Universidad de Granada

Changing Perspectives at the Goya Awards: Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Contemporary Spanish Cinema (2004-2011)

A Doctoral Dissertation Presented
by

AMY DOLIN OLIVER

Thesis Director:
MARÍA ÁNGELES GRANDE ROSALES

Comparative Literature
Literary and Art Theory and Comparative Literature Program
Department of General Linguistics and Literary Theory

University of Granada
SEPTEMBER 2012

Universidad de Granada

Changing Perspectives at the Goya Awards: Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Contemporary Spanish Cinema (2004-2011)

A Doctoral Dissertation Presented by: **Amy Dolin Oliver**

Thesis Director: **María Ángeles Grande Rosales**

TRIBUNAL

Presidente: Antonio Sánchez Trigueros
Secretario: Domingo Sánchez-Mesa Martínez
Vocal: Anxo Abuín González
Vocal: María M. Delgado
Vocal: Alberto Elena Díaz

AUTORIZACIÓN PARA LA PRESENTACIÓN DE TESIS DOCTORAL

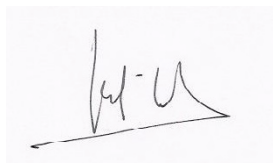| 1.- Datos personales del autor de la Tesis		
Apellidos: OLIVER	Nombre: Amy Dolin	
DNI/Pasaporte/NIE:	Teléfono:	Correo electrónico:

2.- Datos académicos
Programa de Doctorado: Teoría de la Literatura y del Arte y Literatura Comparada
Título de la Tesis: Changing Perspectives at the Goya Awards: Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Contemporary Spanish Cinema (2004-2011)

3.- Autorización del Director/es	
D/Dª: María Ángeles Grande Rosales	DNI/Pasaporte/NIE:
Departamento/Instituto/Institución: Lingüística General y Teoría de la Literatura Universidad de Granada	Correo electrónico:

Como Directores de la Tesis y hasta donde nuestro conocimiento alcanza el trabajo ha sido realizado por el/la doctorando/a bajo nuestra dirección y se han respetado los derechos de otros autores a ser citados, cuando se han utilizado sus resultados o publicaciones. Así mismo, el trabajo reúne todos los requisitos de contenido, teóricos y metodológicos para ser admitido a trámite, a su lectura y defensa pública, con el fin de obtener el referido Título de Doctor, y por lo tanto AUTORIZAMOS la presentación de la referida Tesis para su defensa y mantenimiento de acuerdo con lo previsto en el Real Decreto 99/2011, de 28 de enero,

Granada, 24 septiembre, 2012
        Director/es de la Tesis

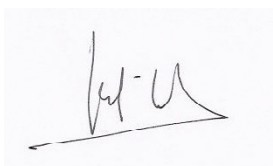   Fdo.:   María Ángeles Grande Rosales

SR. COORDINADOR DEL PROGRAMA DE DOCTORADO EN LINGÜÍSTICA GENERAL Y TEORÍA DE LA LITERATURA

La doctoranda Amy Dolin Oliver y la directora de la tesis María Ángles Grande Rosales garantizamos, al firmar esta tesis doctoral, que el trabajo ha sido realizado por la doctoranda bajo la dirección de la directora de la tesis y hasta donde nuestro conocimiento alcanza, en la realización del trabajo, se han respetado los derechos de otros autores a ser citados, cuando se han utilizado sus resultados o publicaciones.
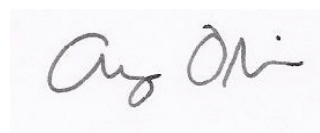
Granada, 25 septiembre, 2012

Directora de la Tesis   Doctoranda

Fdo.: María Ángeles Grande Rosales   Fdo.: Amy Dolin Oliver

Part of the results demonstrated in this Doctoral Thesis were presented or published in:

Lectures:

Jornadas de Teatro e Inmigración. Aula de Artes Escénicas del Secretariado de Extensión Universitaria, University of Granada, 2010. "¡Sí quiero!, Matrimonio, convivencia y otros actos híbridos en el séptimo arte".

I Festival Internacional de Cine para la Integración. Valencia, 2007. "La imagen del inmigrante en el cine español contemporáneo".

Conference Papers:

I Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Española de Teoría de la Literatura. Granada, 2011. "Digesting Immigration: Assimilating New Cultures in Contemporary Spanish Film".

VI Conference of the Society for Multi-Ethnic Studies: Europe and the Ameritas. Leiden, The Netherlands, 2008. "Deconstructing Interracial Relationships in Spanish Film: Love, Lust and the Immigrant".

V Congreso sobre la Inmigración en España. Valencia, 2007. "Locutorios y arroz tres delicias llegan a la pantalla española: el estudio del inmigrante en el cine español contemporáneo".

X Congreso de Inmigración y globalización. Almería, 2006. "La transculturación en el cine español actual: Identidades móviles".

IX Congreso de Inmigración y la media. Almería, 2005. "Dominación del 'otro' en el cine español contemporáneo".

Publications:

(2011) "Romancing the Immigrant in Spanish Cinema: Imagining Love, Lust & Prostitution" in Metakinema, number 8, April.

ABSTRACT

CHANGING PERSPECTIVES AT THE GOYA AWARDS: MIGRANT
AND ETHNIC IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN CONTEMPORARY
SPANISH CINEMA (2004-2011)

Abstract:

This doctoral thesis explores the social construction of migrant and ethnic identity representation, documenting what is being represented in Spanish contemporary film. It draws on the interdisciplinary fields of Cultural Studies, Postcolonial Studies, Comparative Literature, and Film and Media Studies. The theoretical framework of this investigation was based on the theories of alterity and hybrid identities, and the notion of point of view, in particular the influence of director heritage in the evolution of these representations in national European cinemas.

The principal corpus used in this thesis consists of sixty full-length feature fiction Spanish national films from the years 2002 to 2010 nominated for a Goya Award between the years 2004 to 2011. These films were selected due to their having been nominated for a Goya award, taking place in the present contemporary era, set in Spain as the physical location of the narrative, and having 100,000 or more spectators. They were examined for director heritage, film funding, inclusion of migrant and ethnic images, the narrative level of these characters as well as their nationality, gender, and age, film setting, language abilities, and occupations. This was followed by documentation on the rhetorical treatment of migrant and ethnic characters.

These results are situated both in the wider Spanish cinema and in European cinema models in a comparative manner. They show the evolution of changes

occurring in Spanish cinema and deal with questions that have not yet been addressed by the academic literature, for example the use of food as a metaphor for assimilation or integration and a treatment of relationships and sexual relationships according to mania, philia and phobia levels.

PERSPECTIVAS CAMBIANTES EN LOS PREMIOS GOYA: LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA IDENTIDAD INMIGRANTE Y ÉTNICA EN EL CINE ESPAÑOL CONTEMPORÁNEO (2004-2011)

Resumen:

La presente tesis doctoral explora la construcción social de la identidad inmigrante y étnica a partir del cine español contemporáneo. Hace uso de una aproximación metodológica interdisciplinar que comprende la crítica postcolonial, la literatura comparada, los estudios culturales, los estudios sobre media y fílmicos. El marco teórico de esta investigación se ha basado en las teorías de la alteridad e identidad híbrida y en la noción de punto de vista, en concreto la influencia de la herencia del director en la evolución de estas imágenes de la inmigración en diversos cines europeos nacionales.

El corpus principal de la tesis está compuesto por sesenta películas de ficción españolas producidas entre los años 2002 y 2010, y nominadas para los premios Goya entre los años 2004 y 2011. La selección se estableció a partir de su inclusión en dichas nominaciones a los Goya, la ambientación contemporánea en territorio español y su visionado por una recepción mínima de 100.000 espectadores. A continuación se han examinado estas películas en relación a la

herencia identitaria del director, la financiación, y en cuanto a los personajes inmigrantes como su inclusión, nivel de protagonismo, la nacionalidad, el género, la edad, las habilidades lingüísticas y las profesiones, lo que se ha complementado con un análisis crítico en torno al tratamiento retórico del Otro.

Por último, estos resultados se interpretan en relación al cine español y europeo, modelos confrontados en términos comparativos. Muestran la evolución del cine español sobre dicha problemática y tratan cuestiones que no han sido analizadas aún por la bibliografía académica al uso, por ejemplo el uso de la comida como metáfora para la asimilación o la integración y la existencia de *mania*, *filia* o *fobia* en las relaciones románticas y sexuales en el cine español.

Palabras claves: Migración, Inmigrante, Cine Español, Cine Europea, Herencia del Director, el Otro, Relaciones, Alimentos, Digestión, Jerarquías

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INDEX

INTRODUCTION

Personal Introduction

This investigation reflects my interest in the artistic reflections on the migrant experience and the changes occurring in Spain related to migration. My attraction to the study of migration and the representation of migration in Spanish arts was a natural transference of this interest from California to Spain. I come from a country of migration. I grew up in a state, California, where migration has played a central role from its origins. California, a land of Native Americans later colonized by the Spanish, became a US state in 1850 at the end of the Mexican-American war. Factors such as the gold rush and completion of the transnational railroad attracted major national and international migration. Immigration has and continues to play a significant part in the California identity. During my childhood in the 1980's, California experienced a large population increase due to migration from Mexico, China, the Philippines and South East Asia. In 1994 tensions over illegal migration came to a head in the California ballot initiative, Proposition 187. This ballot intended to bar the state from providing health, education and welfare services to undocumented migrants. It was approved by a 59% majority, though later rejected as unconstitutional. It provoked widespread controversy in its aftermath. Long lasting effects remain to this day, such as a Republican party that has not been able to attract the growing Latino voting population of the state, as well as an outpouring of multicultural education programs and celebrations designed to counteract xenophobic discourse and foster pride in ethnic cultural roots. I grew up surrounded by migration: in the demographics, politics and the arts in California.

Upon arrival to Spain in 2003 as I worked to learn the Spanish language, I often found myself eating lunch with Spaniards who watched the midday news on television. These lunches brought up two startling facts for me. The first was that

Spanish television showed dead bodies. I was not used to seeing this on US television where death was alluded to by the poetic image of a lost shoe or from a respective distance through sheet covered bodies of accident victims. In Spain, this delicacy with death was removed. The blood of accident victims and dead bodies in war torn areas were shown. There was no relegation of death and bodily injury to metaphors; it was instead exposed honestly and explicitly in the news.

The second surprise was the existence of migration to Spain. In 2003, I had no idea that Spain was a country of immigration. One of the first images I remember seeing on the news was that of a small group of migrants found dead, frozen in the trailer of a food transportation truck that traveled between Morocco and Spain. Their rigid bodies were shown in close-up as they were removed from the trailer. I was shocked: by the way they had died, by the frank images shown on television and with the concept that Spain had immigration.

Since this time I have had the chance to study world migration and to pursue deeper investigations on representation. I have seen the changes in Spain, as it has transformed from having one of the lowest immigration rates in Europe in 2003 to one of the highest in 2005, and seen this drop again in 2010 due to the international economic crisis of this time. I am fascinated at the reactions by Spaniards to these new cultures and unsettled at times by the naivety shown concerning the voyage many migrants undergo to arrive in Spain and of migrant cultures in general. An ambivalence exists. I have heard educated teachers use the belittling terms "negrito", "chinito" and "moro", or the oft repeated "habla cristiano". Later, these same teachers work to foster healthy self-esteem and pride in classrooms with students from China, Russia, Argentina and of Moroccan heritage.

From the onset I must admit my biases. I come from a country wrapped up in multiculturalism and shame over historical injustices. I have grown up in a culture that invites everyone to be color-blind in terms of race, then foments a culture of fear towards ethnic difference, politically advocating for more police to combat the lack of safety created by those of "brown or black skin" or of "migrant status". There are words that are not considered "politically correct" to use in California in reference to Americans of ethnic heritage, for example, "Asian American" not

"Oriental", "African American" not "Black, Colored or Negro". While similar terminology used in Spanish may make me cringe, I have had to adjust to its lack of identical historic baggage. Asians may be referred to as "Chinos" and Africans termed "Negro or Moreno", however this speaks more to the lack of cultural experience and knowledge Spain has of these cultures. The only exception to this I have noticed is the case of Berbers and North Africans being referred to as "Moros". While the term remains extensively used, it is also recognized as a despective term.

Through the writing of this thesis I have had to rethink what national cultures symbolize to me and what stereotypes I have learned to associate with these. As an example, a Mexican American in California may be associated with the growing demographic of middle-class office workers or with office cleaning and agricultural work. In Spain, a Mexican wouldn't necessarily bring to mind any of these, but instead perhaps a visiting university professor. Equally, an African man in Spain would not be associated in the media with gang violence, but instead with soccer players, illegal CD sales and construction and agriculture workers.

I have tried to write this investigation as an outside observer: one with a background in history, first-hand experience of multicultural studies, a bilingual speaker with access to two worlds of texts, and as an artist with awareness of the power of representation. I can identify with the dominant population, as I am often treated as such due to my educational, economic and cultural background as an American. And yet, I can also identify with the migrant population, as I am an immigrant in Spain. I have been constantly reminded of my migrant status through yearly renewals of my identification card at the police station and all manners of bureaucratic hoops that continually need to be jumped to live and work in Spain as a foreigner. Even my affiliation with the university has reinforced my migrant status. It took seven years of negotiating before my US university degree was officially recognized through the homologation process. I have spent the same amount of years trying to receive my University of Granada student identity card, which to this day hasn't been processed due to discrepancies in the computer system that do not accept Spanish foreigner identification card numbers (Número

de Identidad de Extranjeros) as they contain one letter more than Spanish national numbers.

Introduction to the Area of Investigation

Spain is currently a hotspot for world immigration. From the busy city streets of Barcelona to small rural farming towns on the Andalusian coast, foreign-born citizens and native Spaniards are sharing spaces. Art and the media, public opinion, and politics function in a circular pattern, each influencing the other and causing real effects for those being represented. Film has become one of the principal players documenting Spain's artistic coming of age with these encounters. Since the 1990's, over 150 full-length Spanish films have created a visual documentation highlighting immigration. These films debate the construction and transformation of migrant acceptance as well as accentuate xenophobic hierarchies.

This doctoral thesis sets out to explore the social construction of migrant and ethnic identity representation and to document what is being represented in Spanish contemporary film. It focuses on identifying and isolating the building blocks involved in the creation this identity. In a minor way, it also examines the point of view of directors and film teams as crucial in this identity construction.

A study of this type is multidisciplinary and draws on the fields of cultural studies, postcolonial studies, comparative literature, and film and media studies. It relies on theoretical viewpoints based on the notions of identity and alterity (Tajfel 1981, García Canclini 1995, Burke and Stets 2009), and stereotype and minority representation in the arts and media (Dyer 1993, Bhabha 1994, Shohat and Stam 1994). Differences exist in discourses and representation depending on the cultural status of the minority culture, size of the population, longevity of existence inside of the dominant culture and attention given to these groups through politics, the media and the arts in each country. Nations such as the United States, Canada and Australia began as colonies with populations based on indigenous peoples, migration and slavery, resulting in multi-generational ethnically diverse minority populations. European countries experienced principal migration growth primarily

in the 20th century beginning with World War I. A number of these countries, such as the United Kingdom and France, have longer historic contact and more developed minority populations due to ex-colonial holdings and migrations by these. Other nations, such as Spain, Italy and Portugal experienced an increase in immigration relatively recently and therefore have smaller minority populations just reaching the second and third generation of existence.

In the media and art, ideas about Others and ensuing representations are circulated. Representations of minority cultures are often filled with stereotypes and separated from context and reality. Academics such as Edward Said (*Orientalism* 1979), Homi Bhabha (*The Location of Culture* 1994), bell hooks ("Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance" 1992) and Leonie Sandercock ("*Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century* 2003) have focused on what representations on the Other say about the cultures defining them. Stuart Hall in "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies" argues that representations are an active process of creating meaning. They require selection, presentation, structuring and shaping of ideas in the process of "making things mean" (Hall, 1982: 64). However representation and reflection are often confused as synonyms, especially when dealing with the media, which he attributes as an agent in the creation of meaning. Often these are based on stereotypes constructed by dominant cultures. Imagology studies offer insights into ways that cultures react to other cultures by either looking up to them, looking down at them or viewing them as an equal as described by Daniel-Henri Pageaux ("De la imaginería cultural al imaginario" 1989).

In the case of the migrant, often our main source of information is through the news or through the arts such as film and television. Authors such as Teun van Dijk (*Racismo y análisis crítico de los medios* 1997, *Discourse and Racism* 2002), Nestor Garcia Canclini (*La globalización imaginada* 2001), and Raúl Gabás (*Quién opina en la opinión pública* 2001) have elucidated on systems of information creation and dissemination that provide biased views on immigration. The arts are influenced by the media and yet also work on the fringe themes of society, expanding the borders. Artists, even as they have a role of author or creator

of works that go on to influence others, are also members of societies and share many of the same stereotypes of their community. Additionally, the minority or immigrant group often has less access to media and art to express counter positions until they become those producing the news and art.

