the narrator adds, “the truth was Jane couldn’t be sure it wasn’t divine intervention [emphasis added] because suddenly she was confused about everything” (Episode 3). This ‘divine intervention’ redeems our
heroine and she remains virginal and pure, much to Alba’s delight and Xiomara’s initial disappointment. Again, religious narratives deny our protagonist sexual agency and rectify her position as a virgin or the ideal embodiment of femininity with proper spirituality and sexuality.

Though Jane is the protagonist and heroine of the show, the macro narrative is literally about the untraditional story of this unmarried pregnant woman of color. And though her circumstances are unique, Jane cannot escape the stereotype. The fact she is a virgin does not rid her of the stigma. Jane’s spirituality is clearly tied to her sexuality. She is sexually abstinent because she believes in Catholic teachings. Thus, it is the religious narratives which perpetuate and uphold this notion of a pregnant virgin of color. The implication is that devoid of these religious beliefs, notions of purity and sexual abstinence are generally not upheld by representations of Latinas in television other than the asexual sacrificing mother roles (Vargas, 2010, p 121). These same narratives position nearly every other woman on the show on the other side of the spectrum, with the exception of Alba. Jane’s grandmother is asexualized and her budding romance with the priest Edward is dismissed as an impossible or forbidden love (Episode 18). These findings echo Vargas’ (2010) assertion that “extremes of hyper or asexuality have left Latinas in roles that represent little agency over their sexuality” (p. 120).

If Jane is portrayed as the virgin, Xiomara, renamed la Puta in this study, is the whore. And though Xiomara is not necessarily positioned as evil, she is definitely portrayed as deviant. Xiomara is positioned as deviant because she does not share Alba and Jane’s rigid religious views. Recall Xiomara does not adhere to rigid views on good and evil, truth and lying, or the issue of abortion. Xiomara advises Jane to omit having a
conversation about “the whole ‘virgin until marriage’ thing” rather than being truthful (Episode 3). She also does not want to tell Rogelio she kissed Marco, her ‘former squeeze’ and tries to get Jane’s approval in keeping it a secret from him (Episode 19). Audiences are made to believe Xiomara would have had an abortion\(^\text{57}\) when she was pregnant with Jane. However, Alba tells Jane it was she who asked Xiomara to have an abortion (Episode 1). Xiomara supports Jane in whatever she decides to do and fills Jane’s prescription just in case she chooses to terminate the pregnancy (Episode 1). And when Jane’s baby might have birth defects, Xiomara asks if she’d consider having an abortion at the expense of Alba’s scolding (Episode 13).

Through attire and behavior, Xiomara is minimally positioned as a promiscuous woman. She often wears mini-skirts (Episode 16), booty shorts\(^\text{58}\) (Episode 2; Episode 9), and low-cut, revealing shirts or dresses showing lots of cleavage (Episode 4; Episode 7). Xiomara’s attire is much more modest in a handful of occasions. She wears a jacket zipped all the way up and dark sweat pants when trying to avoid being intimate with Rogelio (Episode 11) and a flower-patterned dress with no cleavage for Easter (Episode 18). In other instances, Xiomara wears short and flashy dresses and bounces around as she dances and twirls beneath the spotlight (Episode 1) or touches her thighs and traces the curves of her body upwards with her hand (Episode 6). To be fair, Xiomara is not always dressed provocatively and these two instances could likely be dismissed because

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\(^{57}\) Xiomara is villainized, however, by Rogelio’s mother Liliana. Rogelio makes his mother believe Xiomara did not tell him about his daughter and Liliana tells Xiomara she can never forgive her for keeping her granddaughter away from her and her son. Rogelio also did not tell Liliana he told Xiomara to have an abortion (Episode 18).

\(^{58}\) Jane writes a short story about her relationship with Xiomara where she makes her mother the main character. Jane describes the character, Lucy, as “a feisty, single mom that wears booty shorts and entertains a revolving door of guys” [emphasis added]. Here, even Jane stigmatizes her mom as sexually available or easy when she tells Rafael she will not publish her story because “there’s a line in it that says she puts the “loose” in Lucy” [emphasis added] (Episode 9).
she is performing. However, of the three Villanueva women, Xiomara undoubtedly and consistently dresses in more revealing clothing.

At most, Xiomara is viewed as a slut. In some ways, Xiomara reinforces these stereotypes. In Episode 1, audiences get the sense Xiomara is a promiscuous woman. She invites a stranger on the bus to attend her performance later that evening. And the things she says make it seem as if sex is always on her mind or, minimally, as if any issue could be addressed with more sex: “the best way to get over a man is to get under a new one. Trust” (Episode 1). For example, audiences learn Xiomara “had certainly fantasized about her first time in Rogelio’s trailer. The details varied, but it always ended with sex in front of the vanity, so they could admire each other’s work from multiple angles” (Episode 4). Here, Xiomara embodies Ramírez Berg’s (2002) description of the harlot who “is a slave to her passions” and whose “conduct is simplistically attributed to her inherent nymphomania” (p. 71). Furthermore, Xiomara also “has no qualms about sleeping with” Bruce, her married ex-boyfriend (Ramírez Berg, 2002, p. 71; Episode 2).

Though Xiomara attends church, she does not embrace Catholicism’s convictions about sexuality. In Episode 19, audiences confirm Xiomara does not personally attach sexuality to religion, as Jane says Xiomara tried to get her to “lose [her virginity] for years.” In Xiomara’s defense, she later encourages Jane to abstain from having sex with Rafael even though she does not share the same rigid views on sexuality and spirituality (Episode 19). Furthermore, Xiomara only bargains with God, vowing to “live a chaste life,” so Alba will wake up from the accident (Episode 10). Audiences later confirm Xiomara also does not equate marriage with sex when she decides to break her vow of chastity. Rogelio reminds her she wanted to wait and Xiomara responds, “yeah, but that
was until there was a commitment. And you just decided to stay in town for me. That’s a pretty good commitment from where I’m standing” (Episode 14). Xiomara also rejoices, ironically, with a “hallelujah!” when Jane tells Alba she plans to have sex with Michael after church (Episode 3). Thus, Xiomara’s religious beliefs coupled with her sexual practices position her as a modern harlot or spitfire who is “lusty and hot-tempered” (Ramírez Berg, 2002 p 70). Vargas (2010) echoes Ramírez Berg’s (2002) description of the harlot as “an unmarried woman with absence of a husband [thus] signifying her uncontrolled sexuality” (p. 121).

When Rogelio’s ex-wife Melissa and daughters Valeria and Victoria call Xiomara a gold-digger and a slut, Xiomara wants to ‘go after their mom.’ This becomes one of many examples in which Xiomara is positioned as hot-headed or short-tempered. Jane tells Xiomara to be ‘the bigger person’ and Lina responds, “that’s so not her style” and the narrator agrees, “it was definitely not her style” (Episode 6). Later, Jane reminds her mom she has a temper (Episode 14) and is quick to self-sabotage when insulted, both of which are on full display when Rogelio’s mother Liliana59 comes into town. Jane and Alba try to coach Xiomara on staying calm and being on her best behavior (Episode 18).

Xiomara is again positioned as sexually irresponsible60 and reckless when she starts sleeping with Rogelio. She already has a record of unprotected sex since she got pregnant with Jane when she was 16. And 23 years later, Xiomara and Rogelio sneak

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59 Liliana de la Vega is portrayed by none other than Rita Moreno. Moreno is an iconic Latina, as she was the first to win an Academy Award (Vargas, 2010, p. 123). During the 1950s and 1960s, Moreno had to constantly “work against a publicity machine that subsumed her under such descriptors as ‘fiery love machine,’ ‘Puerto Rican firecracker,’ and ‘Rita the cheetah’ (Vargas, 2010, p. 123).