In the past two decades, Spain has undergone a rapid growth in immigration. This has created a flourishing of migrant representation in the Spanish media and arts. These social constructions of migrant identities are based on notions of the Spanish self-identity, historical relationships with Others and current political positions. Spanish researchers began addressing this area of study as migration increased, primarily from social, political and economical fields of research. It is only in the last decade that the area of culture and art has been studied and much remains to be written.

In the area of film studies, researchers on European cinema have extensively documented migrant representation in film (Sarita Malik 2002, Carrie Tarr 2005, Rochelle Wright 2005, Rob Burns 2006, Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg 2010). These authors have signaled three main stages which occur in national film representation during the transition from non-migrant country to migrant country. These are 1) representation of the migrant community by the dominant group in both rejection and solidarity, 2) representation of the migrant by both the dominant group and minority groups focusing on migrant narratives, 3) representation by both dominant and minority group focusing on common human based narratives, not necessarily centered on migrant narratives (Loshitzky, 2010: 15).

In Spain, researchers such as Isabel Santaolalla ("Close Encounters: Racial Otherness in Imanol Uribe's Bwana" 1999), Isolina Ballesteros (*Cine (Ins)urgente-Textos fílmicos y contextos culturales de la España posfranquista* 2001) and Alberto Elena ("Romancero Marroquí: Africanismo y cine bajo el franquismo" 1996), were early pioneers in the field dealing with the study of colonial influence and migrant in Spanish films. Since this time these authors have been joined by many others focusing primarily on feature length films (Parvati Nair 2004, Chema Castiello 2005, José Enrique Monterde Lozoya 2008, Montserrat Iglesias Santos 2010). Many of these academics have been waiting for the emergence of artists of

migrant heritage to begin creating films similar to the trajectory followed by filmmakers in other European countries. Now that migrant and migrant heritage artists have begun to appear, it can be expected that researchers will be attentively following their productions.

While studies on the Other in Spanish cinema have taken up the challenge of documenting ethnic representation (Santaolalla 2005, Chema Castiello 2005), similar studies have analyzed the presence of racism and xenophobia (de Urioste 2000, Ballesteros 2001, Castiello 2001, Molina Gavilan and Di Salvo 2001, Navarro 2009), gender issues (Argote 2003 and 2006, Santaolalla 2003, Nair 2004, Ballesteros 2005 and 2006, Fouz-Hernandez and Martínez Exposito 2007, Álvarez Suárez 2008, Stickle 2010) and questions on interracial romances (Flesler 2004).

One area that has been lacking is a systematic analysis of migrant and ethnic representation in a large body of films. Authors such as Castiello (2003), Santaolalla (2005) and Rosabel Argote ("La mujer inmigrante en el cine español del inaugurado siglo XXI" 2003) have studied larger groupings of films, however none of these works has provided a detailed breakdown of character construction. Additionally, while the area of intercultural romances has been studied by Santaolalla (2005) and Flesler (2004), this area remains largely undocumented for long term implications. Finally, the subject of food and migration has not been investigated nor a study providing deeper understanding of what representations are produced by Spanish filmmakers keeping in mind their position of dominant ideology.

In order to further expand information on previous studies and to address the shortfalls addressed, this investigation provides an analysis on construction of the migrant and ethnic identity in Spanish contemporary films bringing original material to the academic field. Reproduction of dominant constructions and hybrid constructions of the migrant identity were revealed and compared with development models from other European countries with more developed histories of migrant and minority representation in film. Constant throughout this work was the desire to consider the following questions:

1) To what extent has migration become a part of the national discourse as represented by its inclusion in Spanish films?

2) To what extent does director heritage influence the representation of migrant and ethnic character representation?

3) What nationalities and ethnicities are represented and in what manner?

4) Are there any stereotypes or migrant identity tropes recurrent in Spanish film?

5) Is immigration portrayed as a positive or negative transformation? How is contemporary Spanish film portraying the social changes in Spanish society since the arrival of the migrant? What are Spanish films showing audiences about Spanish reaction to migration? In what measure are aspects of material transculturation being documented in film?

6) In what manner do the representations show a power struggle for superiority over the Other? In what ways do these films make the migrant a known Other and create safe and acceptable distortions of the migrant to decrease a presumed threat to society?

This study aims to propose answers to these questions.

Orientation to the Thesis

The first chapter, *Social Construction of Migrant and Ethnic Identities,* looks at the social construction of identities, highlighting how we create self-identity and define alterity, as well as how migrant identities are conceived. It also focuses on representation of migrant and ethnic identities and how stereotypes become used in the media, arts and in film.

Next, chapter two, *Representing Others, Representing Ourselves,* examines national cinema and point of view to make evident the effects director and film crew identity have on migrant and ethnic character representation. This chapter underscores the similarities across different national cinemas in treatment of

migrant identities in film based on who is narrating. Homogeneity of representation of the Other figure found in these cinemas is ruptured when analysis is rotated to instead focus on the point of view of the national, migrant heritage or international co-production status of the director or film team behind the camera and the ripple effect this in turn has through the national representations of ethnicity in the media.

The following chapter, chapter three *Changing Perspectives in European Cinema*, summarizes the history of migrant representation in four European cinemas: France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Sweden. These cinemas are studied for their social-historic context in the establishment of migrant and ethnic populations, and key films representing native ethnic groups, migrants and migrant heritage minority groups.

Chapter four, *Changing Perspectives in Spanish Cinema*, provides a brief summary of Spain's migration history and contemporary representation of migration in the Spanish arts and film. Like chapter three, it details the social-historical context in the establishment of migrant and ethnic populations in Spain and key films representing these. However it offers a wider more extensive set of information in the history of ethnic populations, migration debates in the media and public opinion. Additionally, it provides an overview of the Spanish Film System, looking at factors in film production from financing and audience to the national awards system.

The next three chapters, five through seven, consist of the main body of research in this thesis. They draw on a theoretical triangulation of research methodologies. Triangulation is the use of two or more methodologies to analyze a social phenomenon in an effort to make up for the limitations a single method may have. It is employed to reflect on the complex multidimensional nature of social and media studies (Stokes, 2003: 27; Denscombe 1998: 134-139).

Chapter five, *Content Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Spanish Goya Nomianted Films 2004-2011*, consists of a statistical content analysis on migrant and ethnic representation in 60 full-length Spanish films from the years 2002 to 2010 nominated for a Goya Award between the years 2004 to 2011. It

provides information on the methodology of the selection of the film canon and on the categories and questions analyzed inside of the films. Next, it examines the frequency of these variables through discussion commentary and visual graphs. This type of analysis is important for its ability to signal general tendencies in representation in a wide number of films.

The following chapter six, *Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Four Case Study Films* provides critical analysis on four case study films derived from the canon of 60 films. The four films analyzed are *Tapas*, *Atún y chocolate*, *El penalti más largo del mundo* and *Princesas*, all directed by national heritage directors. They were chosen for their representation of emerging trends in the construction of migrant and ethnic character both inside of the Goya nominated canon as well as in the broader Spanish society. The majority of the films, with the exception of *Princesas* have been minimally analyzed by other academics. Each film is studied in two parts. The first looks at production, the directors and writers, reviews and provides a general summary. The second part details the rhetorical treatment of the ethnic or migrant characters in the film. This analysis aims to provide a more holistic understanding of the analysis variables studied in chapter five.

The third and final analysis is provided in chapter seven, *Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction As Shown In Digestion and Relationships*. This chapter provides a theoretical analysis on the rhetorical treatment of migrant and ethnic characters. This analysis differs from the previous two in that it is extended to include films from the wider Spanish film industry. The chapter is divided into two analysis sections: *Assimilation as Represented through Digesting Immigration*, and *Trends in Levels of Mania, Philia and Phobia as Measured in Romantic and Sexual Relationships*. These variables were chosen due to the impact of their statistical presence in films from the quantitative analysis in chapter five. This analysis seeks to place the information generated from this study in the larger ambit of trends happening in the whole of Spanish cinema. It shows that the desire around food and love is a powerful indicator of cultural acceptance and rejection of other cultures, not isolated to a select set of Goya nominated films.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

1. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, REPRESENTATION

AND ANALYSIS

> Cities and regions of the 21ˢᵗ century are multiethnic, multiracial, multiple. The cultural diversity which has emerged in cities in the West, and will continue to insert itself as a distinguishing characteristic of cities the world over, is also producing what I call a new world disorder. The multicultural city / region is perceived by many as more of a threat than an opportunity. The threats are multiple: psychological, economic, religious, cultural. It is a complicated experiencing of fear of 'the Other' alongside fear of losing one's job, fear of a whole way of life being eroded, fear of change itself.
>
> (Sandercock, 2003: 4)

1.0 Introduction

The objective of this thesis is to analyze the construction of migrant and ethnic identities in contemporary Spanish national cinema. This chapter provides the theoretical framework used for the analysis of the social construction of identity and its application to migrant and ethnic representation in the media.

As a starting point, the first section, *The Social Construction of Identity: Self Identity, Otherness and Globalization*, defines various conceptualizations of identity based on the debates taking place surrounding self-identity, social identity, cultural identity, alterity and hybridity in the academic literature of psychology, anthropology and sociology as well as in multidisciplinary cultural studies. A section on *Migrant and Ethnic Identity Terminology* is included to aid in understanding the terms used in this thesis. The discussion then moves to contextualize the concepts on identity in a globalized world in which hybrid cultures, transculturation and acculturation are commonplace along with hierarchies, racism and ethnic discrimination. This section concludes with a

summary of coping strategies used by both migrant and host cultures in their relationships with each other.

The second section, *Representation of Migrant and Ethnic Identities*, examines how the perception of migrant identity is transformed through images circulated in the press, the arts and in film. Representation itself is connected to power, and controlling representation means having the power to control images of the self-identity as well as Other identities. The role of the Media is considered fundamental in the reinforcement of many of the stereotypes and prejudices created about migrant and ethnic populations. The relationship between reality and realism in representation often has ramifications in the treatment of minority groups by society. In particular, the fields of cultural studies, postcolonial studies, film studies and imagology have all dedicated themselves to the study of the representation of the Other. This section ends with a summary of analysis tools developed in the study of representation of migrant and ethnic images in film.

1.1 The Social Construction of Identity: Self Identity, Otherness and Globalization

Entering a discussion on the construction of migrant and ethnic identities is tied up in the process of recognizing one's own identity. The term *construction* or *social construction* is used to describe concepts or ideas that have been created in a social context and are not inherent qualities but socially applied qualities. Different concepts on identity have arisen in academic circles. Identity is looked at from varying inclusion groups, from self-identity, to social identities, to cultural and national identities. It is in the defining of Other identities and hybrid identities where the more polemic social critical divergences emerge. As different cultures come into contact through globalization, a range of strategies are used to deal with the presence of Others. At times this leads to resistance and at others to acceptance inside of populations.

1. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, REPRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

1.1.1 Self-Identity, Social Identity and Cultural Identity

There are many different theoretical approaches used to define and discuss the concept of a self-identity. *Self-identity* is a construction a person uses to answer the question: "Who am I?". It is based on the perception one has of oneself based on such characteristics as gender, age, class, ethnicity, work and social memberships. As a starting point, Jonathon Culler in his book *Literary Theory. A Very Short Introduction* sets out two fundamental questions concerning the definition of the self (Culler, 1997: 131). The first question asks if the "I" is an intrinsic state or a constructed one. This question is most evident in child psychology debates regarding the difficulty to affirm if the development of a child's identity is most influenced by nature, intrinsic due to genetics, or by nurture, constructed by the social context where a child grows up. The second question examines if this "I" should be considered on individual terms as specific and unique to a person, or on societal terms in that members of communities share many similarities. Today's principal currents of thought are combinations of these four elements: intrinsic, constructed, individual and society (*ibid.*).

As individuals do not live in isolation but instead in communities, Henri Tajfel, in his work on social identity theory *Human Groups and Social Categories* (1981)*, makes the case that self-identity is heavily influenced by social identities created in groups. *Social identities* are identities based on perceived similarity with the members of an in-group. These groups share constructed meanings and interpretations about their own group and about other groups.

Authors Peter Burke and Jan Stets expand on Tajfel's work by stressing the influence of individual roles inside of groups. They emphasize that identity is plural, that at any one time each person possesses multiple identities: roles in society, membership to groups, and particular characteristics that identify one as unique (Burke and Stets, 2009: 3).

> For example, individuals have meanings that they apply to themselves when they are a student, worker, spouse, or parent (those are roles they occupy), when they are a member of a fraternity, when they belong to the Democratic party, when they are Latino (these are memberships in particular groups or when they claim they are outgoing individuals or moral

persons (these are personal characteristics that identify themselves as unique persons)" (*ibid.*).

Each person will take on multiple identities over the course of a lifetime, that change depending on the context and stages in life (*ibid.*: 131). Some of these identities will be based on individual preferences and others on preconstructed categories understood and defined by society.

This approach is similar to that developed by the sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. They emphasize that identity is a constructed affair and therefore immanently social. Identity is created first in childhood when roles are learned from the family and early education. "Identity is formed by social processes. Once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 173). Identity is grounded upon conceptions of cultural histories full of created symbolic values that serve as a form of cultural shorthand in an imagined universe taken for granted. Therefore for these authors, "Todos los fenómenos sociales son construcciones producidas históricamente a través de la actividad humana" (*ibid.*: 136). What is perceived as reality is really the result of social constructions of various realities created by a particular time, location and situation.

Berger and Luckman's studies of "everyday reality" are associated with the Frankfurt School and the New School of New York. They are a continuation of a trajectory of thought inspired by phenomenology and the work of the social theorist Alfred Schutz – knowledge in everyday life – whose own philosophical roots were in Edmund Husserl – immediate experiences – and Max Weber – society as key to understanding ourselves and others (Hacking, 1999: 25).

The identity of an individual encompasses various extended rings of membership. An individual has a self-identity, that is in turn influenced by social groups and these are in turn influenced by society and cultural norms. While identity is shown to be in constant change throughout the life of an individual, both society and culture move at a slower rate of change.

1. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, REPRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Society is used to describe the grouping of people who share a culture, customs, political institutions or organizations. Sociology widely views society as associated with resilience in patterns of interactions and relationships, resistant to change and with a set structure. However, far from being stagnant and uniform, it is also "a complex mosaic of relations, groups, organizations, institutions, and communities, crosscut by demarcations based on categorical distinctions (race, ethnicity, and so on)" (Stryker, 2000: 27).

Culture is described by Raymond Williams as "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" (Williams, 1976: 87). In a nebulous sense it consists of the practices, beliefs, arts, and general learned way of life of a society. Similar to societies, cultures are never static and always changing. Imre Szeman recognizes this double-faced view, expressing that on the one hand culture is conceived of as "fluid and unbounded…able to travel and exert its force across boundaries" and on the other hand "as something that exists in fixed, determinate spaces, whether this is the space of the nation and the region, or villages, groups and subcultures" (Szeman, 2005: 159).

Cultures are dynamic structures, existent before the birth and after the death of any one individual. They are ascribed with an essential role in the development of personal and group identity construction. Collective imagination functions through models previously constructed by past individuals through the inherited generations of cultural history that are then assimilated into the individual history (Perceval, 1995: 14).

The projection of culture in art, through institutions and in individual contributions, represents culture in perpetual metamorphous, whose minute variations define, transmit and enforce, and also question, the norms of acceptable behavior, attitudes and acceptable beliefs. The cultural networks transport concepts and categories that prevail for generations and these permit the individual to get along with others and to give meaning to reality (Cabruja, 2000: 65).

Culture can be understood to be too complex a concept to argue a concrete meaning (Eagleton 2000). This investigation instead focuses on how culture is

involved in the transfer of self and Other identity classifications due to the fact that life expectancy averages are limited to 70-80 plus years in western societies, whereas cultures survive and develop over much longer periods. Considering that all societies have their distinctive social values based on their particular manner of viewing the world, the transference of these values between generations plays a fundamental role in the maintaining of cultures. These symbolic values include the decisions on identity at a cultural and individual level as well as decisions on how to represent the Other.

The first place of transference occurs during the formative years in the home and through school education. During the lifetime of an individual, personal identity is refined and built upon through life experiences and equally so, perceptions of Other identities transform as the rules and norms of a society change. "Mediante nuestras relaciones y prácticas accedemos a un mundo construido, pero, simultáneamente, contribuimos a su construcción" (Cabruja, 2000: 65).

1.1.2 Alterity and Hybridity

Moving the discussion outward from self-identity and social/cultural identities, this section addresses the concept of Other Identities. Two opposing theoretical concepts, alterity and hybridity, have arisen to address the influence of difference in identity formation. The term *alterity* refers to the state of being an *Other*, or different from oneself, a non-self. Alterity is used primarily in research from anthropology, sociology, philosophy and psychology. *Hybridity* is used to describe the mixing of different peoples and of cultural products that take place for example in globalization. Hybridity has developed in poscolonial studies, cultural studies and anthropology. Both alterity and hybridity discourses exist in tandem and are applied to migrant and ethnic identity constructions in official political discourses and cultural arenas, including the media and arts. Current studies are nourished by previous work on diasporas (Gilroy 1993, Cohen 1997), traveling cultures (Clifford 1992), postcolonial theories on rhizome identities (Glissant 1981), and the subaltern (Spivak 1988).

1. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, REPRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Alterity theory believes that self-identity is defined by the presence of a non-self, an Other. Use of the concept Other also carries a hierarchy based significance in which the Same is valued higher and the Other is constructed as inferior. This process is doubly applied as two individuals identify themselves as different from the other creating a reciprocal association of the opposite individual as an Other. Identity is therefore linked not only to how one identifies the self but also how others identity this self. Thus the concept of the Other is essential as both a border and definer of identity. As the historian José María Perceval eloquently states: "Para construir los límites de una identidad se necesita establecer fronteras: aun más, donde no existen estas fronteras, entramos en la confusión y la duda" (Perceval, 1995: 107). Where one identity ends, another begins.

In order for interaction to take place there first needs to be a recognition both of who the other is and who oneself is (Burke and Stets, 2009: 13).

> In general, we do not know what to do with respect to others until we know their meanings for us and our meanings for them. This is the process of identifying the other. I know how to behave toward that person and have expectations about how that person will behave toward me only when I identify the other (*ibid.*).

It is in the process of symbolically *naming* the other that the identity of the self is reinforced and the other is assigned an identity. It is here that the language used by a culture plays an important role.

> The categories and classifications that are used for this purpose are provided by language and culture in which we are enmeshed. This helps to solve another problem for the potential interactants, which is to come up with a set of meanings that is at least to some extent shared. By using the shared symbols, which have been learned, some consensus is provided. We already have common reactions to these categories, concepts, and labels (*ibid.*).

Stuart Hall, while affirming that the Other is a necessary component in the construction of an identity, rejects the concept of an identity based on "internal homogeneity". Instead this author focuses on the construction of "lack" as part of the margin of an established identity. "[I]dentities are constructed through, not

outside, difference" (Hall, 1996: 4). Referencing the thoughts of other theorists such as Jacques Derrida, Ernesto Laclau and Judith Butler, Hall writes that "it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its constitutive outside that the 'positive' meaning of any term – and thus its 'identity' – can be constructed" (*ibid.*).

Expanding from alterity in self-identity to alterity in social identities, Tajfel notes that the characteristics of a group are largely based on, and receive their significance from, their differences in comparison with other groups. These characteristics might be status, wealth, poverty or ethnicity, but a " group becomes a group in the sense of being perceived as having common characteristics of a common fate mainly because other groups are present in the environment" (Tajfel, 1981: 258-259).

Berger and Luckmann believe that this meeting point and any ensuing friction between two cultures is a necessary component for the creation of cultural identity. In such circumstances, a power struggle for authenticity ensues, because the authority of the symbolic universe of a culture is called into question by the acknowledgement of another. What has always been considered the *correct* vision of reality is now challenged by an alternative definition of *correct*.

> Todo universo simbólico es incipientemente problemático. [...] El orden institucional está continuamente amenazado por la presencia de realidades que no tienen sentido en sus términos. [...] Toda la realidad social es precaria; todas las sociedades son construcciones que enfrentan el caos (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 134, 136).

This produces a need to defend one's own version and creates a more entrenched sense of community or cultural belonging.

It is quite a short jump to go from speaking of cultural identity to that of national identities. The national borders of a country are commonly used in modern times as a location to mark differences between cultures. On the part of the common citizen there is a tendency to define the Other in geo-political terms. Our neighborhood, community or city defines us. The general acceptance is to define us as nationals of a country restrained and defined by a passport. "Lo local representa un bastión para

la 'defensa' de la identidad [...] un territorio fértil para desplegarse" (Reguillo, 2002: 73). Although neighborhoods, communities and cities are composed of multiple groups and identities, "los naturales de una nación son la mayoría de los habitantes de un territorio delimitado en el papel y sobre ese mito se basan todas las concepciones nacionales" (Perceval, 1995: 100).

While cultural/ethnic attributes (shared customs, language, territory and organized politics) and political entities serve to form identity groups, the modern perception of nations does not serve as a homogenous ideal (Todorov, 1989: 203). Benedict Anderson stresses that nations are just another form of imagined community. "It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." (Anderson, 1983: 6). Furthermore, not only are these communities imagined, but they are also far from homogeneous.

> Those who inhabit nations with a strong sense of self-identity are encouraged to imagine themselves as members of a coherent, organic community, rooted in the geographical space, with well-established indigenous traditions […] On the one hand, modern nations exist primarily as imagined communities. On the other, those communities actually consist of highly fragmented and widely dispersed groups of people with as many differences as similarities and with little in the sense of real physical contact with each other (Higson, 2000: 64).

Nevertheless, identity based on nation is structurally sanctioned and practiced by world government systems. A further continuation of this practice is that of global identities or supranational identities. These include groupings of individuals based on continents (European, Asian, Latin American), geographic binary divisions (East and West, Orient and Occident, North and South), economic divisions (First World, Third World), and multi-national ethnicities (Hispanic, Black, Asian).

Poscolonial thought views alterity theory as dominant culture based and too focused on binary divisions. As an alternative, hybridity is embraced as a counterbalance to hegemonic cultural constructs, eliminating either/or divisions to instead address the absence of homogeneity in identity. Homi Bhabha argues that

cultures are never solitary institutions, nor binary in relation to the Self and Other, and that culture purity does not exist (Bhabha, 1994: 52-55). He refers instead to a "third space" where cultures overlap, an unrepresentable area where "meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixitiy; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha, 1994: 55). This third space is the identity existing between two competing identities. Building off of and refuting Fredric Jameson's thoughts in *The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991), Bhabha believes it is the contradictory process of rupture and displacement of the self that creates new identities at the border of current representations (Bhabha, 1994: 217). "Hybridity, as the central figure of Bhabha's cultural theory, is seen as an active challenge to the dominant cultural power, a force that transforms the cultural from a source of conflict into a productive element and thereby opens up a 'Third Space'" (Wolf, 2008: on line).

Cultural Studies emphasizes the fragmentation and volatility of identities. Identity is seen to be continuously evolving. It is both hybrid and mixed and knowledge of the Other is always changing. (Neri, 1999: 424; Moll, 1999: 386).

> [I]dentities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation (Hall, 1996: 3-4).

Anthropologist Nestor García Canclini sees the space between the Self and the Other as only another construction. He focuses instead on the alternative of a culturally mixed humanity, a hybrid constructed of many fragments of cultures. Similar to Hall, he highlights his belief in the importance of intercultural interactions and adds that anthropological studies have to stop thinking that homogeneous cultures exist. He further notes that, "hoy la identidad, aún en amplios sectores populares, es políglota, multiétnica, migrante, hecha con elementos cruzados de varias culturas" (García Canclini, 1995: 2). García Canclini's ideas about hybridity embrace Edouard Glissant's beliefs on the creolization of identities. "La tesis de Glissant es que todo el mundo se 'criolliza',

por lo cual todas las culturas están en contacto con todas las demás y no pueden resistirse a los intercambios y las influencias recíprocas. (Neri 1999: 431).

Transculturation is the gradual cultural exchange that takes place as a given culture adopts traits of new cultures that intersect with it. Transculturation is particularly applicable to Garcia Canclini's concept of hybrid societies – more and more multiethnic, polyglot and migrant, the identity becomes increasingly fragmentary, made up of elements and crosses of various cultures. "Cuando la circulación cada vez más libre y frecuente de personas, capitales, y mensajes nos relacionan cotidianamente con muchas culturas, nuestra identidad no puede definirse ya por la pertenencia exclusiva a una comunidad nacional" (García Canclini, 1995: 2). Transculturation has also been extended to "encompass a mechanism of resistance against appropriative cultural processes within neo-colonial discourses" according to Angel Ramo (Wolf, 2008: on line).

1.1.3 Globalization Terminology

With the increase of global movements and hybridization of peoples and cultures, terminology has emerged to deal specifically with the phenomenon of migrant and ethnic identities and situations. Here classifications and assigned identities of migrant and ethnic minority groups will be looked at. Terminology used for self-identity (in sociological terms), Other identity and globalization is also discussed.

Globalization refers to the internationalization of economies, communication, and migratory movements. International norms of official travel and migration are conceived of as through the nation state. To travel from one location to another, crossing a national border, involves the use of a national identity marker for entry. In order to be officially received, permission must be granted. Categorizing of travelers and migrants is based on self-identification juxtaposed with the alterity categorizations created by a host nation. Alterity, when applied to migration and habitation of the same geographic space by people of distinct ethnicities and cultures, creates a detailed world of names describing graduated states of statelessness whose very act of being named demonstrate the significance to the

receiving country. In the case of movements between countries, specific labels are created based on factors such as length of stay, voluntary or involuntary leaving of the home country, and hierarchy levels of "desirability" placed upon the sending country.

Visitors to a nation are distinguished in the first place on length of stay. Brevity of intended stay is a hallmark of transit passengers, tourists, or travelers, often indicating a duration of under three months and for international students, the length of an academic year or program. These situational identities tend to be short term and both favorably self-ascribed and also used as alterity classifications.

Migrants are people who move from one region to another. Different from visitors, migrants move for long-term and permanent stays. Migrants may move inside of a home country, internal migration, or move outside to another country. Migrant is the term used by this thesis to refer to people that take part in global movements. Migrants can be divided into immigrants and emigrants. **Immigrant** is an alterity label given by a host nation to label migrants who enter the country. From the perspective of the originating home nation, this same person is labeled as an **emigrant**, that is someone who has left the home country. Individuals classified as immigrants / emigrants often do not self-identify with either label. Instead many use national or cultural identities based on their home nationality or ethnicity as identity markers. Other migrants reject all classification and do not consider themselves as belonging to any such nation, as in the case of nomadic groups or international and cosmopolitan individuals. While immigrant is an alterity driven label, Othering as immigrant by the new host nation can have conditioning effects, causing a person to respond to the term, for example changing habits to meet requirements for legalization and asylum or its opposite, avoiding encounters and detection by government agencies to avoid deportation.

The term immigrant is a legal construct comprised of various subcategories that can be broken down into both official and unofficial discourses by a host nation. Officially it includes **documented immigrants** and **undocumented immigrants**. The term "undocumented" is replaced in media discourses for "**illegal**" highlighting the criminality governments attach to migration that is not officially

controlled. Documented immigrants may also be classified by the circumstances of leaving the sending country and reception by the host country. A number of these categorizations are discussed below.

Economic migrants come voluntarily to receiving countries to improve labor situations and include top-level international positions as well as blue-collar sector opportunities. **Refugees** are those who are forced to leave their country due to expulsion, persecution, fear of persecution, or those escaping danger during wars. Refugees may be granted asylum in other countries if they meet the requirements of the 1951 Convention and/or the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. Asylum seeker refers to the those who have left their country and applied for recognition as a refugee in another country. **Exiles** are those who have left their country voluntarily often due to politically motivated banishment from a country and are most often associated with political dissidents, leaders, writers and artists.

Unofficial discourses differentiate immigrants from foreigners. Economic migrants are treated differently from exiles, who are in turn treated differently from other refugees. These differences are played out not only in legal documents necessary for entry in the country but also in self-identification and alterity categorizations.The economic and cultural reputation of the sending country (industrial countries accepted differently than developing countries) often define whether one is determined an immigrant or a foreigner. **Foreigner** technically refers to those from outside countries who do not maintain a contract of citizenship with the country in question. However it is often used as a "positive" reference to outsiders in place of the official term immigrant with its negatively tinged connotations. Immigrants who come for top-level international positions often refer to themselves as **expatriates** or expats. It must also be mentioned that the soft classification as foreigner or expatriate is not associated with being a documented or undocumented immigrant, as both cases abound.

A second set of identity labels are used to describe ethnic and minority groups and their offspring living in a host nation. These are alterity terms assigned by the host nation. **First generation immigrant** refers to an individual who has left his or her home country and established life in a new host country. Further generations

born in a host country are numbered, for example **second generation** and **third generation**. It is infrequent to go beyond third generation categories. Second generation immigrants and beyond are also often referred to as nationals of **migrant heritage**.

Minority groups refer to ethnic groups or populations that are smaller in size than the dominant majority culture or ethnicity in a given society. These may apply to historic ethnic Others in a population, such as native societies of a territory (First Nations, Aboriginals), colonial heritage groups voluntarily migrated or involuntarily brought (such as through slavery) to a territory, or those who have multi-generations of residence in a territory (Romani, migrant heritage populations).

While host nations create alterity categorizations that intend to organize the chaos of migration, it should be remembered that these classifications can only serve as a crude form of short hand, stereotyping attributes of common situations used to describe the movements of people across imagined communities. Multiple variations exist with some nuances labeled while others remain unnamed based on the needs of societies. As an example, what is the term for a person who works three months in one country then three months in another country then returns home for six months, only to begin the pattern again the following year? There is also no name for an individual who is a long-term migrant in a country held against her will due to prostitution trafficking. This person cannot be viewed as either an immigrant "legal" or "illegal".

For this reason, in addition to these terms, various categories are constantly being produced which are neither self-identity labels nor alterity labels, but instead are theoretical labels used in the study of the movement of people and cultural products. Two examples are those of transnationals and diasporas. **Transnationalism** refers to the internationalization of the experiences by a company, individual or group of people that frequent multiple countries and may retain allegiance to multiple nations or to no nation. Therefore **transnational** is the term used to refer to people who move and live frequently between multiple countries. **Diaspora** is used to refer to multiple generations of migrants or ethnic

groups who have created a community in a new host country or countries while maintaining strong connections or memories oriented with their homeland.

Responses to the globalization of populations include xenophobia and racism. **Xenophobia** is the term for intense and irrational dislike, hatred or fear of people and things from other countries or cultures. **Racism** is the belief that one ethnicity is superior to another.

1.1.4 Globalization, Migration and Cultural Coping Strategies

Globalization encompasses the movement of people and cultural influences across borders. World populations have always been to a certain extent migratory. Fluctuations in climate, technological changes, political challenges and armed conflicts have all served as impetus pushing migration (Granados, 2001: 1). However, the speed at which current global processes of movement of capital, goods, messages and people takes place today was impossible before the middle of the 20th century (García Canclini, 2001: 63). The increase in movement has brought about an acceleration of hybridization and cultural coping strategies to deal with these changes.

Globalization produces hybridization in its wake. "[H]ybridity necessitates conceiving of cultures as nomadic to begin with, whether historically or conceptually, or both" (Szeman, 2005: 61). Through globalization, "cultural boundaries are imagined as having become porous, indefinite, and indeterminate: the 'local' intersects with the global (and vice versa), and culture becomes unsettled, uprooted, hybrid, mixed and impure" (*ibid.*: 160). Szeman believes that the concept of the nation is in the process of being transformed by the media towards transnational imaginings.

Globalization is also tied up with imagined cultural boundaries and power inequalities that begin at geo-political borders (Szeman, 2005: 160). Sassen, in her work on economic and migratory transnational politics, emphasizes that the border is a location of inequality. While capital is given privilege to move internationally, transnational labor is held back through antiquated immigration tactics (Sassen,

1998a: 167-168). Additionally, migration patterns tend to be connected to globalized economic activity. "[W]orldwide evidence shows rather clearly that there is considerable patterning in the geography of migrations, and that the major receiving countries tend to get immigrants from their zones of influence" (Sassen, 1998b: 8). Therefore, "economic internationalization" and influences from "older colonial patterns" have already begun processes of identity-alterity-hybridization even before migration begins.

Cultures that come into contact with other cultures use various strategies to defend themselves from the perceived threat of Other cultures. In globalized environments, it is increasingly common to have multiple distinct cultures living in close company. Close proximity can produce friction and xenophobic reactions as well as lead to friendships, love and cultural crossings. For Zygmunt Bauman, both of these responses are tied to desires to control the perceived threat of strangers. He bases his hypothesis on the writings of Claude Levi-Strauss whereby primitive societies dealt with strangers and their perceived dangers by eating them up and digesting them while modern societies expel and exile strangers (Bauman, 1993: 163). Bauman, however, believes modern societies currently use both of these concepts in their treatment of migrant and ethnic identities: "The first 'assimilates' the strangers to the neighbors, the second merges them with the aliens. Together, they polarize the strangers and attempt to clear up the most vexing and disturbing middle-ground between the neighborhood and alienness poles" (*ibid.*).

Human ecologist, Robert Park, researching immigrant populations in the early United States, situates this initial cultural threat into a pattern of cultural encounters. He describes these as following a basic pattern: contact or invasion between two different cultures, followed by competition and conflict between the two groups, leading to accommodation, followed by assimilation (Olzak, 1992: 19).