60 In Episode 15, Xiomara is concerned she might be pregnant because she missed a pill or two. Exhibiting the utmost irresponsibility, Xiomara and Rogelio get married in Vegas and do not even remember doing so, given that they were both equally drunk. The only reason they later find out is because Rogelio finds a DVD of the wedding hoping it was not a sex tape (Episode 22).
around having sex in the Villanueva home as if they were teenagers (Episodes 2-3). In truth, Alba does not approve of Xiomara’s decision to have sex with and move in with Rogelio. Alba tells her daughter she is stupid, “why would [Rogelio] buy the cow if you’re giving away the milk for free?” (Episode 16). This expression represents traditional religious views on marriage. In moving in with him and having sex before marriage, Alba tells Xiomara, “he’ll never ask you to marry him now. You have ruined the relationship!” (Episode 16). Alba knows Xiomara wants the fairytale ending with Rogelio and believes in the orderly and traditional path to marriage, which includes abstaining from sexual intimacy and living separately until the church, and the law, sanctifies the union (Episode 3). She tells Xiomara she would get her fairytale ending if she would just “close [her] legs” (Episode 3). And when Jane tells Alba she should be happy for Xiomara because she is in love, Alba responds, “in lust, you mean” (Episode 17).

Xiomara is not only positioned as a slut, she also defies constructions of the sacrificing mother. According to Vargas (2010), representations of Latinas as dutiful or sacrificing mothers have been the result of “a resistance strategy to overly correct hegemonic hypersexual representations” (p. 121). Vargas suggests cinematic representations of Latinas in the 1920s and 1930s were polarized and rooted in ‘La Virgen/La Malinche’ dichotomy to embody either demure señoritas or spitfires (2010, p 120-121). Findings indicate there are a number of competing instances where Xiomara is positioned as a good and bad mother. As a reminder, it was Xiomara who kept the identity of Jane’s father a secret for more than 20 years (Episode 5). And when Jane wants an explanation, Xiomara’s response could be interpreted as more of a concern for
herself than Jane. Xiomara tells Jane she was afraid her father would return and try to take her away. It was easier for Xiomara to pretend Rogelio did not exist (Episode 5). But according to Jane, she thought about her father everyday of her life (Episode 5). Xiomara thought, at the time, she was doing the right thing and apologizes to Jane.

Xiomara tries to be a sacrificing\textsuperscript{61} mother by placing Jane’s budding relationship with her father above her own desire for a romantic relationship with Rogelio (Episode 6). When Rogelio brings Xiomara flowers after her performance at the Marbella and tries to kiss her. Xiomara stops him and says

You have to focus on your relationship with Jane, and I’ll only get in the way … historically, my romances haven’t always gone well, and that’s affected Jane. If we don’t work, there could be tension, it could be awkward and … that could end up complicating her relationship with you. I just can’t risk that (Episode 6).

However, Xiomara is never fully able to fulfill this sacrificing role. To be fair, Xiomara avoids a relationship with Rogelio until Jane voices her approval (Episode 9). Xiomara tells Jane, “I’ve been staying away from Rogelio so that he can focus on his relationship with you.” Jane tells her mom to stop with the sacrifices and says Xiomara uses her as an excuse to avoid heartbreak (Episode 9).

Xiomara’s lifestyle leads to tension between the Villanueva women and she is portrayed as spiritually deviant because she does not attach religious or moral beliefs to

\textsuperscript{61}During Jane’s quinceañera, another marker of \textit{pan-Latinidad}, Xiomara embarrasses herself and her family by lip syncing and dancing provocatively (Episode 2). In the beginning of the episode, audiences are made to believe this is just Xiomara acting out. However, toward the end, audiences learn Xiomara performed in order to detract from a “superslutty hookup,” where Jane’s “superfly date” was kissing another girl. Here, even the narrator suggests Xiomara is a good mom, “and the memory that she was a good mom, that she knew when to protect her daughter’s feelings, fortified Xiomara” (Episode 2). Xiomara, again, sacrifices for her daughter by telling Rogelio to back off until she tells him Jane is ready to learn about him. Xiomara teaches Rogelio that “being a parent means that you put your kid’s interests first” (Episode 2).
her sexuality. Instead of embodying the role of the sacrificing Latina mother, Xiomara comes to represent the hot-headed *puta* who is not taken seriously. As Vargas (2010) suggests, “representations of Latina sexuality as hot-blooded and excessive become the markers of what is *morally wrong*, set against the good morals and hegemonic U.S. citizenship values of non-Latino whites” because, in a U.S. context, ethnicity is constructed “through racialization, sexualization and genderization of” the female body (p 121). More problematic is the fact Xiomara is not the only woman portrayed as a whore.

Petra, renamed *la Malvada/Manipuladora*, the evil/manipulator, is also positioned as a stark contrast to Jane, the virgin and devout Catholic. Like, Xiomara, Petra is also immediately portrayed as sexually available and easy. This contrast to Jane is advanced in a number of ways. While Jane is truthful and honest, Petra’s character is lying, deceiving, calculating, and manipulative. She learns to use her body and beauty to her advantage in getting what she wants. And more often than not, Petra is after money. In contrast, Jane is a virgin and pure and disinterested in money or power. And while Jane’s spirituality is quite clear, Petra’s is ambiguous and adjusting to suit her needs.

Petra lies to Rafael about her affairs with Zazo and Lachlan (Episodes 1-2; 7). Thus, she is positioned as evil because of her sexual agency and adultery. Petra also lies about her identity, as audiences learn she is Natalia in Episode 4. She lies to cover up the fact her mother pushed Alba down the stairs (Episode 20). Petra also lies and files assault charges against Rafael (Episode 5), though he never laid a hand on her. In Episode 6, the narrator refers to Petra as Rafael’s, “scheming, cheating wife.” The list of lies Petra tells
in the first season could go on and on. And so could the list of examples in which she exhibits deceiving, calculating, and manipulative behavior.

One of the first things audiences learn about Rafael’s wife is the fact she is a “man-eater,” as the camera angle implies she goes down on her husband before a party to celebrate Emilio’s return and the hotel’s remodeling (Episode 1). In the same episode, audiences see Petra in bed with Zazo, her husband’s college roommate and best friend. And when Petra thinks she can make things work with Rafael, her mother asks, “but what about the other man you whored yourself out to? You are a selfish [emphasis added] girl” (Episode 2). What’s more, Petra is portrayed as manipulating and calculating. And she is encouraged to wait out her pre-nup by both Zazo and Magda. How? By utilizing her body and beauty as weapons. Zazo tells her to win Rafael back “with [her] … arsenal … of weapons” as he caresses her body (Episode 2). And Magda reminds her daughter a baby won’t keep Rafael by her side, “Petra? He must also want you,” Magda adds, “darling, your skin is so dry. You must take care of that. Your beauty is your weapon. One of your weapons. You understand what I’m saying?” (Episode 5). So Petra tries to seduce Rafael with sexy lingerie to no avail (Episode 5).

Another instance in which Petra is objectified and uses her sexuality to her advantage is when she and Rafael team up to deceive Lachlan into presenting an expansion deal for the Marbella. Lachlan falls for it and when Petra asks what she’ll get in return he says, “I’ll do all the things that I used to do for you. To you” (Episode 4). Petra declines, though she gets really close to kissing him. In the same episode, Rafael

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62 In Episode 21, Petra demonstrates utmost selfishness when she chooses to turn Magda into the police because she thinks she might have a chance to get Rafael back. Here, audiences learn Petra has no loyalty to anyone but herself, not even family.
tells Petra he wants a divorce and she realizes he just used her to get Lachlan to facilitate the meeting. When Petra realizes she has nowhere to turn but to Lachlan, she does. Petra gets into Lachlan’s room and waits for his return, where he finds her wearing nothing but one of his dress shirts. She offers to allow him to record a sex tape so he could expose it whenever he chooses. And in exchange for money and sex, Petra tells Lachlan about how Rafael put up his shares of the hotel as collateral for Luisa’s medical malpractice insurance (Episode 7). Petra is portrayed as having no qualms about lying and sleeping with men who aren’t her husband and essentially prostituting herself for money.

Petra is portrayed as outright evil. Alba calls her evil when Jane tells them about Petra trying to legally claim Jane’s baby in Episode 9 and previously compared her to Catalina Creel, the “super psycho TV villain who wore an eye patch even though she wasn’t blind” (Episode 2). Though Petra is a liar, she never pulled a lie of such magnitude. Her mother, Magda, on the other hand did. Madga embodies the role of the ‘psycho’ telenovela villain when audiences learn she pretended to be handicapped (Episode 9) and unable to walk for 3 years (Episode 20). Here producers borrow from the telenovela genre and speak back to a particular character and trope in order to transform the reference for JTV’s audiences. Magda did all this in order to manipulate Petra and keep her away from Milos. Magda suffered an accident after Petra’s ex-boyfriend tossed hydrochloric acid on her face and she was hit by a car (Episode 12). This incident serves as another example where producers draw on the telenovela genre to craft parallel narratives where the narrator explicitly refers to Petra’s situation with Milos as the ‘other’

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63 Here, audiences see another intertextual reference to telenovelas. Catalina Creel is an evil character in the 1986 Mexican telenovela Cuna de Lobos portrayed by María Rubio (Gibson, 2006).
telenovela (Episode 12). Madga is also the mastermind behind Petra’s assault charges against Rafael (Episode 5).

In addition, Petra is positioned as evil because when she is not after Rafael’s love, she is after his money. The narrator positions her as literally calculating when he says, “Petra was always good at math. According to her precise calculations [emphasis added] and her equally precise prenuptial agreement,” and the screen-text confirms, “5 YEARS = 10 MILLION DOLLARS” (Episode 1). Rafael figures this out in Episode 2 and says, “I know that you’re trying to wait out our prenup to make money off me.” Even after Rafael and Jane find out Petra is really Natalia when she tries to claim custody of the baby (Episode 10), Petra goes to Rafael and says she’ll leave once he pays out her prenup. The narrator interjects, “ah, yes, her prenup. Petra’s golden ticket” (Episode 10). Rafael refuses to pay Petra a dime. Milos, Petra’s “acid-throwing ex-boyfriend” buys 33 percent of the Marbella for her and Petra’s financial instability and homelessness are resolved as quickly as they emerge (Episode 13).

Through the power Milo’s money provides, and through deceiving Luisa in to thinking Petra has the same spiritual faith by talking about shaman and ashrams, Petra asserts herself as the “face of the Marbella” (Episode 14). In doing so, Petra is also positioned as a woman with an unclear, and perhaps more dangerous, spirituality. In Episode 17, Petra demonstrates spiritual curiosity when she asks Aaron about Jainism, an “Indian religion rooted in nonviolence” (Episode 15). Truthfully, Petra just wants to know if he’s sexually abstinent (Episode 17). Luisa assigns her voting rights to Petra instead of Rafael, forcing him to turn over the reigns of the hotel to Petra. She is determined to administer the hotel without Rafael’s help, but almost makes a costly
mistake in wanting to fire Lachlan. When Lachlan returns from Spain, he tells Petra, “you wear money well, as always” (Episode 15). Truthfully, she does.

Petra is not only portrayed as evil, she also is depicted as a whore. And though Petra is from the Czech Republic (Episode 9) and is not Latina, she embodies the Vamp stereotype of Keller’s (1994) tripartite typology. Like Gabrielle, the vamp, Petra takes advantage of her body, sexuality, and intelligence in order to manipulate the men in her life (Merskin, 2007, p 147). As Merskin suggests, Keller’s (1994) vamp “uses her intellectual and devious sexual wiles to get what she wants. She often brings men to violence and enjoys doing so. She is a psychological menace to males who are ill equipped to handle her” (2007, p. 137). Petra exhibits this behavior with Zazo in Episode 2. He becomes violent when she tells him their affair is over and she is turned on by his behavior. And in Episode 8, Petra is a psychological menace and tries to get into Rafael’s head by reminding him he is a ‘monster’ and Jane is a ‘good girl.’ In addition, Petra lacks spiritual or moral convictions and only asserts spiritual beliefs when doing so advances her cause. Like Xiomara, Petra is portrayed as sexually and spiritually deviant.

In addition to Xiomara and Petra, Luisa, renamed la Lesbiana Loca, or the crazy lesbian, is also portrayed as a woman with deviant sexuality and spirituality. Rafael’s sister, Dr. Luisa Antonia Alver is lesbian and married (Episode 1). In Episode 2, Luisa and Rose kiss and yank each other’s clothes off and audiences are left with the impression they have sex in Luisa’s office. Audiences also later learn Rose is Rafael and Luisa’s stepmother, in addition to being Luisa’s lover (Episode 2). Luisa and Rose’s affair began 5 years prior, and in Luisa’s defense, she did not know Rose was dating her father at the time (Episode 14). Though Luisa’s sexuality defies notions of Latinas as
heterosexual, her relationship with Rose remains hidden and their sexual encounters are filtered through the male gaze.

In Episode 3, Luisa and Rose are depicted having sex on the floor of Rose and Emilio’s hotel room. Rose is topless, though her breasts are obscured by the tablecloth dangling from the table. Luisa wears a lacy blue bra and her chest is glowing. And when Luisa is retelling the story of how she met Rose, their bodies are sensualized and sexualized. Luisa describes the red dress Rose wore the evening they met, as our eyes and the camera follow the curves of Rose’s body in an upward motion, “and then I saw her. She was wearing this tight red dress that highlighted every curve of her body, her breasts, her hips, her …” (Episode 14). Then Luisa and Rose are shown kissing and semi-naked in the pool, Luisa confirms they had “raw, passionate, desperate love” many times that evening (Episode 14).

To top things off, Luisa possesses and practices non-traditional spirituality—a spirituality that is not Catholicism. Audiences learn about Luisa’s spirituality when she shows up to answer Jane’s motion for default judgment after having been missing for weeks. Luisa fled to Peru, where she spent considerable time drinking and dancing naked in bars. Eventually, Luisa sought spiritual guidance by a shaman, at an ayahuasca retreat. There, she was guided through a spiritual journey where she realized money is the root of her problems (Episode 8). At the retreat, Luisa drank ayahuasca, which is a “psychedelic vine brewed into tea” that makes people vomit constantly. Luisa agrees but says “it’s like you’re vomiting out everything that’s wrong with your life.” The narrator adds “full disclosure, I tried it. Did nothing for me” (Episode 8). The use of ayahuasca for religious
ceremonies dates back centuries and is common in Peru, Brazil, and other South American countries (Blumberg, 2015).

Because Luisa is lesbian and does not practice a familiar faith, she is immediately positioned as crazy. Rafael tries to defend his sister and tells his dad, “Luisa actually doesn’t seem crazy” (Episode 8). Emilio is more doubtful, “a psychedelic drink and she has a spiritual awakening?” Rafael responds, “idiotic, yes, but not clinically crazy” (Episode 8). Luisa describes her experience in the sweat lodge to Rose when they are alone and says she wants to be “truthful and honest” and wants to run away and be together with Rose. Her stepmother breaks up with Luisa, which does not change the fact Luisa wants to tell the truth: “my shaman thinks it’s really important for me to just come clean about all my lies.” So Rose lies to Rafael and Emilio, her husband, and says Luisa has been having sexual fantasies about her. Emilio has Luisa committed to a mental institution against her will by the end of Episode 8.

Audiences later learn Luisa’s mother had a psychotic break and killed herself in a mental institution (Episode 12) and Rafael stops defending his sister. In fact, he classifies her in the same category as Petra when he tells Jane to stay away from both, “will you just please keep your distance from Petra? She is … crazy. Maybe focus on the crazy lady we’re about to go sit in therapy with” (Episode 12). While at the psychiatric hospital and even after getting out, Luisa continues to talk about her faith. She says things that may seem weird to those unfamiliar with non-traditional spirituality. For example, Luisa talks to Betty, her roommate, about her faith and how her shaman would say, “you’re finally seeing the world through your third eye” (Episode 10). And when Rafael tries to talk to her about business and her share of the Marbella after their father’s funeral, Luisa
reminds him, “I meant what I said when I got back from the ashram. Money is the root of all of our problems, and I want out. So, yeah. You can have my shares” (Episode 14). Ultimately, Luisa is positioned as ‘crazy’ because of her spirituality and her deviant sexuality.