Constructing social hierarchies is another method by which people and especially dominant groups keep conflicting cultures at bay. Citing Lévi-Strauss on the functioning of hierarchy inside of societies, Berger and Luckmann state that all societies hierarchize cultures different from their own, which are invariably

considered as inferior (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 132-136). The dominant population or culture stratifies the less populous cultures into sub-hierarchies with varying levels of acceptance as a common practice of marginalization (Todorov, 1989: 118). These techniques are not unique to the modern world. Herodutus said in 450 B.C., "Everyone without exception believes his own native customs, and the religion he was brought up in, to be the best" (Herodutus, 1954: III 38).

Often the Other is reduced to stereotypes and reproductions of inferiority. These make use of the same imagery as has historically been used on repressed groups such as woman, children and the domesticated animal (Perceval, 1995: 43-51). Representation of the Other as a fetished or exoticized object is another such manifestation of subordinations in hierarchy.

Racism is the common origin of hierarchization. Racism is the belief that one ethnicity (race), historically often a western white one, is superior to another, denoting a negative treatment given to other ethnic groups coupled with prejudice, oppression and discriminatory practices. While "racism" is the common use term, a more accurate term is that of ethnic discrimination. However since racism is so often used in colloquial and academic terminology, in this thesis the terms will be used interchangeably with ethnic discrimination.

Todorov uses the term "racism" to refer to the behavior of hating another and devaluing them for being different than oneself and "racialism" to refer to the doctrine. "El racismo es un comportamiento que viene de antiguo y cuya extensión probablemente es universal; el racialismo es un movimiento de ideas nacido en Europa occidental, y cuyo periodo más importante va desde mediados del siglo XVIII hasta mediados del XX" (Todorov, 1989: 115-16).

He goes on to name the five characteristics typical of racialism. These characteristics provide a historical background of the concept of the terms and highlight the origins of thought on much of current day ethnic discrimination. The first position in racialism was that races exist. The second was that the physical aspects of a race are connected with the cultural behaviors of the same race. Thirdly, that the behavior of a group individual is dominated by that of the racial

culture. The fourth position was that different races were inferior or superior to others. And finally, the fifth position was that it was important to act on this knowledge (*ibid.*: 115-119).

Many scientific studies have pointed out that races do not exist and, as Todorov mentions, humans have mixed from time memorial. An investigation accessible from the Human Genome Project presses home this point. The project, run by the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, a self described multi-program science and technology national laboratory managed for the United States Department of Energy by UT-Battelle, has this to say in answer to the question: Will genetic anthropology establish scientific criteria for race or ethnicity?

> DNA studies do not indicate that separate classifiable subspecies (races) exist within modern humans. While different genes for physical traits such as skin and hair color can be identified between individuals, no consistent patterns of genes across the human genome exist to distinguish one race from another. There also is no genetic basis for divisions of human ethnicity. People who have lived in the same geographic region for many generations may have some alleles in common, but no allele will be found in all members of one population and in no members of any other. Indeed, it has been proven that there is more genetic variation within races than exists between them (Human Genome Project, 2010: web).

The lack of genetic difference is especially interesting in cases where one ethnic groups passes unnoticed and even welcomed into a host country while the arrival of other ethnic groups bring alarm. Often this xenophobia is linked to physical differences, when in fact these should be attributed to cultural differences.

Racism may be built on concepts of prejudice or calculated prejudgement. Prejudiced beliefs are immune to counter empirical evidence and proof of faulty logic, while prejudgment is derived from the creation of stereotypes from information deemed to be true. "However, unlike prejudiced people, a person behaving on the basis of calculated prejudgment (having no emotional commitment to her beliefs) can be convinced to alter her behavior if shown her facts or reasoning are faulty" (Jaynes, 2004: 101).

18

Returning to the subject of hierarchy, Ella Shohat and Robert Stam use hierarchy terminology inside of a society to refer to racism. They maintain that racism is a complex hierarchical system in which the racial categories are constructions that vary in function over time. "La categorización de la misma persona puede variar con el tiempo, la localidad y el contexto" (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 19).

Stephen Legomsky presents a similar line of thought referring to the changes in acceptance or rejection towards immigrant groups in the United States. He brings up the fact that racism in the middle of the 19th century was directed against the Irish and German immigrants, later racism was directed against the Italians, Greeks, and Eastern Europeans at the beginning of the 20th century, while currently xenophobia fundamentally affects Latin and Asian populations. (Legomsky, 1996: On line).

It should also be remembered that hierarchies and ethnic discrimination is not only practiced by the dominant groups of a society but is also practiced inside of minority communities towards other minority communities as well as towards dominant groups. Migrant and minority populations use various strategies to deal with continuous contact with a dominant group. One of these strategies is acculturation. Associated with hybridity, acculturation involves making cultural modifications by adapting to and borrowing traits from another culture.

John Berry defines four standard classifications: integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization that vary depending on the value each places on maintaining one's cultural heritage combined with the value of developing relationships with the new society (Liebkind, 2006: 81-82). Integration and assimilation are associated with acculturation. All four strategies are used by individuals, such as immigrants or minority groups, but are also connected to strategies of the dominant society in their policies towards immigrants and minority groups (Berry, 2006: 35).

1) **Integration**: cultural heritage and relationships with the larger society are important. This is the goal of multicultural societies.

2)   **Separation**: cultural heritage is important but not relationships with the larger society. This takes place in segregated societies.

3)   **Assimilation**: cultural heritage is not important but relationships with the larger society are. This is the goal of melting pot oriented societies.

4)   **Marginalization**: cultural heritage is not important and neither are relationships with the larger society. This is created by exclusion.

Figure 1.1: **Acculturation Strategies in Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society (From Berry, 2006: 35)**
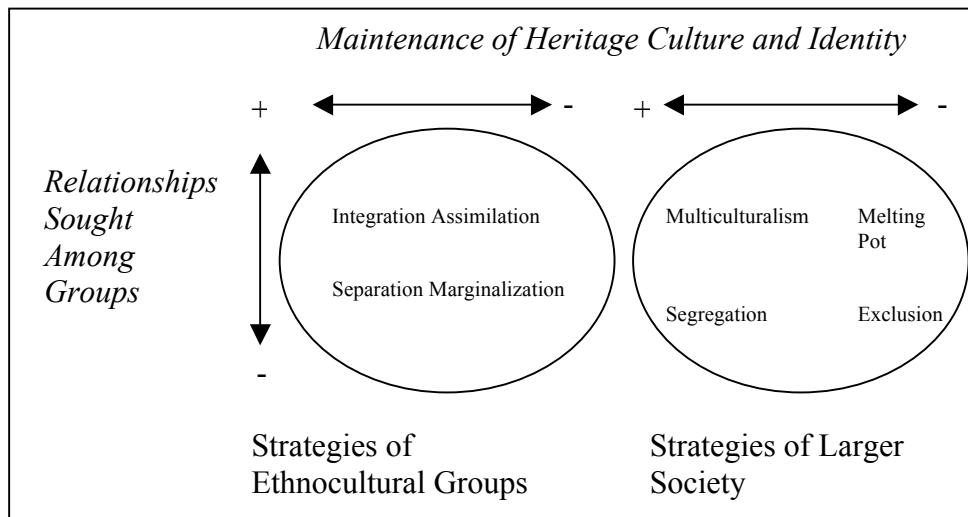
1.2 Representation of Migrant and Ethnic Identities

Identity construction is based on concepts of identity, Otherness and globalization in the case of migrant and ethnic identities. Legitimization of beliefs about these identities occurs through repeated representations that come to be taken as established fact. Therefore, an investigation on the construction of migrant and ethnic identities necessarily entails a study on the images being produced in the media and arts. This section examines representation, stereotype use and production, construction and representation of migrant and ethnic identities in the media, the arts and film. It closes with a summary of tools to analyze representation of Otherness.

1.2.1 Representation

The concept of representation encompasses the idea of using a sign to stand in for or signify something else. The sign can be a word or words, an image or a person. It is also tied to having a voice and the privilege of having this voice. In this capacity one can represent oneself or be the spokesperson for the opinions and needs of other people or groups. Representation is always constructed. In the media, factors influencing construction are the product produced, the production process and audience reception. Constructions are made to seem realistic yet are often influenced by hegemonic points of view.

Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci introduced the concept of cultural hegemony as an explanation as to how certain classes maintain control ideologically over other social classes (Gramsci 1975). Power, he argued, is maintained not only through violence and police controls but also through bourgeois culture, art, education and the media using persuasion and ideologically manipulating the population to identify with bourgeois practices as the norm (Benwall and Stokoe, 2006: 30). "Subjects give their consent to particular formations of power because the dominant cultural group generating the discourse persuades them of their essential 'truth', 'desirability' and 'naturalness'" (*ibid.*).

The arts, and more slowly institutions, establish this legitimization of values (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 122). In the present era, it is through mass media networks that the current ideas of each generation are distributed and reinforced and where current transformations are most visibly demonstrated. Mass media consists of television, movies, newspapers, literature, advertising, internet and email, leaflets and bumper stickers, to name a few (Stangor and Schaller, 1996).

Van Dijk and Gabás cite that the media, be it the press, film or television, reinforce stereotypes and prejudices against the Others in a society (van Dijk, 1997: 228; Gabás, 2001: 182). Centering for a moment on the immigrant Other, the general viewer primarily (and perhaps only) acquires knowledge of this group through text and media, as opposed to first hand experiences, even when this information is inaccurate or even biased.

In his classic study *Orientalism* (1978) Edward Said explores the invisible structural system of marginalization. In this work, he argues that texts on Other cultures do not reflect what these cultures empirically display, but instead what the author, and his or her society, attributes to the other culture especially as contrasted with the author's own. "I believe it needs to be made clear about cultural discourse and exchange within a culture that what is commonly circulated by it is not "truth" but representations" (Said, 1978: 21).

Once truth and representation are disentangled, representation shows itself to be a process of creating discourses. Stuart Hall illustrates the differences between representation and reflection. Representation, he argues, is an active act of creating meaning. It requires the selection, presentation, structuring and shaping of ideas in the process of "making things mean". Reflection is the transmission of "already-existing meaning" (Hall, 1982: 64). However representation and reflection are often confused as synonyms, especially when dealing with the mass media, which he identifies as an agent in the creation of meaning.

Richard Dyer theorizes on the influences and limitations of representation in *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representation*, and further delineates Hall and Said's views on representation. Dyer argues that reality defines the limits of meanings that

can exist. Simultaneously, reality is always beyond, more extensive, more complicated, than any system of representation. "[R]epresentation never 'gets' reality, which is why human history has produced so many different and changing ways of trying to get it" (Dyer, 1993: 3). For Dyer, representations are dependent on the "codes and conventions" of presentation used by a given culture. "Such norms restrict and shape what can be said by and/or about any aspect of reality in a given place in a given society at a given time, but if that seems like a limitation on saying, it is also what makes saying possible at all" (*ibid.*: 2). Representations are thereby seen as in constant interplay with reality, not as failed intentions to reflect the truth of reality.

Questions on realism and limitation in representation are significant for their ramifications in the treatment of minority and out-groups by society. Dyer states, "representations here and now have real consequences for real people, not just in the way they are treated […] but in terms of the way representations delimit and enable what people can be in any given society" (Dyer, 1993: 3). Treatment of Others is linked to how they are represented. When a group is negatively depicted, negative associations are made of that group by other groups. These negative associations are often the base of stereotypes. The next section will look more in-depth at stereotype construction and use.

1.2.2 Stereotypes

Stereotypes are beliefs held about others that are formulaic in nature, used to condense information and which may or may not accurately reflect reality. Like a rubber stamp, the stereotype is characterized for its perceived unvarying pattern, simplified in design and used repeatedly to represent an imagined group devoid of individuality. Just as the hierarchical system of ethnic categorization is a construction that varies in function with time, the stereotype when analyzed is unstable. It nestles in a burrow of historical myth: traditionalism of a unified past, racial and cultural purity and stable cultural hierarchies.

Representation through stereotype is an important factor that affects and influences the way both self-identity and alterity are perceived. Studies from the

field of psychology have identified various factors in the use and conception of stereotypes which are discussed in this section. Cultural studies and media and film studies have applied many of these ideas to visual and textual images reproduced in the media and arts.

Social psychologists have studied extensively the impact of stereotypes on social identity. Similar to identity, where there are many breakdowns and partitioning of categories (individual, group, cultural, national), studies on stereotype construction are also broken down into these same categories. Of the two main studies that have emerged, the first is the stereotype as constructed by individuals and existing individually in the mind of each person and the second is of stereotypes as conceived of as a collective belief, shared by and imbedded in the social structure of a society.

Charles Stangor and Mark Schaller outline these two approaches in their reflection on the academic body of work on stereotype representation. They relate that the individual approach stresses the give and take relationship a person has with their environment and their need to understand encounters as well as to protect themselves from others who are different.

> The basic assumption of this approach is that, over time, people develop beliefs about the characteristics of the important social groups in their environment, and this knowledge influences their responses toward subsequently encountered individual member of those groups. Thus stereotypes (as one type of knowledge about the social world), develop as the individual perceives his or her environment. The perceived information about social groups is interpreted, encoded in memory, and subsequently retrieved for use in guiding responses. (Stangor and Schaller, 1996: 5).

One area that has been challenged in the individual approach is the idea that stereotypes are primarily acquired and changed through direct contact with members of the stereotyped group. Further studies have gone to disprove the importance of personal exchanges, showing that people form stereotypes on groups they have had no direct contact with and that direct contact with other groups actually has a small effect on changing stereotypes (*ibid*.: 16).

The cultural perspective approach proposes that a group's collective behavior changes once the group internalizes a common set of beliefs about other groups.

> Cultural models consider society itself to be the basis of stored knowledge, and stereotypes as public information about social groups that is shared among the individuals within a culture. In this approach, although stereotypes exist "in the head of society's perceivers," they exist also in the "fabric of the society" itself (*ibid.*: 10).

The collective approach views modern society as powerfully influenced by the mass media, where the majority of stereotypes are transmitted (*ibid.*: 12). Stereotypes are seen to snowball from individual beliefs, and to later have the power to change social behaviors that play out in magnified forms much larger than individual actions (*ibid.*: 2). "In this sense, stereotypes function to meet the needs of the culture, its political or religious structures, and the zeitgeist more generally." (*ibid.*: 19)

Cultural studies have taken up similar explorations in their reflections on stereotypes used to represent minority groups. Bhabha argues in *The Location of Culture,* that the stereotype is a fixed frozen form of representation, a substitute and shadow of the real Other, as well as a cultural fetish. The stereotype is an ambiguous form of imagined reality and defense from difference. The Other is attributed with the "wildest fantasies" of the stereotyper and the stereotyped Other is mastered by categorization and controlled (Bhabha, 1994: 117). Shohat and Stam agree with the concept of the stereotype as fantasy and as a subverted desire, "It is sometimes more revealing, then, to analyze the stereotyper than to deconstruct the stereotype", citing the inverse of the anti-black stereotype associated with repulsive bestiality as more emblematic of White erotic imaginary on libidinal freedom (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 21).

Furthermore, both Bhabha and Shohat and Stam mention the control dominant groups retain over history, which allows them to create unchallenged stereotypes of the Other. Bhabha notes that those who control stereotypes tend to erase all historical context of the process. He says,

> It is the problem of how, in signifying the present, something comes to be

repeated, relocated and translated in the name of tradition, in the guise of a pastness that is not necessarily a faithful sign or historical memory but a strategy of representing authority in terms of the artifice of the archaic. That iteration negates our sense of the origins of the struggle (Bhabha, 1994: 51-52).

For Shohat and Stam, the "sensitivity around stereotypes and distortions largely arises, then, from the powerlessness of historically marginalized groups to control their own representation" (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 184). This echoes arguments by Stangor and Schaller concerning the ability of stereotypes to "affect entire groups of people in a common way" (Stangor and Schaller, 1996: 4). Shohat and Stam add that while stereotypes might merely be annoying to some groups, apart from sniping societal discrimination, the consequences can also be violent.

> While all negative stereotypes are hurtful, they do not all exercise the same power in the world. The facile catch-all invocation of "stereotypes" elides a crucial distinction: Stereotypes of some communities merely make the target group uncomfortable, but the community has the social power to combat and resist them; stereotypes of other communities participate in a continuum of prejudicial social policy and actual violence against disempowered people, placing the very body of the accused in jeopardy (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 183).

Opinions vary on methods to combat stereotypes in a society. Social psychology offers a few ideas based on the collective or cultural perspective. As this approach begins from the base that most stereotypes are learned through indirect contact with Other groups, value is placed on changing representation at the institutional level and through leadership and education and not through direct contact with stereotyped groups (Stangor and Schaller, 1996: 18). They stress the past successes in changing stereotypes that have occurred when stereotyped groups redefine and relabel themselves through the mass media.