This study’s findings indicate femininity is constructed through religious narratives that uphold virgin/whore dichotomous discourse. Women on Jane The Virgin are positioned on either side of the spectrum. The only character whom is given duality, only to be negated by discourse of ‘divine intervention,’ is Jane. Unlike the other women, Jane serves as the moral compass for expressions of femininity. She is abnegated and good. Jane does not covet money (Episode 5). She works hard. She is a devout Catholic. Jane is forgiving and compassionate (Episode 12). She also makes “smart choices, sensible choices” (Episode 7). Producers of the show deserve praise for advancing the portrayal of a Latina whom is smart and beautiful in Jane’s character. However, they deserve more criticism and critique for relying on the virgin/whore dichotomy to perpetuate problematic narratives that either deny or condemn female sexual agency.

**Reinforcing Masculinity and Gender Norms**

In the following section, in agreement with Tumanov (2011), this study argues Xiomara, Petra, and Luisa are synonymous with Eve and instead represent sexual agency, or what he calls female sexual choice (p 512). The third section of this analysis is an extension of the virgin/whore dichotomy discourse utilized to address a double standard where masculine sexual agency is privileged and encouraged. This contrast in constructions of sexual agency addresses this study’s third question about relationships between femininity and masculinity on the show. Thus, the masculinities of Rogelio,
Michael, and Rafael are addressed and so is the contrast between the white detective and the rich hotel owner’s sexualities because these representations speak to racialized discourses which position Latino masculinities as hypersexual and deviant (Vargas, 2010, p 122). These narratives which position women as either virgins or whores and privilege male sexual agency are but one aspect of the ways in which the show reinforces gender norms. The findings in this section also indicate the presence of problematic and reinforcing narratives on the role of women and men in heterosexual relationships. Thus, this study argues *Jane The Virgin* celebrates the independence and family unity of the Villanueva women but simultaneously endorses *machista* gender roles where women are deferential to men and are forced to help each other raise multiple generations of children.

**Masculinities.** Analysis of representations of masculinities in the show begins with none other than Rogelio de la Vega, Jane’s father. Rogelio’s attire largely consists of formal dress shirts and slacks. He rarely wears T-shirts and jeans, which he refers to as ‘ridiculous’ outfits (Episode 4). In his portrayal of El Presidente or Santos, Rogelio wears a lavender military uniform with fake regalia and gold medals (Episode 3; Episode 5). Rogelio embraces lavender as his favorite color and rejects the color peach because he does not ‘pop in peach’ (Episode 15). His character walks a fine line between arrogance and self-love. The discourse surrounding Rogelio unequivocally positions him as a womanizer. Being the star that he is, Rogelio has access to countless women and certainly has

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64 Echoing Omi & Winant (1994), Vasquez (2010) affirms racialization is a concept where “‘differences in skin color, or other racially coded characteristics, explain social differences’” including but not limited to “‘temperament, sexuality, intelligence, athletic ability, [and] aesthetic preferences’ … are presumed to be fixed and discernible from the palpable mark of race’” (Vasquez, 2010, p 52).
an active sexual lifestyle. So much so, that he “has his ex-wife send gift baskets to women” he has slept with (Episode 4). Alba also reminds Xiomara about Rogelio’s sexual lifestyle, obtained from gossip magazines, “he’s with a different woman every week, sometimes a few at once” (Episode 3). When Xiomara gets jealous and asks if Rogelio is sleeping with his manager, Rogelio says Melissa is his ex-wife, “besides you cannot expect to be the only woman to whom I give the carnal gift [emphasis added] of Rogelio” (Episode 4). This comment exemplifies a double standard where men are allowed, and even encouraged, to have multiple sex partners. But women, on the other hand, are not entitled to their own sexualities and sexual agency. Those who do take ownership of their sexuality are shunned by society and religion and shamed with terms like ‘whore,’ ‘slut,’ and ‘puta.’

Here, it is important to address the discourse on sexuality used to describe Rogelio and Xiomara’s relationship. Their relationship is obviously very physical and visualized through ‘sparks’ whenever their bodies touch in Episode 8. But the way Rogelio describes his connection with Xiomara draws on animalistic references. For example, he says “what you and I have is … something else. A chemical spark. It’s … like an animal attraction” (Episode 4). Xiomara later reinforces this language by saying “believe me … I hate the stupid chastity thing. And it is so hard for me every day … not to pounce on you” (Episode 12). In addition, the sexual narrative makes it seem as if Xiomara cannot control herself around Rogelio. To be fair, neither can he.

Here evidence of tropicalization and othering emerges (Aparicio & Chavez-Silverman, 1997; Merskin, 2007; Molina Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004). Aparicio &
Chavez-Silverman (1997) call this a process where gender-based myths and stereotypes advance certain notions about Latin@ sexuality (p 10). Males are positioned as Latin Lovers and females are portrayed as having exotic sexualities which “reinforce a sense of sultry beauty rooted in some distant land” often through the ‘dark primitive Other’ (Vargas, 2010, p. 123). Other than the narrator, who is proclaimed a Latin Lover via the subtitles, Rogelio’s character also fits squarely within this stereotype. Given Rogelio’s sexual lifestyle and the way he describes his physical and chemical attraction to Xiomara as ‘animalistic’, there is no doubt he is portrayed as “the possessor of a primal sexuality that [makes] him capable of making a sensuous but dangerous –and clearly non-WASP – brand of love” (Ramírez Berg, 2002, p. 76). And though Rogelio never exhibits any violence, other elements contributing to the Latin Lover stereotype are certainly present in his character, including eroticism and exoticism. The comedic nature of Rogelio and his portrayal of Santos likely serves to position Rogelio’s sexuality as non-threatening in comparison to white males. Rogelio’s friendship, or ‘bromance,’ with Michael and the fact Michael loves Rogelio’s daughter likely serve to dissuade audiences from comparing the sexualities of these two men.

Rogelio’s ex-wife Melissa confirms his womanizing ways when she introduces Xiomara to the five women she has hired to be part of Xiomara’s band for her performance at the Marbella (Episode 6). Melissa tells Xiomara that Rogelio has slept

65 Rogelio and the character he portrays, Santos, exhibit similar behavior in terms of sexual agency. Santos was once a priest, but “he has since left the cloth and made love to hundreds [emphasis added] of women” (Episode 11). Rogelio and Santos are also associated with leopards and leopard print. In Episode 2, audiences see Rogelio pose naked with a baby leopard covering his groin area and when Xiomara visits him at the telenovela set for the first time, a live leopard escapes the set. Santos wears a leopard print tie after sacrificing the leopard in Episode 7 and Rogelio’s home is decorated with a giant photo of him holding a leopard in Episode 18.
with all of them. To top it off, Rogelio himself is proud of his sexual history and confirms he has slept with far more than a handful of women when he scolds Rafael after Jane spent the night at his place,

I know your game. I used to be just like you. Ridiculously good-looking, with charisma, with swagger, notching girls onto my belt … I have had sex with a lot of women. Way more than you, I’m sure! (Episode 7).

Rogelio’s womanizing days come back to haunt him when Jane’s writing instructor Amanda slaps him for never showing up to their “romantic getaway” in Tampa (Episode 19). He had sex with her on a casting couch when auditioning for the lead role in a screen adaptation of a book and misled her. When Rogelio apologizes to Amanda, she kisses him and he backs away telling her he is a “taken man and will not be led astray” (Episode 19).