1.2.3 Construction and Representation of the Migrant and Ethnic Identity in the Media

This next section examines the mass media and how stereotypes of the migrant Other come to be ingrained in representation. Through direct contact and indirect

contact we tend to understand our world and form ideas about Others. Direct contact refers to situations where our body is physically located in the same space as an experience taking place while indirect contact refers to experiences lived through secondary sources such as through mass media, oral stories, conversations on the telephone, or information through the internet. Only in the past century have we incorporated in our daily lives resources such as the telephone, television, radio or film that are able to traverse the limitations of distance and time. Daily habits such as watching the TV, surfing the web, or listening to the radio were born from these inventions and their availability to the masses.

> Hoy por hoy vivimos en un mundo en el que la capacidad de experimentar está desconectada de la actividad del encuentro. La confiscación de la experiencia en coordenadas espacio-temporales de nuestra vida cotidiana corre paralela a la proliferación de la experiencia mediática y la mezcla rutinaria de experiencias que la mayoría de los individuos raramente hallarían en la experiencia cara a cara (Thompson, 1995: 271).

Different than any other point in history, modern technology has accelerated the exchange of cultural knowledge and sharing between cultures. In this way it allows the possibility to transmit information live from the other side of the world and to come in contact with countries and cultures by flipping the TV channel, something that was previously inconceivable (García Canclini, 2001: 63). The capacity to be influenced by what hasn't been lived first-hand now makes up a significant part of the individuals learning experience. However, these methods of communication offer a selected and filtered vision of reality.

Periodic weekly newscasts in Spain during 2009 showed continuous interceptions of clandestine boat arrivals. The news media showed images of these migrants with desperate looks and fatigue, at the limit of their strength, helped by Red Cross volunteers. These reports were in addition to the more tragic reports of capsized boats and bodies found dead. This stirring up of emotions and reactions leaves the viewer each time more cynical and less sympathetic towards the "invading" foreigner coming from the coast. These feelings are developed despite the fact that upwards of 80% of immigrants do not arrive in small wooden boats,

pateras, but through Spain's Barajas International Airport and across European borders.

According to sociologist John Thompson, the availability of media tools can enrich our reflections on the self, due to the benefit of encountering numerous identities and perspectives of reality. At the same time he believes there is a "symbolic overwhelming" in that viewers are rendered dependent on the interpretations created by these media experiences, over which they have very little control (Thompson, 1995: 278-280).

Raúl Gabás affirms that the increase of media experiences results in an information overload – "salir a la calle es exponerse a la tormenta de los estímulos". He also notes that viewers risk absorbing disinformation in the press, with multiple versions including contradictory versions (Gabás, 2001: 180). The overabundance of readily available information inevitably creates the need for systems by which to filter choices and to make the total manageable. Gabas questions the use of power by those who control this selection of information over those who consume the information as if there were no other reality. "Los que están encadenados a las imágenes no cejan en el esfuerzo de persuadirnos de que no hay otra realidad que la de las proyecciones televisivas" (*ibid.*: 172).

Theorists differ in perspectives on the means by which the collective of public opinion concerning immigration develops and evolves. For example, Gabas believes that public opinion is formed from personal experience as well as reflection. "La opinión, por más que pretendiera universalizarse, se elaboraba entre los minoritarios círculos selectos de los que tenían acceso a la cultura. En ese sentido, ha existido en todo momento cierta manipulación de la opinión" (*ibid.*: 178). For Teun van Dijk, the methods of communication are controlled by a select group of white occidental men of northern countries, who use and manipulate the media to create a cultural mentality of political hegemony and social margination (van Dijk, 1997: 230). In the case of immigration, elite sources reporting to the mass media include politicians, bureaucrats, the police, state agencies, and universities. He goes further, pointing out that minority groups often have very little direct access to express their views in the media. Their opinions, when cited,

28

require corroboration by majority group members in order to be believed. Public discrimination or racism experienced by minority members is often presented as "allegations" (van Dijk, 2002: 154).

Certainty is a mental state (Gabás, 2001: 172), and so are perceptions of reality. The media contributes and forms a vision of the Other absolutely absent of lived personal experiences with other cultures. Van Dijk points out that,

> [L]a mayor parte de los usuarios mediáticos en el mundo occidental tiene una opinión sobre el Islam que se basa principalmente en la información recibida a través de los medios de comunicación, y no en sus experiencias y opiniones personales [… Societies] a fin de proteger su riqueza y sus privilegios […] han reaccionado despertando a sus demonios más antiguos: la xenofobia, el etnocentrismo y el racismo (van Dijk, 1997: 238-239).

Xavier Giró notes that mass media is in part a constructor of reality, particularly concerning decisive issues such as immigration.

> Si entendemos por identidad colectiva la forma en que un grupo se ve a sí mismo como colectivo humano diferenciado de otros colectivos, entonces entenderemos que la identificación y diferenciación en grupos tiene lugar primordialmente a través de los conflictos. Y si la representación mental de que disponemos acerca de los conflictos ha sido co-construida por los media, no es difícil inferir que los media [...] co-construyen las identidades colectivas (Giró, 2002: 3).

Van Dijk identifies this tendency towards conflict as part of a racist discourse that "generally emphasizes Our good things and Their bad things, and de-emphasizes (mitigates, hides) Our bad things and Their good things" (van Dijk, 2002: 147-8). He highlights a series of negative strategies which are used in the presentation of the news on minority group members. A few of these are: focusing on the negative when covering news on the ethnic, "selecting or emphasizing positive topics (like aid and tolerance) for Us, and negative ones (such as crime, deviance, or violence) for Them" while making "accusations to derogate Them, or defenses to legitimate Our discrimination" (*ibid.*).

From a political point of view, minority groups within a society can be analyzed from different perspectives. For example, they can be defined in terms of native-

born minorities, documented migrants, or undocumented migrants. Although these different groups are not homogenous, there exists a tendency to group them as a unit as if a homogenized group called "immigrant" existed.

Additionally, the representations constructed from these categories are problematic in that they are prone to being used to scapegoat and blame immigrants, without distinctions, for all the ills of society. This includes blame for the negative fluctuations in the economy, the stress of unemployment and the perceptions of increases in delinquency. It doesn't matter if reality reflects this or not (van Dijk, 1997: 241-2). There is no difference between information and the truth.

In a criticism of the means of communication and its representation of the Other, van Dijk says that, in general, the larger media outlets are not usually extremist in their representations as they are trying to capture diverse audiences. In contrast, local distributors have been documented to incorporate a stronger emphasis on ethnicism and racism (*ibid.*: 227).

Immigrants are often depicted as groups attributed with vices and "en general se asocian cada vez más con las amenazas socioeconómicas y culturales, la desviación, la delincuencia y la violencia" or they are represented as ungrateful for all the services they relieve from the country of reception (*ibid.*: 241). Politicians insistently repeat the message that minorities and immigrants have to understand that there are obligations as citizens and that they can't only take advantage of the rights and benefits (*ibid.*: 228).

The immigrant in mass media is often portrayed as a second class citizen. Both van Dijk and Gabás cite that the media, be it the press, film, or television, function through stereotypes and prejudices against the Others in society (van Dijk, 1997: 228; Gabás, 2001: 182). "Las imágenes negativas van unidas normalmente a la explotación, la necesidad de la exclusión o la eliminación del contrario, el miedo que produce su presencia inquietante o el sueño posible de una revancha de su parte" (Perceval, 1995: 43). Coverage of the immigrant related to the economic boon they provide a country, cultural similarities, the prevalence of discrimination

and racism suffered by the immigrant in society is relatively infrequent and almost never are there reports on the racism displayed by the elite sources of information (van Dijk, 2002: 153).

1.2.4 Representation of Migrant and Ethnic Identities in the Arts

Recognizing the increasingly mediated knowledge on migrant and ethnic populations worldwide and the heightened consciousness of this in the media, it is not surprising that this phenomenon would be represented and metamorphosed in the arts. As an expression of current thoughts and trends, the arts function and serve as both a source of information and as a motor for social change. A large tradition of artistic production has been to question and challenge the values and established limits of thought of societies. Even so, the arts are creations by an author or a team of members, often of the dominant society who share many of the same beliefs and stereotypes of the general population in a given space and time of creation. There are a great number of viewpoints that coincide with the beliefs and stereotypes upheld by the average citizen.

The discourses contained in the arts are not invented by the arts. Stephanie Larson argues that discourses on hierarchy and the privileging of whites are repeated continually in the same stories told in different ways (Larson, 2006: 14).

> The values held by the majority in a culture are the "dominant values" and are those most often embedded in media messages. […] The values television and film reinforce are those that promote some people's interests and obstruct other people's. Since members of the dominant groups own the media, their self-interest lies in telling stories that justify and reinforce the status quo rather than in critiquing it (*ibid.*).

Fortunately, as a source of information, art can also provide a more complex and comprehensive vision of migrants and ethnic populations. The transformation of news into art offers a contextualization that goes much further than the list of statistics and headlines in the daily bombardment of news information. It gives form and color to personalities that are almost always referred to in the news with short details restricted to origin, ethnicity, or religion. "Aunque no actúe

directamente sobre el mundo, la literatura [y los demas artes son] una fuente de "información" que nos sugestiona e influye en nuestro pensamiento a través de distintos canales de mediación y la reelaboración de "segunda mano" de sus contenidos" (Moll, 1999: 348). Art produced from the point of view of the minority group, whether created by an immigrant or sympathetic majority group member can cause the viewer to identify with the immigrant.

Art then can be seen as a useful tool to create solidarity with the Other. It is capable not only of entering into the fictionalized home of the immigrant but additionally of representing the intimate thoughts and motivations, expressing the hopes, visions and realities of the immigrant population.

> El valor de la literatura se ha vinculado desde antiguo al hecho de que posibilita que el lector experimente indirectamente las experiencias de los personajes, permitiéndole aprender qué se siente en determinadas situaciones y con ello adquirir la predisposición a sentir y actuar de cierta manera. Las obras literarias nos animan a identificarnos con los personajes, al mostrarnos el mundo desde su punto de vista (Culler, 2000: 135).

This experience described above in literature, encompasses all arts. Garcia Canclini says:

> Gran parte de la producción artística actual sigue haciéndose como expresión de tradiciones iconográficas nacionales y circula sólo dentro del propio país. En este sentido, las artes plásticas, la literatura, la radio y el cine permanecen como fuentes del imaginario nacionalista, escenarios de consagración y comunicación de los dignos de identidad regionales (García Canclini, 1995: 2).

The arts, as influential inside of a society as news sources, are loaded with both positive and negative representations of both the dominant society and its minority groups. Even so, dominant groups receive the bulk of representation and therefore by sheer volume, negative references are diffused into a wide body of depiction, representing the diversity of the human experience and not serving as definitive models or depictions of that culture. However, as Shohat and Stam point out, "Any negative behavior by any member of the oppressed community is instantly generalized as typical, as pointing to a perpetual backsliding toward some

presumed negative essence" (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 183). Isabel Santaolalla also references the scarce representation of specific minority groups in film. She points out that this causes a magnified importance of each film opportunity to create positive images and to counteract the absences and negative stereotypes. (Santaolalla, 2005: 16-17).

In this sense, the arts are both useful for breaking from conventional forms of considering reality, and at the same time they circulate and reinforce discriminative representations on "the reality" of immigration. This is especially interesting in the case of Spain with its contradictory self-identification characterized by its "historical awareness that Spanish identity is the product of a rich amalgamation of cultures, races and religions" and its Franco-era tinged notions of a homogenous Spain (Santaolalla, 1999: 113).

1.2.5 Representation of Migrant and Ethnic Identities in Film

Inside of the arts and similar to other methods of communication, film is a social instrument with enormous repercussion able to reach large and diverse audiences. It completes an informative function and possesses a considerable capacity to influence the general public. However, distinct from other methods of communication, film liberally inspires from reality to create a new world, a fictionalized world able to weave into the mind of the viewer and create emotions of empathy, anger, peace or anxiety in the spectator.

> But the fact is that attention must be paid to film because most of us get our stories – our narratives and myths – from it or from its close cousin, television. In other words, since the turn of the century, people have turned to film as entertainment, escape, and education or as an affirmation of the way they live or think they ought to live their lives (Kolker, 2002: xv).

Cinema interconnects notions of realism with viewer engagement of assumed reality, and subsequently influences the treatment of represented groups in society. Robert Kolker puts forth that the illusion of reality is essential in films. "The worst thing we can say about a film is that it is 'unrealistic.' 'The characters weren't real.' 'The story didn't strike me as being real'" (*ibid.*: xix) . He further argues that

what is denoted as real is really only what is familiar. "The familiar is what we experience often, comfortably, clearly, as if it were always there. When we approve of the reality of a film, we are really affirming our comfort with it, our desire to accept what we see" (*ibid.*: xx).

> […] The fact is that "reality", like all other aspects of culture, is not something out there, existing apart from us. Reality is an agreement we make with ourselves and between ourselves and the rest of the culture about what we will call real. Maybe, as some people have argued, the only dependable definition of reality is that it is something a lot of people agree upon" (*ibid.*: xix).

Referring to Mikhail Bakhtin's notions of artistic representation, Shohat and Stam state that representation in cinema refers not to the real world, but instead to the artistic discourses of the real world, "a mediated version of an already textualized and 'discursivized' socioideological world" (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 180). Artistic representations are seen to be completely bound up in the social and historical discourses of a given time period. Even though the films in discussion are fiction, film viewers "are invested in realism" as they negotiate viewed "realities" with what they know from their own personal experiences and cultural knowledge (*ibid.*: 178). When cinemas invoke representations dealing with identity and alterity, they are taking part in the constant interplay of negotiation with reality.

Cinematic representation of the Other invokes questions of truth and of "meaning making" discourses. There is a long tradition of representation of ethnic Others in film that goes back to the origins of filmmaking. These representations aid in the construction of in-group and out-group interactions in a population. Each cinema prescribes to the Other category distinct groups based on time period and geographic configurations. These representations are claims of truth about minority groups, even while they are invented creations serving to reinforce ideological discourses about these groups. "Films which represent marginalized cultures in a realistic mode, even when they do not claim to represent specific historical incidents, still implicitly make factual claims" (*ibid.*: 179). Reality itself is often not as important as the discourses involved. "The issue, then, is less one of fidelity

to a preexisting truth or reality than one of a specific orchestration of ideological discourses and communitarian perspectives." (*ibid.*: 180).

According to Carrie Tarr, Western cinema produces and reproduces ethnic hierarchies in which white metropolitan culture and identity is dominant, doing so through the absence of representation and through marginalized representation of Others (Tarr, 1997: 59). When minority communities are represented, the few representations are made to stand for all minorities (Santaolalla, 2005: 16-17). Shohat and Stam point out that minorities are represented as part of homogenous groups, while dominant society individuals are presented as individuals of a diverse collective (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 183).

These filmic representations have consequences in the real world (*ibid.*: 178). As Shohat and Stam discuss, these films encourage the dominant population to view and act in prescribed ways towards minority populations. They can also open or limit new possibilities in imagined scenarios that have not taken place. In the United States, the film *Birth of a Nation* (D. W. Griffith, 1915) mobilized increased membership in the Klu Klux Klan. These same images produced great shame and feelings of being outside of society by the black population who watched this film in segregated cinemas (Philips, 1996: 103). Conversely, the Hollywood portrayal of a black president of the United States through Morgan Freeman in *Deep Impact* (Mimi Leder, 1998) helped open minds to the possibility of a black president much before Barack Obama campaigned for office.

Yet, minority groups and audiences also maintain power that influences cinematic representations. The large quantity of studies on the Eurocentric perspective that have been inspired from Edward Said's work, according to Arne Saeys, have led to a "one-sided view on non-western people as voiceless victims of powerful Euro-American cultural industries" (Saeys, 2009: 347). Shohat and Stam list numerous cases in which entire communities of (mis)represented groups have protested against films and through pressure changed the course of future productions (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 181-182). Representations function within limits. If a too grossly exaggerated representation is made, the minority group will often take action. "That something vital is at stake in these debates becomes

obvious in those instances when entire communities passionately protest the representations that are made of them in the name of their own experiential sense of truth." (*ibid.*: 18). Therefore, the represented are not totally without power as spectators themselves can influence distribution, exhibition, and choices for future production by challenging extreme representations (*ibid.*: 182). Consequently, on the one hand, dominant representations are able to create skewed images of minority populations, yet at the same time, minority populations are not powerless voiceless victims but able to voice counter positions to influence change.

Alongside the possibility of protest by those represented is the viewers own balancing of personal knowledge with filmic representation that serves to reject racist discourse. Shohat and Stam remind us that the audience too plays an important part in the filmic relationship. "[S]pectators themselves come equipped with a "sense of the real" rooted in their own experience, on the basis of which they can accept, question, or even subvert a film's representations" (*ibid.*: 182).

1.2.6 Analyzing Representation of Migrant and Ethnic Identities in Film

The fields of cultural studies, postcolonial studies, film studies and imagology all serve as tools to aid in the study of film texts and the representation of the Other. These range from theories identifying stereotypes to identification of deeper structures of power at work which affect migrant and ethnic representations. The divergent yet intertwining theories of study provided by these camps provide the starting point for this investigation on representations of the migrant Other in cultural texts.