When Rogelio tells Xiomara about Amanda’s kiss, she forgives him. Perhaps because she had already kissed Marco (Episode 18), felt guilty, and wanted to be forgiven as well. Nevertheless, she forgives Rogelio. And when she tells him about kissing Marco, another double standard emerges. Rogelio calls Xiomara a cheater and says, “I’m sorry, Xiomara. This is something I can simply not forgive! … this photo shoot, like our relationship, is over!” (Episode 19). Rogelio is allowed a slip-up but Xiomara is not. Perhaps because Rogelio is sensitive to deception, as he was cheated on by his first wife and the scandal was all over the tabloids (Episode 20), he refuses to even talk to Xiomara. Here, the inherent distrust of women is on display. And for someone like Rogelio, who is “a very proud man with a very healthy ego,” (Episode 18) forgiveness does not come
easy. Not to mention Rogelio is perhaps the most confident and dramatic (Episodes 6-7), shallow and vain (Episode 4), and self-centered character on the show.

Jane’s ex-boyfriend Michael is a detective. He is orderly and in control of his body. Knadler (2002) and Russell’s (2008) scholarship demonstrate the link between whiteness and self-discipline in narratives of Civil War publications and the 1950s civil rights and modern gay rights movements respectively. In Episode 1, audiences learn Michael and Jane have been dating for two years and have not slept together. Jane controls the progress of their relationship and an example of this is when they merge calendars at her request (Episode 1). Time and time again, Michael demonstrates he can wait to have sex with Jane until marriage. It is only when Jane gives him the green light, that Michael makes suggestions, including having sex during his fifteen-minute break in his car (Episode 3). When they are about to have sex and ‘divine intervention’ prevents them from doing so, Michael is understanding and simply suggests moving up their wedding date (Episode 3). Michael respects Jane and exercises control of his desires (Episodes 1; 3). He represents the same Anglo-Saxon “values of ‘self-control’ and ‘self-discipline’” which were ascribed to the Northern side during the Civil War (Knadler, 2002, p 81). A war where Anglo-American identities were nationalized and racialized (p 65) and the Southern side was equated with ‘barbarism’ (Knadler, 2002, p 81). Equating Anglo-American ‘manhood’ with civilization and New England nationalism, the white body came to represent “self-governance and individualism” (Knadler, 2002, p 84).

Michael comes to embody the highest degree of sexual agency. But this agency is unique because he exercises self-restraint. Unlike Rafael, Michael has complete self-control and is proud of it. When he visits Jane at the dress fitting, Jane tells him how hard
it is for her not to turn around and kiss him. Michael responds, “Right. Man! I need some prize for my *self-control* [emphasis added]” (Episode 4). Even Michael’s attire is indicative of order. His dress shirts, in hues of dark green and navy and occasionally some light green and blue, are always fully buttoned at the collar unlike Rafael, whose sleeves are nearly always rolled up and half-buttoned exposing his chest. Until Michael starts sleeping with Nadine (Episodes 7; 9), audiences do not see Michael without a shirt on. Even when he is with Jane, Michael’s shirt is only unbuttoned and not entirely off his back (Episode 1). In the episodes where he sleeps with Nadine, Michael is in control and reminds her they are “just having fun” (Episode 8).

Jane’s baby-daddy is portrayed as a playboy. In Episode 1, the screen text describes him as a “FORMER-PLAYBOY” and “TRAPPED HUSBAND.” Lina calls him a “rich playboy” after Jane complains he offered her money for the life-altering mistake his sister committed in accidentally inseminating Jane. The pregnant virgin echoes Lina’s sentiment, calling Rafael “a rich playboy with an entitled attitude” (Episode 2). To confirm Rafael’s past, Petra also calls him an “entitled playboy with a tendency to self-sabotage” (Episode 8). Like Rogelio, Rafael was unequivocally a womanizer before marriage. So much so that he managed to steal Petra, a woman engaged to be married, away from Lachlan just to spite him (Episode 4). Before getting married to Petra, Rafael had a history of partying, drinking, engaging in barroom brawls, posing with more than a handful of women in very little clothing, and taking nude photos. Rafael was even arrested for indecent exposure in Bora Bora. All of his lifestyle decisions ended up online and available for all to see, including Jane (Episode 2). Here, Rafael embodies the same non-heteronormative behaviors, coded as deviant, of “sexual
promiscuity, the celebration of the self, the embrace of pleasure, and the avoidance of obligation,” which stood in the way of acceptance and full citizenship for black and gay constituents according to leaders of both civil and gay rights movements (Russell, 2008, p 101).

Not only is Rafael’s character constructed as a rich entitled playboy, he is also a huge disappointment to his father (Episode 14). Like Jane, Rafael grew up with the absence of one of his parents. His mother left him and his father when he was four (Episode 7). Unlike Jane, Rafael did not work through college (Episode 14). And where Jane is organized (Episode 19; 21) and cautious in making plans (Episode 14), Rafael is impulsive (Episode 16). He proposed to Petra five months after they got involved (Episode 17) and also proposed to Jane (Episode 15) too fast. Rafael confesses he was afraid Jane would leave and he just wanted a family (Episode 16). Again, all Latin@ households on Jane The Virgin are portrayed as broken, incomplete, and in defiance of the traditional heteronormative family. This heterosexual family was the vehicle for African-American citizenship according to Dr. Martin Luther King (Russell, 2008, p 118). Dr. King sought to rid society of black deviancy and thus “replace the freedom and entitlement of black working-class culture with obligation, discipline [emphasis added], and rejection of the self” (Russell, 2008, p. 112). Failure to adopt white sexual norms, or to domesticate African Americans and arguably other minorities, meant these groups would inherit ‘weak’ family structures. These fractured family units were to blame for perpetuating the cycle of poverty and delinquency/criminality, according to some black sociologists (Russell, 2008, p 123).
Rafael is portrayed as a man who can hardly contain his sexual desires in a number of episodes. For one, Petra hires an escort to make it seem as if he had sex with her in front of Jane (Episode 9). Of course, it is not hard for Jane to believe Rafael would sleep with other women when he is also surrounded by them (Episode 7). When Jane starts dating Rafael, she becomes more reckless and throws “caution to the wind,” much to Xiomara’s dismay (Episode 7). Rafael and Jane are moving way too fast until Jane finally tells him she is a virgin (Episode 9). He does not take the news well but backs off on the issue. In Episode 19, Jane decides to have sex with Rafael and he easily concedes. Rafael later realizes he would have slept with her even though he knew how important waiting is for Jane. His own admission to the couple’s counselor confirms he is incapable of controlling his sexual desires (Episode 19). The only time he was able to refrain from having sex with a woman, was when Petra tried to seduce him. Things got physical and he nearly fell for it (Episode 5). Rafael decides to break up with Jane in order to prevent himself from dragging her down with him. He is emotionally ‘detached and unavailable’ after his father’s death (Episode 12) and the hotel’s looming collapse (Episode 19).

The difference between the two men vying for Jane’s heart is best explained by Jane herself. In Episode 22, Michael visits Jane and asks if she just wants to be friends or if there is something more since they started growing closer after Rafael broke up with Jane. She tells Michael, “there’s so much up in the air and with you it is safe [emphasis added] and familiar and …” (Episode 22). Michael is upset with Jane’s response so he clarifies, “I don’t want to be your safe choice, the reality to Rafael the fantasy … and if I am, if that’s how it is, or if that’s how you feel at all, then tell me. Because I’m not interested” (Episode 22). But white people have generally been racialized to represent the
status quo and the ideal world which is “safe, peaceful, and prosperous” in Hollywood, according to Ramírez Berg (2002, p. 67). Thus, Latinos and other minorities are positioned as inherent threats to the status quo because they are different from the established “WASP” (White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant) norm (Ramírez Berg, 2002, p 67). In telenovelas, authority drives the narrative and “perhaps more than deference to a powerful individual or an institutional or government authority, series dramas encourage socialization to dominant social norms,” (Artz, 2015, p 216) thus minimally attracting “tacit consent for the status quo” (p. 215).

The contrast between constructions of Rafael and Michael is striking. Rafael, the Latino, is portrayed through visuals and dialogue as a man who has a history of violence, whether real or perceived, and a lack of self-control. Michael is portrayed as the exact opposite, as he represents order and restraint. Yet, Michael is calculating, as the narrator informs us, “see, [Michael] had made some calculations [emphasis added],” and the screen-text reads, “PETRA + AFFAIR = DIVORCE = JANE KEEPS BABY” (Episode 3). Michael also is deceiving, as he does not tell Jane he knew Petra and Rafael’s marriage was in trouble, because she was cheating on him. In addition, Michael actually commits a federal offense multiple times. He allows Petra to manipulate him into tampering with a crime scene by removing her necklace from Zazo’s room (Episode 3) and bringing her into the room to help him find evidence which will point elsewhere (Episode 4).

In film, white individuals have historically been positioned as protagonists and ‘great white heroes’ whose characters are held up as ‘superior’ to those who hold different “cultural/ethnic/racial/class” backgrounds (Ramírez Berg, 2002, p 67). Ramírez
Berg (2002) falls short of saying minority characters are racialized but suggests they are positioned as ‘inferior’ through minor role assignments including: “villains, sidekicks, temptresses, the ‘other man’ (p. 67). Michael is not the protagonist, but his character becomes the ‘great white hero’ who saves Alba from deportation twice. Here, Michael represents the state and becomes a geopolitical character who gets to intervene in matters of immigration. However, his character is minimally threatened and perhaps destabilized by Rafael, a wealthy Latino who is part of Miami’s social elite circles. Michael is in a position of power because he is the lead detective on the investigations of Zazo’s murder and crime lord Sin Rostro. And for the better half of the season, the narrative seeks to re-establish the white character’s superiority by attempting to impose the stereotype of the Latino criminal on Rafael, thereby racializing him.

White masculinity is afforded the most sexual agency in Jane The Virgin, as Michael’s sexual involvement with Nadine just drops from the narrative and is condoned as ‘having fun’ (Episode 8). Yet, Michael exhibits a self-restrained form of sexuality and discipline that compliments his profession and gives him power. In contrast, the bodies of Latin@s are racialized, sexualized, and portrayed as sexually deviant. However, Latino masculinities are afforded more sexual agency than their female counterparts. Rogelio, the telenovela star, is glamourized and so is his lifestyle, with #Rogelifans partying with him in Vegas (Episode 22). In the case of Xiomara and Rogelio’s relationship, Rogelio drives the narrative which describes their attraction through animalistic references,

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66 Much like Betty’s workplace at Mode becomes culturally and socially significant as representative of white American culture (Murillo Sandoval & Escala Rabadán, 2013; Avila-Saavedra, 2010), the city of Miami in Jane The Virgin comes to represent a hybrid cultural space. Here, Latin@s are integrated into the fabric of the city through cultural elements including food trucks selling Cubano sandwiches (Episode 15) and music festivals such as Calle Ocho (Episode 16).
thereby exoticizing himself and further objectifying Xiomara. Rafael’s sexual agency is portrayed most negatively. And this is because his sexual agency is compared to that of a white man. In contrast to white masculinity, Latino masculinity is portrayed as deviant and lacking in self-discipline. Yet, narratives surrounding the sexual agency of women like Xiomara, Petra, and Luisa are scrutinized through religious narratives. Women seemingly cannot or should not have casual sex. Thus, the intersection of gender and race on Jane The Virgin positions Latina feminine sexual agency below that of Latino and white masculinities.

**Gender Norms.** This section’s findings now turn to address other ways in which narratives on Jane The Virgin reinforce gender norms. As a reminder, discourses on the virgin/whore dichotomy and the denial of sexual agency represent one of the ways in which the intersection of race, gender, and gender roles occur. Other narratives advanced by both men and women on the show, contribute to an adherence to traditional gender norms where women and men have predetermined roles in heterosexual relationships. These narratives have been overlooked in popular culture’s critiques of Jane The Virgin thus far. The focus has been instead, on the independence and family unity of the Villanueva women.

When Jane and Rafael’s relationship runs into trouble, the analysis identifies the emergence of problematic discourse on gender roles and responsibilities. In the beginning, it seems Rafael wants to be a present father. He says it is important to him. But as the season progresses and his relationship with Jane evolves, Rafael becomes more concerned with leaving his child a legacy (Episode 18). But the bigger issue for Jane is
whether Rafael will be actively involved in the caretaking of the child. Jane gets more and more frustrated when she has to make decisions on her own. She goes to Target to tag items for her baby registry with Lina instead of Rafael and goes to childbirth classes with Xiomara (Episode 17).

Jane begins to doubt whether Rafael will be supportive and involved in raising their child and confronts him saying “I’m not mad, Rafael. I’m scared. When this baby comes, I’m scared it’s gonna all be on me, all the childcare” (Episode 17). He says that will not happen and Jane presses the issue, reminding him he will always have work to tend to and prioritize. Rafael’s solution is to hire a nanny. So Jane asks a more specific question, “will you be taking any time off to take care of the baby?” (Episode 17). Rafael responds, “come on. My job is different [emphasis added]. We have different [emphasis added] responsibilities” (Episode 17). What Rafael says here is so telling because it means he adheres to traditional and machista gender roles where women are relegated to being the sole caretakers of children. His life is hardly going to change once the baby is born, especially because he and Jane do not live together. And the season ends before audiences can learn about much about their parenting strategy and whether Rafael will hire a nanny to help take care of the baby when Jane and her family are not available.

Rafael believes his responsibility is to financially provide for the child. This belief is confirmed when Jane presses the issue in the following episode. Jane tells Rafael she does not want a “life where the husband’s always gone and work always comes first” (Episode 18). Rafael responds, “you know how important family is to me … okay, now you look disappointed again … because I want to be successful … and I would be providing for our child” (Episode 18). Jane tells Rafael she does not want him to get
“sucked into living” his father’s life. This interaction demonstrates Rafael adheres to traditional gender roles for himself as well. The expectation is he will be the breadwinner. After a visit from his mother, Rafael is shaken and breaks up with Jane saying perhaps they are too different after all (Episode 18). And though Jane tries to compromise and go to therapy, they remain broken up (Episode 19) until the end of the season and the birth of their son (Episode 22).

Rafael’s behavior and response to Jane’s concerns about caretaking all build up to a scary realization for Jane. In Episode 20, Jane nearly burns down her room when she falls asleep after trying a technique to turn her breech baby. Alba walks in just in time and drowns the fire out with a pillow. Jane’s grandmother scolds her for not asking for help and Jane breaks down crying,

I just needed to prove I can do it myself, because I’m going to have to do things myself now! And I know you’re here, but still, there are some things I need to do on my own. Okay? As a single mother [emphasis added]. Because that’s what I am. And I didn’t see it coming, Abuela. And I’m just trying to get my bearings, and I just want to be able to do something. I just wanted to know I can do something on my own (Episode 20).

Alba tries to comfort Jane. This interaction is important because it reveals a new intersecting identity for Jane. She will be a single mother just like her mother was. To top things off, Jane chooses to apply to a graduate school writing program (Episode 21). Thus, Jane will not only be a single mother, she will be a graduate student and a single mom.
From the conversations surrounding Jane’s willingness to skip out on Easter traditions with her family, problematic discourses on gender roles emerge among the Latinas on the show. When Jane tells her “glam-ma,” Liliana de la Vega, she will not be participating in Easter celebrations with her family, Liliana responds, “I understand. And I think it’s wonderful you’re standing by your man.” Alba interrupts and says she agrees. Liliana adds, “a good woman always puts a good man first” and she tells Xiomara to tend to Rogelio’s needs, “and speaking of … Rogelio’s looking thirsty … Room temperature water. Two lemons” (Episode 18). Here, audiences have two women who reinforce patriarchy and traditional notions of a women’s role in the household and in a heterosexual relationship. Alba and Liliana support traditional gender roles where a woman should prioritize and place the needs and desires of a man above her own. Notions of familism, or the “centrality of and loyalty to the family and to the prioritizing of family unity and needs over individual member’s interests and needs” are at work here (Alcalde, 2014, p. 540). In other words, a woman should be selfless and cater to a man. And if a woman does not do so, she is positioned as the opposite of good. This “patriarchal privilege promotes women’s subordination by encouraging women to act ‘for the good of the family’” (Alcalde, 2014, p.540) at the expense of their own well-being. Yet men have the absolute freedom to pursue their own personal interests without repercussion, without being labeled as selfish.