Cultural studies ascribes to a theoretical analysis of culture and the cultures inside of a society. It grounds itself in interdisciplinary methods of analysis that examine texts in their historical and cultural context. It privileges the work as a cultural document over its value as an object of art (Palacio, 2007: 71). In one sense, cultural studies is a form of cultural identity analysis.

"En su concepción más amplia, el proyecto de los estudios culturales es

entender cómo funciona la cultura, sobre todo en el mundo actual: cómo funcionan los productos culturales y cómo se construyen y organizan las identidades culturales del individuo o el grupo, en un mundo en que conviven comunidades diversas y entremezclados" (Culler, 2000: 58).

Cultural studies, in a multidisciplinary fashion, focuses on the production, circulation, reception and metamorphosis of cultural forms and activities. It is also concerned with power relationships. However it does not see culture as solely linked to power and domination but instead as an organic structure influenced by society and in turn influencing identities and beliefs.

> [C]ultural studies does not reduce culture to power, nor does it claim that particular relations of power are somehow inherent in, or intrinsic to, specific cultural texts, practices, or relations; rather, it claims that relationship, however contingent and historical it may be, is its focus […] Moreover, it tends to look at culture itself as the site of the production and struggle over power, where power is understood, not necessarily in the form of domination, but always as an unequal relation of forces of interests of particular fractions of the population (Grossberg, 2009: 27).

Cultural studies is influenced by interdisciplinary fields and influences which overlap and include critical Marxist studies, gender studies, queer theory, and postcolonial theory. This last area, postcolonial theory, focuses on power and dominant society in reference to cultural identity in the wake of colonial and imperialist influences. It addresses the relationship between Western nations and colonized or excolonized societies with a goal of making known and reversing Western dominated perspectives to instead privilege the voice of the subaltern, the voiceless person outside of power. It emphasizes giving a voice to transnational, migrant and ethnic voices.

Postcolonial perspectives have influenced cultural studies, providing insight on social inequalities that continue to take place in European societies. These inequalities are based on previous social hierarchies with colonial Others and current day economic realities in globalized dealings. Influential authors from the fields of Cultural Studies and Postcolonial Studies related to the study of identity include Frantz Fanon (*Black Skin White Masks* 1952), Edward Said (*Orientalism* 1978) bell hooks (*Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism* 1981), Gayatri

Spivak (*Can the subaltern speak?* 1988), Judith Butler (*Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of "sex"* 1993), and Homi Bhabha (*The Location of Culture* 1994). These theorists have brought attention to the marginal and silenced representations of postcolonial minority groups, as well as women and males held to be outside of the mainstream white western heterosexual male paradigm.

Applying cultural studies and postcolonial studies theories to analysis of a society's media and film industry can provide insight into power structures in place. Douglas Kellner in *Media / Cultural Studies* emphasizes that we live in a media and consumer society in which it is essential to understand how to interpret and criticize the discourses that emerge from institutions in practices, images and spectacles and to resist their manipulation (Kellner, 2009: 5-6). To do so Kellner describes a media oriented cultural studies approach that is critical, multicultural and multiperspectival. This includes taking into consideration the social relations of production, the distribution, consumption and uses of film texts (*ibid.*: 20).

> The dialectic of text and context requires a critical social theory that articulates the interconnections and intersections between the economic, political, social, and cultural dimensions of media culture, thus requiring multiple or trans-disciplinary optics. Textual analysis in turn should utilize a multiplicity of perspectives and critical methods […] This requires an insurgent multicultural approach that sees the importance of analyzing the dimensions of class, race and ethnicity, and gender and sexual preference, within the politics of representation of texts of media culture and their interconnectedness" (*ibid.*).

Therefore it is essential to consider a society's historical, political, social and cultural context when analyzing a film text. The use of anything shown in a film is a reflection of the artist or art team's perception of reality. Even in fantasy films, the framework and relationships run parallel to reality. Everything inside of a film has significance in relating to this perception of society. A ring, chosen by the wardrobe department, flashing on a finger as adornment also represents wealth and social ranking. Nothing is random. All choices carry multiple meanings even when these have been made on a subconscious level.

As Robert McKee states, it is helpful to remember during analysis that characters are not human beings.

> A character is no more a human being than Venus de Milo is a real woman. A character is a work of art, a metaphor for human nature. We relate to characters as if they were real, but they're superior to reality. Their aspects are designed to be clear and knowable; whereas our fellow humans are difficult to understand, if not enigmatic. We know characters better than we know our friends because a character is eternal and unchanging, while people shift – just when we think we understand them, we don't (McKee, 1997: 375).

Instead characters serve as metaphors and stand-ins for ideas of a certain type of person. Characters are made up of a combination of factors:

> Character design begins with an arrangement of the two primary aspects: Characterization and True Character. To repeat: Characterization is the sum of all the observable qualities, a combination that makes the character unique: physical qualities, coupled with mannerisms, style of speech and gestures, sexuality, age, IQ, occupation, personality, attitudes, values, where he lives, how he lives. True Character waits behind this mask. Despite his characterization at heart who is this person? Loyal or disloyal? Honest or a liar? Loving or cruel? (*ibid.*).

Francesco Casetti and Federico di Chio in their book *Cómo analizar un film* describe three ways a character can be analyzed: as a person, a role or as actor (Casetti and di Chio, 1990: 159) . The first, character as a person is based on the description of the character. This definition is the sum of the character's intellectual and emotional qualities as well as their attitude, behavior and reactions. Each character is created as an individual person, unique from others with peculiarities and specific details. The character aim is to simulate someone that could be met in real life, therefore emphasizing the need for reality in character creation. Decisions on actor choice and wardrobe as well as linguistic abilities such as accented speech or speaking non-national languages fit into this category. Characters may be flat or rounded, linear or unstable, static or dynamic.

More interesting for this thesis is the analysis of the character as role, as character type. In this case, each character ceases to be an individual and instead

embodies the type of actions that they perform in the narrative. Characters become a coded piece that fulfills narrative needs (*ibid.*: 160). Casetti and di Chio list a few of the most traditional roles that are used as:

1) Active and passive characters: those who create action and those who are affected by the action

2) Active characters who influence and autonomous active characters: "el primero es un personaje que "hace hacer" a los demás, encontrando en ellos sus ejecutores; el segundo es un personaje que "hace directamente, proponiéndose como causa y razón de su actuación" (*ibid.*: 161)

3) Modifying characters and conserving characters: those that make change, both for positive or negative, and those who provide resistance to change

4) Protagonist characters and antagonist characters: "el primero sostiene la orientación del relato, mientras que el segundo manifiesta la posibilidad de una orientación exactamente inversa" (*ibid.*)

The third category is the abstract notion of character as actor in the structural links and logic between story elements. In this case characters provide the reasons for the narrative and the movement of the story. "El actuante, pues, es por un lado una "posición en el diseño global del producto, y por otro un 'operador' que lleva a cabo ciertas dinámicas" (*ibid.*: 164). For this category characters are seen as Subjects that move towards objectives, Objects.

Another influential field influencing the study of Others in film is that of imagology studies. Imagology began as a more traditional and conservative side of comparative literature in studies of the Other. Since its beginnings, comparative literature has shown an interest with the point of contact between distinct cultures: "El encuentro con el 'otro', con los textos literarios extranjeros y con las culturas distintas de la nuestra y distintas entre sí, es el punto de partito y el interés esencial de la literatura comparada" (Moll, 1999: 347). Imagology studies other cultures from an exterior perspective focusing on a national image.

1. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, REPRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Nora Moll defines imagology as interested in examining past and modern texts which are written on or about other cultures in a historical-social manner, encountering their prejudices and the roots of these (*ibid.*: 349).

> Por imagología se entiende, pues, el estudio de las imágenes, de los prejuicios, de los clichés, de los estereotipos y, en general, de las opiniones sobre otros pueblos y culturas que la literatura transmite, desde el convencimiento de que estas images, tal y como se definen comúnmente, tienen una importancia que va más allá del puro dato literario o del estudio de las ideas y de la imaginación artística de un autor. El objetivo principal de las investigaciones imagológicas es el de revelar el valor ideológico y político que puedan tener ciertos aspectos de una obra literaria precisamente porque en ellos se condensan las ideas que un autor comparte con el medio social y cultural en que vive. (...) Como veremos, toda image se constituye a través de una comparición continua que va de la identidad a la alteridad, porque siempre hablar de los otros es también una forma de revelar algo de sí (*ibid.*).

This field was introduced through the works *Les écrivains français et le mirage allemand* (1947) by Jean-Marie Carré and *L'étranger tel qu'on le voit* (1951), by his student Marius-François Guyard (Leerssen, 2007: 21). Carré introduced the terminology *image* and *mirage* to describe the images and negative images given of those from other nations. Hugo Dyserinck further defined these concepts, as well as defended criticism from Rene Wellek, in his text *On the Problem of "Images" and "Mirages" and Its Investigation in the Context of Comparative Literature* (1966). Contemporary authors who have added to the field of Imagology include Daniel-Henri Pageaux and Joep Leerssen.

Three fundamental classifications were defined in imagology by Daniel-Henri Pageaux to represent the reaction in texts towards the Other. The first is mania (*mania*), or overestimation, the second is phobia (*fobia*), or the underestimation through racism and characterized by mirage (negative or distorted views), and the third is philia (*filia*), viewing the foreign population as equal to one's own. According to Pageaux, "Manías, fobias y filias constituyen de manera clara, estable y permanente, las manifestaciones más nítidad de una interpretación del extranjero, de una lectura del Otro" (Pageaux, 1989: 122). Aside from these categorizations, "el material léxico empleado respondería a dos principios: el de la 'diferenciación'

del 'otro' y el de su 'asimilación', que corresponden respectivamente al proceso de 'emarginación' y al de 'integración cultural'" (Moll, 1999: 365-366).

Another important aspect in the discourse of imagology is the double role of the author as 1) creator of works that go on to influence others and 2) of the author as a member of society who shares many of the same stereotypes of the community and its historical time. In the case of literature, for example, extendible to the rest of the arts:

> El texto literario, a diferencia del texto científico o informativo (y en mayor medida que éstos), al invitar al lector a entrar en "otro" mundo, estaría en condiciones de reforzar images ya presentes de forma latente en la conciencia del lector mismo, o de introducir en ella images nuevas. Dicho de otra manera: aunque el lector adulto y "normal" sabe distinguir entre realidad y ficción, por la fuerza sugestionadora de la literatura lo conduce a apropiarse de los juicios que ésta transmite, especialmente si se trata de juicios y descripciones aparentemente objetivos con respecto a otros lugares y pueblos (*ibid.*: 360-1).

Joep Leerssen adds that Imagology takes as its goal to understand the discourses of representation, not that of society. He explains that the first task to be taken in an imagological analysis is the study of its national representations as tropes.

> While it is obvious that current attributes concerning a given nation are textual tropes rather than sociological or anthropological data, the less obvious implication is equally true: the cultural context in which these images are articulated and from which they originate is that of a discursive praxis, not an underlying collective, let alone a 'national' public opinion" (Leerssen, 2007: 27).

When analyzing character representations, authors Shohat and Stam discourage the categorization of images as "good" or "bad". This, they point out, is to slide into moralism and pointless in the debates over fictitious characters who are constructs of an authors imagination (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 200-201). They argue that a film full of positive images on a determined social group doesn't respond to reality. It is to lack confidence in the group portrayed, which itself isn't concerned with being represented as perfect. More importantly, they highlight the need to focus on structural subordination, or hierarchy of dominance inside of standardized representations, for example that the hero is always white and served

by black or Latin second player roles. To clarify this, they provide the example of the "positive" image of Tonto, the Indian side-kick in the Lone Ranger television series, where Tonto is always in subordination to the white hero.

Homi Bhabha's echoes these ideas saying, "My reading of colonial discourse suggests that the point of intervention should shift from the ready recognition of images as positive or negative, to an understanding of the processes of subjectification made possible (and plausible) through stereotypical discourse" (Bhabha, 1994: 95).

1.3 Summary

In summary, the aim of this chapter has been to establish the theoretical framework on identity construction of migrant and ethnic representation which will be applied to an analysis of contemporary Spanish national cinema. The most basic building block of identity construction is awareness of a self-identity (Culler 1997), which when extended leads to social and cultural identity constructions (Berger and Luckmann 1966, Tajfel 1981, Burke and Stets 2009). Cultural identities are passed on from generation to generation even as they are continually evolving (Perceval 1995, Cabruja 2000). Theories on alterity are used to address what happens when different cultural groups come into contact with each other (Berger and Luckmann 1966, Tajfel 1981, Perceval 1995, Hall 1996, Burke and Stets 2009). Alterity models favor the separation between the self and treatment of ethnic populations and migrants as Others. Hybridity theories were developed as an alternative to the binary viewpoints in alterity. They opt for a model in which all cultures overlap and blend (Bhabha 1994, García Canclini 1995, Hall 1996). Both theoretical positions of hybridity and alterity are present in the treatment of migrant and ethnic characters in Contemporary Spanish films.

The act of crossing a border modifies treatment of an individual due to social constructions of situational identity and cultural reactions to this identity. Terminology has emerged to deal specifically with the phenomenon of distinct cultures in globalized contact. This vocabulary is linked to self-identity, alterity and hybridity standpoints, making it important to be aware of the influences behind the

terms used in discourses. In the wake of globalization, both dominant groups of a society and migrant and minority groups have developed strategies to deal with their proximity. At times these strategies have led to cultural rejection and at others into multicultural or assimilation tendencies.

It is through representation that the reproduction and circulation of identity beliefs occurs. Representation is a fundamental player in the process by which phobias of difference become part of the hegemony and institutionalization of a society through its legitimization of these ideas (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Cultures do not reflect the truth about other cultures but instead their projections about these cultures, creating new meanings through representation (Said 1978, Hall 1982, Bhabha 1994, Shohat and Stam 1994). Representation and reality are in constant interplay yet treatment of ethnic minorities and migrant groups is connected to how they are represented (Dyer 1993). Often representation relies on stereotypes. Stereotypes can be constructed by individuals or as a collective belief shared by the social structure of society and heavily influenced by the mass media (Stangor and Schaller 1996). Visual and textual images of minority populations reproduced in the media and arts are controlled by dominant groups who control representations of these groups (Bhabha 1994, Shohat and Stam 1994).

The mass media is able to increase our circle of knowledge and perspectives on reality through experiences not directly experienced. At the same time it creates a dependency on the media and on the selection of news experiences controlled by others (Thompson 1995, Gabás 2001, van Dijk 2002). Migrant and ethnic populations frequently face racist discourses that stereotype them in the media (Perceval 1995, van Dijk 2002). Filtered from the media, the discourses in art and film in particular retain the same messages on hierarchy and the privileging of dominant populations (García Canclini 1995, Tarr 1997, Larson 2006). Nevertheless, art also has the power to reshape and reevaluate treatment of migrant and ethnic population representation (Culler 2000). Additionally, minority groups and audiences also maintain power to influence representation through social actions taking back the power in representation through creating self-identity based representations (Shohat and Stam 1994, Saeys 2009).

1. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, REPRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Various analysis approaches exist in the consideration of representation of migrant and ethnic identities in film. Those included here that are applied to this thesis include thorough consideration of a society's historical, political, social and cultural context (Kellner 2009); attention to active and passive characters (Casetti and di Chio 1990); the concepts of mania, phobia, and philia (Pageaux 1981) and attention to structural subordination and hierarchy of dominance inside of standardized representations (Shohat and Stam 1994).

CHAPTER 2

2. REPRESENTING THE OTHER, REPRESENTING OURSELVES

2.0 Introduction

One of the arenas in which construction of migrant and ethnic identities takes place is that of national cinema. This is due to national cinemas involvement in the creation and circulation of media and public opinion discourses as well as their reaction to dominant ideologies in a society. Point of view forms a central axis that runs through a national cinema to its national directors whereby each system and individual tells a set of stories particular to their interpretations of the world. While the terms point of view and national cinema are contentious categories open to academic disagreements on definition of scope as well as validity as criteria for analysis, they prove useful in framing the parameters of this investigation.

The previous chapter, *Identity Construction, Representation and Analysis,* defined the concept of identity and its application to migrant and ethnic representation in the media used in this thesis. This chapter defines the concepts of point of view and national cinema and adds them to the theoretical framework begun in the last chapter. The first two sections, *Point of View* and *National Cinema* discuss and define the scope of these concepts as applied to this investigation based on previous academic studies which will be discussed. A national cinema is composed of a variety of films embodying a heterogeneous collection of directors with disparate life experiences who use varied narrative styles and characters in their films. The third section, *National Films and Director Point of View*, discusses the role and influence of the director in shaping a film. The fourth section, *Directors and Heritage Based Point of View*, provides a

discussion on one of the key analysis focus of this investigation, that of the influence that cultural identity holds on filmmaking crews. Director heritage is studied in three subsections dealing with the overlapping branches of: *National Heritage Directors*, *Migrant Heritage Directors*, and *International Directors*. This section demonstrates the wide range of points of view inside of individual national cinema systems.