Alba and Xiomara further reinforce patriarchy when they have a conversation with Jane on the family porch. Jane finally tells her grandmother about how concerned

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67 The Villanueva women often have important and emotional conversations on the family porch. The family unity of the women is showcased in these moments. For example, when Jane and Xiomara have a conversation in Episode 2 about the baby and how Jane cannot entirely prepare for how the pregnancy will change her life. Or in Episode 5, where Jane returns to her mom after being estranged because of the news...
she is with Rafael’s behavior in regards to caretaking. Jane says, “I just think we’re so different, Abuela. And today –I mean, it’s like, a[n] extreme example –but I just saw my life unfolding like that. You know, he’s never around, I resent it, make compromises” (Episode 18). Instead of acknowledging and evaluating Jane’s concerns as reasonable, Alba and Xiomara dismiss Jane’s instincts and feelings by telling her she should have faith in Rafael. As a member of the show’s audiences, this scholar was disappointed in Alba for telling Jane to have faith in this instance instead of telling her to “trust that little voice” [of reason] inside her head, as she did when she was trying to keep Jane from having pre-marital sex and encouraging her to wait for the “right” man (Episode 3).

Alba tells Jane, “You can poke holes in anything. Remember. Faith is the banishment of doubt. So the question is … do you have faith [emphasis added] in him? In who he is” (Episode 18). Jane doubts Rafael because his behavior does not align with the things he says. And when Jane thinks Xiomara will side with her, because she has never been fully onboard with Jane and Rafael’s relationship, Xiomara agrees with Alba. She says:

don’t let doubts get in the way. You know how I … self-sabotage and start getting all self-righteous and acting out? Well, this is how you do it. You start to doubt things. And if you look at something through that doubting lens, well … it will

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of her father. Or when Jane tells her mom she was right about Rafael and how the two are just too different (Episode 8). Or in Episode 11, when Alba and Xiomara have a heart to heart about how Rogelio must wait to have sex with Xiomara to demonstrate she is special to him. Even Rogelio gets in on the heartfelt porch swing scenes when he tells Xiomara he landed the protagonist role in a telenovela set to shoot in Mexico (Episode 13) and when he invites the women to the Paloma Awards (Episode 9) and learns about Xiomara’s pop Idol. The scenes on the porch signify the family unity of the women and also represents their independence and ability to handle tough situations without the presence or help from men.
[emphasis present in subtitles] fall apart. Think about how quickly you ended things with Michael when you started to doubt him.

Xiomara also tells Jane to think about the qualities that made her fall in love with Rafael. And Jane questions if those qualities are enough to overcome her doubts. Alba adds, “you can’t know. But it won’t work if you don’t believe it will. You have to have faith” (Episode 18). So Jane chooses to do away with reason and follows her mother and grandmother’s advice. She tries to have faith and continues to seek compromise with Rafael. So much so, she nearly has sex with him in the following episode.

For a show focusing on the lives of three generations of Latinas, *Jane The Virgin* advances problematic narratives reinforcing patriarchy and traditional gender roles. Instead of celebrating the sexual agency of all female characters, the narrative negatively portrays women like Xiomara, Petra, and Luisa who are in control of their sexualities and bodies as sexually and spiritually deviant. *Jane The Virgin* celebrates the Villanueva women’s family unity and detracts from the fact Alba, Xiomara, and Liliana encourage Jane to be deferential to Rafael. Jane eventually learns Rafael adheres to traditional notions of his and her role as a family. He is concerned about leaving a legacy and providing for his child financially. He tells Jane they have different responsibilities, which translates into Jane being solely responsible for the child’s physical and emotional caretaking.  

\[68\] This dynamic is normalized and encouraged because Alba and Xiomara will

\[68\] In Episode 17, Jane voices her concerns about Rafael’s constant absence due to work to her mother and grandmother. Xiomara reassuringly tells Jane she and Alba ‘will pitch in’ and help care for the baby. This moment is celebrated by fans as an example of the Villanueva family unity. For example, one Twitter user tweeted about the three generations of Latin@’s on the show saying, “‘We’re all in this together.’ @ivonne_coll + @HereIsGina + @AndreaNavedo = women power! Mujeres rock!!! #JanetheVirgin”
be there to help Jane take care of Mateo. Their presence and help should not detract from the fact Jane will be a single mother and graduate student.

(Fyodorova, 2015). A similar tweet reads, “I ADORE all 3 generations of the Villanueva women and they way they are utilized on this show #JaneTheVirgin” (Romack, 2015).
CONCLUSION

Like all people, we perceive the version of reality that our culture communicates. Like others having or living in more than one culture, we get multiple, often opposing messages. The coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference causes *un choque*, a cultural collision” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 100).

Anzaldúa clearly articulates the importance of interpreting cultural texts. If anything, analyses of minority representations in television are significant because they highlight conflicting messages about the contemporary versions of reality being produced and disseminated in society. Identifying the ways in which competing cultures collide might be the first step toward making sense of problematic narratives about minority groups and the power hierarchies involved in cultural production.

Anzaldúa later addresses the need for inward consciousness as a tool for societal change. This consciousness can be interpreted as a journey toward understanding one’s intersecting identities. Anzaldúa says,

> [t]he struggle is inner: Chicano, *indio*, American Indian, *mojado*, *mexicano*, immigrant Latino, Anglo in power, working class Anglo, Black, Asian –our psyches resemble the bordertowns and are populated by the same people. The struggle has always been inner, and is played out in outer terrains. Awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn come before changes in society. Nothing happens in the ‘real’ world unless it first happens in the images in our heads” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 109).
However, the images people have in their heads might be affected by the versions of reality advanced by the dominant images reproduced in popular culture. These images can affect the way individuals perceive themselves and their self-identities because popular media have the ability to educate on issues of race, ethnicity, and culture (Cortés, 2004). Thus, this situated consciousness is influenced by the power hierarchies of cultural production in society. Therefore, critical analysis of the images and narratives produced about minority groups is necessary to deconstruct and challenge these representations. Such analysis might not only shed light on contemporary cultural issues but lead to newfound consciousness for some.

In an important and recent study of Latin@s in the media, Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, and Robson (2014) identify and coin the term ‘Latino media gap’ to explain and expose the fact that ‘as Latino consumer power grows, relative Latino media presence shrinks’ (p 1). Even though the Latin@ population is attributed with more than 50 percent of the U.S. population growth from 2000 to 2010 (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011), the rates at which Latin@s participate in all sectors of the media have generally stagnated, grown only slightly, or declined. Essentially, Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, and Robson (2014) suggest the presence and representation of Latin@s in the media today is far worse than it was seventy years ago.

In television in particular, a growing gap between population and representation of Latin@s is emerging. From 2010 to 2013, no Latino actors were portrayed in leading roles on television in spite of the fact that, at this time, Latin@s represented 17 percent of

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69 At the time of their quantitative study on Latin@s in the media, Mastro & Behm-Morawitz (2005) echoed the same findings. Latin@ underrepresentation in primetime television had persisted for more than five decades (p. 111).
the U.S. population. In the 1950s, Latin@s represented 3.9 percent of the top ten TV lead appearances and represented about 2.8 percent of the population (Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, and Robson, 2014, p. 8). Worse, when Latin@s are represented in the media they are often portrayed through stereotypes, which have hardly evolved, that date back to the earliest representations of Latin@s in film during the twentieth century (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Ramírez Berg, 2002). These stereotypes include casting roles of Latin@s as criminals or violent “half-breeds,” Latin lovers or Don Juans, and hypersexualized or exoticized sexy señoritas (Luther, Leper, & Clark, 2012). Mastro & Behm-Morawitz (2005) echo similar stereotypes of Latin@s in the media, including characterizations of Latin@ identity as criminals, the occasional law enforcer, the Latin lover, the female harlot, and the comic/buffoon (p. 111).