2.1 Point of View

The term point of view can refer to attitudes, ideologies, opinions, vantage points and standpoints. It is present in all opinions, texts, media, and creations. As Robert Stam indicates, "point of view is somewhat problematic because it gestures in so many directions at once" (Stam, 2005: 39). Seymour Benjamin Chatman gives three interpretations of point of view employed in ordinary use. These are 1) perceptual point of view, defined as literally what is visually seen through someone's eyes or physically felt; 2) conceptual point of view; defined as a figurative use based on the way a person filters and interprets ideas in the world, creating attitudes and ideologies; and 3) interest point of view, a passive state which isn't based on the physical (perceptual) nor thoughts (conceptual) but instead on a benefit, such as aiding the happiness or profit of a person (Chatman, 1978: 152-53).

Point of view is used in this thesis to refer to the conceptual perspective from which a discourse is reproduced. By discourse I refer to the Foucauldian use in which a position is framed and limited by a speaker inside of a wider dialogue on that subject (Foucault, 1971: 199). As Sara Mills describes this use:

> The first thing to notice is that, for Foucault, discourse causes a narrowing of one's field of vision, to exclude a wide range of phenomena from being considered as real or as worthy of attention, or as even existing; thus, delimiting a field is the first state in establishing a set of discursive practices. Then, in order for a discourse or an object to be activated, to be called into existence, the knower has to establish a right for him/herself to speak. Thus, entry into discourse is seen to be inextricably linked to questions of authority and legitimacy. Finally, each act somehow maps out the possible uses which can be made of that statement (although of course that is not necessarily what happens to it) (Mills, 1997: 46-7).

And according to James Lull:

> Discourses are the patterned ideological and cultural themes that symbolic forms, stories, and genres represent and reproduce. A discourse is the way objects or ideas are talked about publicly that gives rise to widespread perceptions and understandings. Discourses help organize ideology and culture (Lull, 1995: 173).

The discourses in question in this thesis are those pertaining to migrant and ethnic identity representation. As was discussed in the previous chapter *Social Construction of Migrant and Ethnic Identities,* notions of identity are constantly in motion. Each nation has distinct circumstances and make-up of the migrant and ethnic groups entering and settling in the population as well as treatment of these through national discourses created and circulated by the media, social institutions and culture outlets. National film systems cannot help but to be influenced by these discourses. While inside of a nation and inside of a film system there is no one defined treatment of migrant and ethnic identity representations, certain similarities of treatment can be found by studying collections of films produced in a national film system during specific time periods.

Discourses in national cinemas are conglomerations made up by a multitude of contributors that create a dynamic whole. Most discourse content in the media and film originates from the dominant majority population point of view. As was previously mentioned, news sources are principal players in discourse dissemination on migrant identity filtering information from elite sources (politicians, bureaucrats, the police, state agencies, and universities) while providing limited opportunity for these groups to express counter discourses from their points of view (van Dijk 2002). A news report may quote a minority member or show an interview of a migrant speaking, nevertheless, point of view remains enclosed in a dominant framework, that of a regional or national news media. As most news is presented as factual, the viewer or reader assesses the reliability of the information based on their trust in the national or regional news media's opinion

In the case of film production, point of view and discourse reproduction is looked at specific to the director and film team creating the film inside of a national cinema. Similar to the producers of mass media, most films tend to be produced by the dominant elite male majority members of a society catering to national and international audiences and their imagined interests. This area will be further explored in this chapter in the section on director point of view.

Point of view is counterbalanced by audience reception. It is often argued that an individual film text has its own life once birthed from the author and co-created by the audience. The audience both interprets and decodes messages contained in the point of view while also accepting and filtering identification with the narrator. James Naremore states, "Readers or viewers always decode messages by positing a source, even if only an imaginary or unconscious one, and the source has a political meaning" (Naremore, 1999: 22). Naremore reminds us of Andreas Huyssen's challenge to poststructuralism and Foucault's discourse analysis that belittled the significance to the author, saying that this denied the ability to challenge the "ideology of the subject (as male, white, middle-class)," and the importance of knowing who is speaking or writing (Huyssen, 1986: 213). In another example taken from a study on audience reception, JoEllen Shively in *Cowboys and Indians: Perceptions of Western Films Among American Indians and Anglos* found that both Native American Indians and Anglo audiences from lower socioeconomic levels in a focus group identified and rooted for the good guys of the film, regardless of ethnic identification. "The Indians, like the Anglos, identified with the characters that the narrative structure tells them to identify with - the good guys" (Shively, 2000: 348). However each group differed in what was interpreted to be authentic and fictional in the narrative with the Anglo audience viewing more authenticity in the historical accuracy of the Indian portrayals and the Native American audience less so. When college educated Native Americans were sampled, educational awareness interfered with identification based on narrative cues and instead they identified with their ethnic groups and were aware of racist discourses found in the western genre, bringing again into play audience decoding of authorial intent over narrative structure intent.

2.2 National Cinema

National cinema provides an artificial boundary to study the intersection of point of view and how a film industry represents the migrant and ethnic identity. Staring up at the film marquee, there are a seemingly wide variety of film productions available at any given time. Recognizable stars, film genre, director appeal and film nationality are all frequent criteria for selection of a film to watch by filmgoers. Attraction to films based on nationality and directors can be based on tendencies of outlook or vision that repeat in these films or a desire to try a new cultural perspective. The collective body of individual film texts designated as belonging to a specific nation make up national cinema. As has been discussed in the previous chapter in section *1.1.2 Alterity and Hybridity*, any category based on the fickle word "nation" steps on marshy terrain, unstable from the start in providing a neat and concrete category. Questions such as what defines a film as a "national film" and how to address the plurality of national points of view are taken into consideration in this section. As the final analysis of this thesis will be centered on films certified as national films, attention is directed to what constitutes a national film and how differences in identity and alterity representation are taken into consideration in this category.

As a starting point, the concept of national films needs to be understood. There is no universal definition on what makes a film a national film, yet all films at some level are deemed to be national films. These may include US Hollywood blockbusters; independent European or Asian cinema; as well as local productions and co-productions that include general cinema, *auteur* and art house films. Often the qualifications for being considered national films are developed and implemented by national funding bodies or by international film festival requirements, such as the Cannes Film Festival or the Toronto International Film Festival. National funding and festival requirements use filming location, coverage of local or national issues, nationality of the director and or stars, sources of financing and the nationality of a determined percentage of the film crew as determining criteria.

While these criteria seem straightforward enough, categorizing a film as part of a national cinema is becoming more debatable in an increasingly global film market. More and more, financing, creation, nationality of the director and film crew, production company, distribution company and even audience are not limited to involvement by single nations. There is a growing interest by European Cinema, indeed World Cinema outside of Hollywood, to use mixtures of co-financing through multiple national and international subsidies, of films not limited geographically which use international film crews, actors, and directors, are at times co-productions created and distributed by various countries, and may be exposed to a cosmopolitan audience through international film festival circuits. Nevertheless, in the case of a European film, attention to nationality is often a key factor in acquiring financing and an identifiable nationality plays a strong role in festival entries, distribution, and marketing campaigns, causing questions of nationality to be included in decisions from the start of a filmic production.

Andrew Higson and Susan Hayward are leading scholars in studies dealing with concepts of the nation and cinema studies. Andrew Higson in *The Limiting Imagination of National Cinema* distances himself from conceptions of national cinemas based on territory. He says,

> "[I]t is inappropriate to assume that cinema and film culture are bound by the limits of the nation-state. The complexities of the international film industry and the transnational movements of finance capital, film-makers and films should put paid to that assumption" (Higson, 2000: 73).

Hayward in *Framing National Cinemas* further explores the debate over the abstraction of the concept of national cinema. She questions the value of attributing national productions with unifying notions of a national culture, instead of as merely describing multiple fractured and fragmented identities and hegemonies (Hayward, 2000a: 101). "For cinema is not a pure product. It is inherently a hybrid of many cultures, be they economic, discursive, ethnic, sexed and more" (Hayward, 2000a: 101).

Jinhee Choi brings together Higson and Hayward's ideas adding her own twist on the diminishing value of the concept of "national cinema" in the face of

globalization and "transnationalism". In her article *National Cinema- The Very Idea*, she defines three interpretations commonly ascribed by theories on the scope of national cinema as those of territorial accounts, functional accounts and relational accounts (Choi, 2006: 310-311).

The first theory, that of territorial accounts, relates to cinema made through activities and institutions located in the specific geographical limits of a nation. This categorization is often used to economically protect domestic film industries from Hollywood dominance through the use of government regulations. For example, for a film to be deemed a Spanish national film it must have a minimum requirement of creative input, technical services and artistic services that are provided by Spanish or European nationals. The creation of specific qualities to determine national film status by the Spanish Ministry of Culture then is a constructed affair based on conception of the nation state and geographical borders. While territorial accounts are commonly used in funding and film festival qualifications, Hayward, Higson and Choi cite the limitations and ambiguousness of a territorially based cinema in an age when film constructions are multinational.

The second theory, a functional account, links national cinema to representations of national identity. In this sense, a national film is one that represents the local, even to the extent that it is used to self-define a national identity. In these films the audience recognizes the local self on the screen. Jigna Desai adds that, "Most frequently, films are institutionalized within the canons of national cinemas that are nation-building projects. Hence, cinema functions significantly in narrating nations and producing national identities" (Desai, 2004: 36). Choi and Hayward criticize functional approaches, citing them as being both anti-essentialist, in that national identities are constructions and therefore unable to represent "pure, authentic culture unique to a given culture" as well as the problem of audience reception, in that not all nationals will share a similar response to and identification with a film (Choi, 2006: 313).

Lastly, a relational account refers to differentiating a national cinema from other national cinemas as well as from Hollywood. Choi believes that relational accounts deal with more than branding for international categorizations. She argues that they

instead identify common attributes between films that differentiate themselves from other national cinemas and Hollywood (*ibid.*: 314). She says, "We can properly understand the significance of a national cinema as a cinematic category only within a historical context in comparison with other national cinemas" (*ibid.*: 315). A number of these features are: modes of production such as distribution and exhibition, film styles, narrative structures, themes and film genres differ. (*ibid.*: 316). She associates national cinema with art cinema and *auteur* cinema in particular. While all three accounts are essential to the understanding of national cinema, Choi argues in favor of an emphasis on relational accounts.

Arne Saeys concurs; he stresses the importance of national cinema acting as a counterpoint to the domination of Hollywood films and as a part of local television programming strategies.

> Despite the similarity with art house cinema in its small-scale production, national cinemas cover more diverse and commercial genres like melodramas, comedies, musicals and thrillers with their own local star system. These productions are mainly broadcasted on national television and barely reach audiences beyond the regional language area (Saeys, 2009a: 348).

As these reflections make evident, the concept of national cinema is both a well-used term activity in use by national government cultural ministries and at the same time an ambiguous term without neat borders or sense in an era of globalized production. As has been discussed, films sanctioned as national films are professed to share production styles, exhibition and distribution strategies as national films in a given time in history. Film styles, narrative structures, themes and film genres become specific to a nation as markers of their difference from other national cinemas.

European national films then strive to find a commonality in their production that separates them from other national cinemas and from Hollywood films. However, nations, and their national films, are made up of multiple voices with their own star system and directors who carry that voice.

2.3 National Films and Director Point of View

In this section, point of view narrows from a national cinema system to that of the individual films and director perspectives. The most common stereotype of national cinema is that it is full of national films that are homogenous and share a uniformity of thought representative of the majority of a given country. National cinemas are instead composed of a large cluster of individual films. These individual films speak through diverse genres from various points of view in terms of political ideologies, geographical regions, generational themes, gender, sexual orientation and of dominant / minority populations. When compared individually they may discuss very different subjects using different filmic styles.

What is true is that when looked at as a whole, certain similarities in themes and styles emerge as indicators of national discourses in national films. While these themes and styles will not be present in every film, repetitions exist throughout multiple films in the system. One reason for this is that narrative themes, settings and traditions are often derived from contemporary and local issues specific to each nation. As Spanish director and actor Mireia Ros points out, "El cine es entretenimiento, pero también cultura y documento histórico" (Ros in Camí-Vela, 2005: 188).

Even as a national film system is made up of a multitude of voices, individual films themselves are also made up of multiple voices. Often it is the director or screenwriter who is credited with providing the source voice. However, unlike many other art forms, a film is not created by one author. Instead it is a group production involving participation from possibly hundreds of individuals in the form of producers, directors, screenwriters, actors and departments as varied as electrical cable laying to food catering. European national films tend to vary greatly from Hollywood films in the scale of film budgets and therefore also in creation and production practices. To give an example, the average budget to make and market a European film is from 3 to 5 million euros while the average budget of a Hollywood film is 70 million euros. As the budget of a film increases, the film production process becomes more specialized. In the case of low budget films, in which much of European cinema applies, many duties are performed by the same

person. Screenwriters and filmmakers may originate films from their interpretations of the world based on their experiences (lived, media influenced, or imagined) yet they are in turn influenced by producers making demands to gather more funding as well as changes and modifications produced by actors adding their interpretations to the roles. Given the multitude of voices inside of an individual film that are multiplied in a systematic analysis of a national film system, important questions arise on how to apply an analysis of point of view on such an unruly set of data.

Various arguments wage in regard to selection of the director, screenwriter or neither as responsible for the view point of a film. In the 1950s, consolidation of the director as the single most important factor shaping a film was emphasized in the *politique des auteurs* by the French film magazine *Cahiers du cinéma* and François Truffaut's article "Une certaine tendance du cinéma français" (1954). However shifts in theory from New Criticism to Michael Foucault's "What is an Author?" (1969) and Roland Barthes' "From Work to Text" (1971) strove to separate the importance of the author, or director, from the text (Naremore, 1999: 19). Other writers like David Kipen in *The Schreiber Theory: A Radical Rewrite of American Film History* (2006) support the preeminence of the screenwriter as the creative force behind a film. Frustrating Kipen's intent though is the long-standing practice by many film production companies of improving, restructuring and rewriting most scripts, some to the point of being unrecognizable from the original screenplay. Even so, many academics today continue to support *auteur* theory in modified forms arguing that classical and contemporary *auteurs* impose a style on their films which must be acknowledged and that identity is always present in film texts (*ibid.*: 21-22).

This study uses the director as the symbolic reference point for the originator of the point of view of the film. Nonetheless, where information is available, authors of the script and any adaptations are also noted and taken into consideration. This decision is based on various factors. The first is the director's involvement during pre-production, production and post-production, thereby exerting a macro influence on a film. One of the many hats a director wears includes working closely with

producers to help attain financing. The original idea may be author originated or adapted from a book or theater production. At times a series of screenwriters collaborate, complete or rewrite existing scripts that have been written freelance or commissioned by a director or producer. Directors interpret and modify scripts as well as make the major casting decisions. They are responsible both for the artistic elements of a film as well as the logistics of actor and film crew management. They must imagine the details of each scene, decisions about camera set-up, costumes, lighting, and communicate their vision. This is done through storyboards, and through working closely with actors and film staff. Even as actors interpret their roles, as the actress turned director Icíar Bollaín says, "El actor es un poco un vehículo – lo que no quita que sea un trabajo muy creativo – pero, de alguna manera es el vehículo del director que está contando una historia. Tú eres un elemento para contar su historia" (Bollaín in Camí-Vela, 2005: 51). After the shooting is finished, many filmmakers take an active part in the editing of the film as well as in aiding the producers get the film distributed.

A second factor is the importance of the *auteur* tradition in European cinema. Particularly in Spanish cinema, a large number of films are *auteur* based with filmmakers either writing their own scripts or choosing scripts that align with their personal visions. They tend to have more editorial role over the outcome of their work. Peter Evans writes,

> Significantly, the spectacular rise and development of Spanish cinema over the last twenty years or so has been largely associated with the work of directors who could loosely be said to belong to an auteurist as distinct from a popular tradition of film-making. While overtly commercial or 'popular' cinema has continued to survive […] the real successes in terms of both quality and quantity have been auteur-based" (Evans, 1999: 2).

And thirdly, in European film since the 1950s and under the influence of *auteur* theory, although authorized co-authors may vary from country to country, the director is the only film team member always recognized as one of the authors of a film (Kamina, 2002: 155). In the case of Spain, the Spanish Act names the film director, screenwriters of both original works and adaptations, and the authors of

musical compositions specifically recorded for the film as co-authors of a film (*ibid.*: 160).