This scholar echoes Vargas’ (2010) statements about the significance and importance of critiquing new representations of Latin@s in the media. The growing disconnect between representation of Latin@s across all aspects of media highlights the importance of studies on media that do offer portrayals of the largest ethnic group in the United States. Literature on media representation of minorities has long acknowledged the power of the media to influence, challenge, and reinforce stereotypes of these groups. The television show Jane The Virgin is the latest to portray the lives of Latin@s, particularly Latina women at the forefront, to mainstream American audiences—and increasingly, global audiences.

Jane The Virgin debuted on the CW in fall 2014 at a time when anti-immigrant, particularly anti-Mexican and anti-Latin@, sentiment in the United States was reaching an all-time high (Fox, 2014). Since then, Donald Trump announced his candidacy for
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president and in that speech, he condemned Mexico for sending people who are “bringing drugs” and “bringing crime” to the United States. He also referred to Mexicans as “rapists” but “assume[d]” some are “good people” (Washington Post Staff, June 2015). Trump also extended the issue to include concerns about immigrants from South and Latin America and the Middle East (The Washington Post Staff, June 2015). This context is important because most Latin@s, including Mexicans and Mexican-Americans are identified, by the media and society at large, as immigrants even though many are U.S.-born. At a time when politicians’ discourses on immigration intensify (Gallo 2015), Jane The Virgin not only presents audiences with representations of Latin@s but also adopts a distinctly Latin@ perspective and political stance on immigration by calling for #immigrationreform (Martinez, 2015).

The show’s discourse on the issue of immigration subsides in the first season but resurfaces in the second season when Alba decides to risk applying for her green card (Terrero, 2015). This scholar acknowledges portrayals of the issue of immigration and citizenship help contextualize and add significance to this study. The distinct position advanced by the show contributes to ongoing social and political conversations about immigration in the United States. The show’s representations speak to the integration of brown bodies or Latin@s into American culture and likely serve to ease concerns about the ‘browning of America’ through assimilation. Furthermore, like telenovelas, Jane The Virgin’s adaptation of Juana La Virgen “‘participate[s] in the production of meaning’ about gender, race and class” (Artz, 2015, p. 212) in the United States.

This study’s findings indicate Jane The Virgin complicates the pan-Latinidad identities of the Villanueva women. Here, the analysis addresses part of this study’s
larger question on whether the show’s representations are gendered in reinforcing or defying pan-Latinidad. New articulations of hybrid identities are presented through the seamless integration of Spanish as Alba’s dominant language. The reliance on immigration narratives on JTV serves as another reminder of Latin@ hybridity. The Villanueva women embrace Latin music and the telenovela genre, thus reinforcing notions of a shared pan-Latinidad identity. Producers also reinforce pan-Latinidad through the predominance of religious narratives which imply that the Villanueva women and all Latin@s are Catholic. Representations of the Villanueva women’s ethnic identities signify new and hybrid articulations of cultural identities. Thus, the show not only serves as an educational agent in exposing audiences to the telenovela genre, but arguably educates audiences about what Latin@ assimilation into American culture ought to look like.

This study’s analysis also demonstrates Jane The Virgin advances problematic narratives which reinforce the virgin/whore dichotomy. The show functions as an educational agent in exposing non-Latin@s to the telenovela genre but falls short of its potential to shatter virgin/whore dichotomous discourses in the first season. Here, this study’s analysis addresses the second question which is concerned with the ways in which femininity is constructed on the show. Through religious discourse, female sexual agency is actively denied or frowned upon and a woman’s spirituality and sexuality are linked. Failure to adhere to religious discourses positions Latinas on the show as spiritually and sexually deviant.

In addition, findings illustrate how masculine sexual agency is privileged and encouraged. White masculinity is afforded the most sexual agency and Latino
masculinities are granted less sexual agency than whites but more than Latinas. These findings address the third question posed in this study which sought to determine how Latina femininity was constructed or derived from its relationship with masculinity. Here, this scholar’s findings indicate the presence of problematic narratives which reinforce traditional gender norms and the role of women in heterosexual relationships. Ultimately, *Jane The Virgin’s* representations of Latinas and Latinos are racialized and sexualized.

Latino masculinities, when compared to whites,’ are portrayed as sexually deviant and lacking self-control. Latina femininities are constructed and derived from the virgin/whore dichotomous lens but are also influenced by representations of Latino masculinities. The women on *Jane The Virgin*, Jane included, are afforded the least sexual agency. Yet, show’s narratives position both male and female characters in ways that reinforce problematic gender norms upon themselves. Critical readings of the show’s text in this analysis demonstrate the prevalence of deeply embedded stereotypical narratives which might otherwise go unnoticed for Latin@ and non-Latin@ global audiences alike.

The limitations of this study largely included the inability to address larger narratives of criminality on the show. The presence and importance of addressing narratives which position Latin@s as criminals or drug cartel leaders is acknowledged by this scholar. Thus, further analysis on this issue is necessary, particularly the character of Roman Zazo. Though this study never intended to provide a detailed analysis of each character, the inability to incorporate analysis of Rose Solano due to time constraints is acknowledged. Her character, much like Luisa’s, is likely also positioned as sexually and spiritually deviant. She is further villanized through narratives of criminality because she
is Sin Rostro. A more detailed analysis of Rose and Luisa’s relationship was also out of
reach and so was an analysis of the Latin Lover Narrator. In addition, this study did not
incorporate an analysis of the show’s ad placements. Future studies might seek to focus
on or incorporate an analysis of the audiences targeted through these advertisements. A
political economy approach could better address the production structure and distribution
of the show, its advertising revenue, and whether the adaptation also advances
transnationalist capitalist cultural hegemony where “individualism, self-interest, authority
and consumerism reign” (Artz, 2015, p 219).

Additional studies will complicate existing critiques of the show’s representations
of Latin@s in popular media. Findings could shed light on the ways in which the show
might not only challenge but also perpetuate existing stereotypes about Latin@s. In
thinking about the show as an educational agent, then challenging existing stereotypes
would present all audiences, but non-Latin@ audiences in particular, with nuanced or
new articulations of Latin@ identity. As is typical in television studies, this scholar opted
to analyze the entire first season of Jane The Virgin. In addition, an emphasis on critical
textual and intertextual analysis further limits the scope of this study. Using pan-
Latinidad and intersectionality as theoretical frameworks, the scholar sought to address
questions of ethnic and gendered identity representations in Jane The Virgin. Future
research could give precedence to a semiotic theoretical framework of analysis.
Additionally, other studies could focus on comparing and contrasting representations of
gender, Latinidad, and sexuality on the shows Jane The Virgin and Ugly Betty. In
addition, future studies of Jane The Virgin and other shows with representations of
Latin@s must move beyond analysis of heterosexual femininity and masculinity (Vargas, 2010, p 122).
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VITA

Litzy Galarza, whose former legal name is Guadalupe Galarza Pacheco, was born in Santiago Papasquiaro, Durango, México in 1991. On May 20, 1998, at a mere six-years-old, Litzy migrated to the United States with her family. She was a legal resident for 17 years before becoming an American citizen, on Aug. 7, 2015, in her hometown Phoenix, Ariz. In Aug. 2014, Litzy completed her undergraduate studies with concentrations in journalism and political science at The University of Arizona in Tucson. Her passion for Latin@ studies and issues pertinent to the Latin@ community are rooted in her personal journey toward uncovering her intersecting identities as a feminist, an immigrant, a Mexican-American, and self-identified Latina while a graduate student at The University of Missouri-Columbia.