2.4 Directors and Heritage Based Point of View

After exploring national cinema and the importance of the director in film production, the next matter to be taken into consideration is that of the point of view of national film directors. In an attempt to examine cultural and ethnic identity influences in film representations, this thesis further examines National directors based on their ethnic and cultural heritage backgrounds. Heritage refers to the genetic and cultural inheritance passed down to an individual from the previous generation. The term heritage is applied to differentiate identity positions, and has been chosen as a neutral word that can be applied to all filmmakers: native born, immigrants and emigrants, and which, at this time, carries a positive connotation. Three classifications will be discussed in this section and further developed in subsections: *National Heritage Directors*, *Migrant Heritage Directors* and *International Directors*

Categorizing filmmakers based on ethnic and cultural identity is a constructed strategy. It is not inherently natural to categorize on this basis, similar to groupings on the gender, sexual orientation, or religious affiliation of the filmmaker. However, cultural studies bring to light the distinct perspectives and insights that can be gained by exploring cultural texts for class, gender and ethnic treatments by questioning the subjectivity of the author's point of view. Studying director heritage helps to answer such questions as what effects does the hegemony of a dominant director group create, who has the right to speak for another, and what are the ramifications of using director identity as a parameter (Huyssen 1986, Naremore 1999).

The role of the filmmaker is that of deciding whose voice and viewpoint will be regarded:

> Entertainment does not just tell stories; it tells particular stories in a way that privileges some people and points of view over others. This privileging can be seen in a variety of ways, for instance, by creating a hierarchy of

> characters in stories, making some more important than others. The important ones get to speak and make things happen, and the viewer sees the action from their points of view. […] Stories normalize behavior by habitually showing certain ways that people relate to each other. When racial-minority groups' actions and relations to others are shown on film, they are presented or seen not as political acts and decisions but as something "natural." Producer and viewers of these images might not see this because their roles and the stories told in films seem so common or "normal" (Larson, 2006: 15).

The film-goer takes part in a two-hour media experience, living through another's body, so to speak, in which alternate viewpoints cause viewers to identify with distinct forms of empathy, acceptance, or rejection as they identify with the protagonist and other cast members. This takes place through writer and director protagonist selection in literary and filmic narratives where it expands to include multiple narrator and character voices involved in the telling of a story. This privileging of point of view is decided by who does the narrating both inside the film and behind the camera. However, as the majority of images created of minority populations are created from the point of view of the dominant population, this means that there is often an absence of voice or of equality of voice different from the typically white male heterosexual upper class protagonists represented in film.

To further illustrate this point, gender studies investigations carried out by Fátima Arranz and Pilar Aguilar reinforce the link between director identity, point of view and protagonism in Spanish Cinema. In a study of Spanish filmmakers from the years 2000-2006, Arranz found that out of 877 films: 797 were directed by men, 65 by women and 15 were codirected by men and women (Arranz, 2010a: 20). In a second study analyzing the same period of films, Aguilar narrowed the canon to include those films that received the highest box office numbers, and therefore the most probabilities of being seen and having an audience impact. In total she studied 42 films; 29 of which were directed by men and passed 1 million spectators and 13 that were directed by women and passed 100,000 spectators. Aguilar showed that the gender of the director was an important factor in both

determining protagonist gender as well as the initiative of female characters in these films.

> Tanto hombres como mujeres tienden a hacer protagonistas de sus películas a personajes de su propio género. Los hombres en mayor medida que las mujeres:79,3% de los filmes dirigidos por varones tienen a otros varones como protagonistas, frente a un 69,2% de los dirigidos por mujeres que tienen a otras mujeres como protagonistas (Aguilar, 2010: 233).

And when it came to showing female characters that took initiative instead of passive positions over decisions in their lives or in the film, male filmmakers tended to show women as passive, 41,3% (12/29 films), while female filmmakers showed women as taking the initiative in 92,3% (12/13) of the films studied " (*ibid.*: 237).

Annette Kuhn describes the world of film as full of males in positions of authority: producers, directors, technicians, and therefore when you pair the fact that females are treated as objects in film, "and the observation that males are or have been largely responsible for producing such images – it can readily be concluded that a transformation in the area of representation might in some measure be brought about if there were greater numbers of women artists, advertising executives, film directors, and so on" (Kuhn, 1982: 7). Given that that 91% of the total of films created during this time period were directed by males as compared to 7,4% by women, ramifications of male gender dominated representations are significant. Exchanging the context of the studies by Arranz and Aguilar from gender to minority representation, the even greater lack of voice by migrant and ethnic populations is staggering.

The importance of director heritage has been taken up by various European cinema investigations on migration in film in countries with more developed migrant and minority populations such as France, Germany and Great Britain (Tarr 2005, Burns 2006, Seeßlen 2003, Malik 2002, Wright 2005). In countries such as Spain, Greece and Italy, that have previously experienced low or nonexistent levels of migration and where distinct cultural or ethnic minority populations were smaller, questions of director heritage have often not been addressed. However, as

migration to these countries has increased, wider access to self-representation by migrant or migrant heritage filmmakers emerges through niche media outlets and later through acceptance by the dominant population. As national cinema begins to be composed of a much wider range of filmmakers, the need to evaluate subsequent representations and absences of representation by filmmakers emerges.

In the case of European national films and Spanish national films in particular, it should be remembered that for a film to be recognized by a country as part of its national cinema (and therefore eligible for festivals and Awards ceremonies), it must meet established percentage requirements in financing sources, film crew and actor nationalities, and through filming location and coverage of local or national issues. There is a general assumption that national films are created by **National Heritage Directors**, that is, filmmakers of the same heritage as the dominant population of a country. Although these direct the majority of films of a country, multiculturalism factors brought about through globalization or historical plurality of ethnic groups in a territory create additional director groups. An example of a Spanish national heritage director is Fernando León de Aranoa. **Migrant Heritage Directors** include filmmakers of minority ethnic populations, migrants of first, second or third generation and those of mixed national and ethnic heritage. National heritage directors and migrant heritage directors are both citizens connected to the same nation state as the film. An example of a Spanish migrant heritage director is Santiago Zannou. In addition to these two groups are **International Directors**, filmmakers from other nations who participate in national film production for a different country than their nationality. International directors can be involved in international co-productions or transnational in nature. An example of an international director who has directed Spanish national films is Adolfo Aristarain.

Therefore in a national film the combination of director groups are capable of producing various combinations of self-identity and Other-identity. These include

1) The dominant national majority group as Self

2) The dominant national majority as Other

3) Migrant and ethnic groups as Self

4) Migrant and ethnic groups as Other

The following tabl, Table 2.1: Director Categories, can help to better illustrate these categories:

Table 2.1: Director Categories

Director Category	Description and Example
National Heritage Directors	--Dominant national majority group as self -- Migrant and ethnic groups as Other Ex: Fernando León de Aranoa, (*Amador* 2010), a Spanish national heritage director with a film about a Peruvian woman in Spain.
Migrant Heritage Directors	-- Migrant and ethnic groups as Self -- Other migrant and ethnic groups as Other --Dominant national majority group as Other Ex: Santiago Zannou (*El truco del manco*, 2008), a Spanish director of Beninese heritage with a film about Moroccan and African migrants and a mixed Spanish-Beninese heritage man in Spain.
International Directors	-- Migrant and ethnic groups as Self -- Other migrant and ethnic groups as Other --Dominant national majority group as Other --Dominant national majority group as Self (in the case of films involved in both countries) Ex: Adolfo Aristarain (*Martín (Hache)*, 1997), an international director of Argentine nationality with a film about Argentine migrants in Spain.

As part of a national cinema, films by all three director groups share various production styles as well as exhibition and distribution strategies. Differentiating between the heritages of the film team may be used in marketing strategies of a film and becomes an interesting point of analysis especially in post-colonial studies and in studies on minority/majority relationships.

It is common for films inside of a national film system to portray characters taken from the national and local population demographics. When migrant or ethnic populations exist, it is frequent for films to reflect this. These representations are often influenced by the discourses reproduced by that society's cultural and political response to these populations. When population demographics register immigration and minority populations yet films are marked by an absence of their representation, this raises questions on what is being protected by their absence.

In the case of countries such as the United States, there is a long tradition of migrant and ethnic studies on long-term minority populations. These include representation of African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics and Asian Americans, documenting the major stereotypes, themes and messages supported by film and television (Larson, 2006: 13-67). Additional studies focus on immigration and historic explorations of minority populations now settled in the population, such as in *American Laughter: Immigrants, Ethnicity, and 1930s Hollywood Film Comedy* (Winokur 1996) or *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance* (Ramírez Berg 2002).

Similar studies have been produced on migrant and ethnic representation in European Cinema (Tar 2005, Malik 2002, Seeßlen 2003, Wright 2005, Santaolalla 2005, Burns 2006, Monterde 2008, etc.)[1]. These studies position themselves to deal with historical ethnic minorities, migrant populations and mixed heritage nationals. Different from "New World" continents, Europe has a long tradition of literature and later film production depicting historic minority populations such as Jewish and Romani (Gypsy) populations that date back centuries. Minority representation

---

[1] See chapter 3, *Changing Perspectives in European Cinema* and chapter 4, *Changing Perspectives in Spanish Cinema* for a more detailed look at European film systems and representation.

of these groups was based on common stereotypes of the time period. With the arrival of migrant movements, many of the same fears from historic ethnicities were later transferred to the migrant population, now migrant heritage nationals.

Centering on representations of migrant and ethnic and minority populations, various factors contribute to their representation. First, the length of residence and make-up of the minority population influence the parameters of representation. A nation may contain and represent predominantly one ethnic group or varying groups of minority populations depending on historical influences and migration patterns. There are also often great differences in length of residence and self-identification with a nation, for example, minority populations may be recently arrived migrants or have existed in the location before the majority population. These populations may be residents and citizens of a country, first or second generation, and may also have dual citizenship with a second country. In these cases films and programs containing images of minority populations may use very different strategies to represent multi-generational nationals versus recent migrants, as well as different strategies towards different ethnic groups. Over time, as national heritage filmmakers are joined by migrant heritage filmmakers and influenced by international co-productions, representations of migrant and ethnic populations undergo transformations.

Yosefa Loshitzky in her book *Screening Strangers*, poses this change as part of the process of dealing with challenges to European identity posed by migration and diasporic populations. She is interested in how traditional constructions of what it is to be European are subverted, reinforced and deconstructed through hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices (Loshitzky, 2010: 8). She traces three stages in migrant and minority representation that are common to European cinema. These are the focus on the journey, interactions with the host country and that of the second generation and on. These genres can be made by dominant group and by minority group members. She defines these as:

1)   Journeys of Hope:

[T]he migratory journey from the homeland to the host country and sometimes back home […] By portraying the hardships endured by

refugees and migrants on their way to the Promised Land (the host country in Europe), the films of this genre challenge and subvert contemporary media and public discourse on migrants which dehumanizes and criminalizes them (*ibid.*: 15).

2) In the Promised Land: the encounter with the host country.

These films usually revolve around such issues as racism, miscegenation, cultural difference, and economic exploitation. They focus on the process of immediate absorption in the new country, portraying a reception of the migrants by the host society that in most cases is more hostile than hospitable (*ibid.*).

3) The second generation and beyond:

It explores the processes and dynamic of integration and assimilation and their counterparts, alienation and disintegration. The films in this category, […] deal with the experience of the second generation, children of migrants who are still marginalized and oppressed by the host society (*ibid.*).

Domingo Sánchez-Mesa Martínez adds to these categories what he describes as the major film and literature themes on immigration (Sánchez Mesa Martínez, 2011). These include:

1) The voyage: Its precursors, transit, border themes, the arrival and the fight to overcome the harsh conditions encountered in the new country

2) Survival in the new country: language acquisition, adapting, integrating and resisting the new culture

3) Gender differences inside of the migrant communities and the receiving communities, especially focusing on treatment of the female migrant

4) The labor market and papers

5) Intergenerational conflicts dealing with cultural traditions in conflict with the adopted countries culture

6) Inter-personal relationships such as xenophobia in the form of racism by the host population and from other migrants or narratives on friendships and

sexual relationships between migrants and migrants and migrants and the host population

7) Religion, education and representations of childhood

8) Marginalization, exploitation and nostalgia for the culture left behind

9) The myth of return

The next subsections will further expand on the three categories of National Directors: National Heritage Directors, Migrant Heritage Directors and International Directors.

2.4.1 National Heritage Director

The term national heritage director is used in this thesis to refer to filmmakers of the majority and dominant ethnic group of a country. Dominant population groups often make up the bulk of a national population and subsequently direct most cultural institutions as well as provide the largest national audience for cultural products. National heritage filmmakers are the primary creators of cinema and therefore of representation of migrant and ethnic images due to access to and hegemonic distribution tendencies towards resources. Films from this group are commonly produced with National Funding although a growing number receive international co-production funding.

While filmmakers inside this category may share many similarities, they also make up a very diverse group. Local regional loyalties, generation disparities, gender differences, as well as political leanings may produce wide differences among filmmakers and film themes. Despite these differences, members of this group share an identity membership that includes them in the dominant population of a country. This group is therefore more susceptible to funneling dominant discourses on migrant and ethnic identities into their films as they are dealing with second-hand information on these identity experiences.

2. REPRESENTING THE OTHER, REPRESENTING OURSELVES

Films created by national heritage directors make films with no migrant or ethnic representations as well create films that use minority characters in principal roles, secondary roles or as background scenery. National heritage filmmakers are the first to make films about migrants. They may show solidarity, xenophobia or ambivalence towards migrants. As was discussed in section 1.2.4 *Representation of Migrant and Ethnic Identities in the Arts*, National Heritage directors provide two influences in terms of representing migration and ethnicity. On the one hand, they bring to public attention themes that may have no representation or voice even in the news media. Their artistic attention can provide marginalized groups with more sympathetic treatment than the news media provide. On the other hand, directors, as active members of society, create content on an often unconscious level that reproduces codes on how society should and shouldn't work from the dominant ideologies of a society (Larson, 2006: 14). Films continue media discourses that criminalize migrants or treat nationalized first generation and second-generation native citizens as dangerous strangers (Loshitzky, 2010: 5-6). In terms of migrant and ethnic representation, the "politics of representation does not result from a conspiracy between producers/writers and politicians" (Larson, 2006: 14); instead it happens organically.

Treatment of migration in film is covered through all stages of migration: from pre-immigration periods, transitioning to an immigrant attracting country through to multi-ethnic and multicultural societal changes. They not only reinforce existing stereotypes but they also challenge them. They provide different perspectives than those reported by national news media that are widely distributed to national audiences. As explained by Loshitzky's "Journeys of Hope" phase/genre, often in the first run of films, migrants arrive in the promised land only to return later to their home country by the film's end. These films show the difficulties faced during the voyage and the personal trials faced by individuals upon arrival. Later films are centered in the "Promised Land" genre, challenging racist discourses and treatment of migrants. These narratives may also be ambivalent in their attempts to support the migrant and battle long held stereotypes against specific ethnicities while also furthering these.

Efforts by national directors are also deeply important to changing impressions of migrants in the national consciousness. Many national heritage directors will do extensive research and interviews with migrants and minority groups in an attempt to portray them in an accurate light. Films dedicated to migration narratives may also be collaborated on with individuals from the represented ethnic groups. Even so, it is important to neither idealize directors for their solidarity in representing those with less voice nor criminalize them for their pertaining to a dominant majority group. With the passing of time as a country develops into a multicultural society, National heritage directors adapt their styles to provide more complex character portrayals especially when inspired by Migrant Heritage and International co-production directors as described in Loshitzky's "Second Generation and Beyond phase".

2.4.2 Migrant Heritage Directors

The term migrant heritage director is used in this thesis to refer to filmmakers who are first generation migrants and ethnic minority groups who are the descendants of recent migrant ancestry. Films may be produced with either national funding or co-production funding. While films created by migrant heritage directors are not the primary group creating films, European films created by members of minority communities about themselves create a social document able to reach both majority and minority audiences (Loshitzky, 2010). A few of the movements / theories which will be explored in this section include: Third World Cinema, Third Cinema, Transnational Cinema, Accented Cinema, Diasporic Cinema, and Intercultural Cinema.

As was mentioned in the section on national heritage directors, discussing a filmmaker on the bases of heritage and migration is a complex and sensitive subject. Similar to national heritage directors, the category of migrant heritage directors does not encompass a homogenous group, nor do these filmmakers self identify based on heritage markers. Due to historical, political, and migration pattern differences, each country has a different make-up of migrant heritage

filmmakers. These may belong to ethnic and minority populations with long-term coexistence and multi-generations of ancestry or be part of recent migratory movements. Historical migration patterns may be due to previous periods of slavery, colonialism, or historic migration. A filmmaker may also belong to an ethnic minority population of foreign descent of more recent historical migrations, such as German Turk filmmakers and French filmmakers of North African descent.

Whereas most national heritage filmmakers regard with pride or detachment identification by their nationality or ethnicity, filmmakers with transnational identities differ greatly in their preferences. Many artists and filmmakers that are transnational or of diasporic heritage, do not want to be labeled as such. This is often due to being devalued as an artist or *auteur* in an attempt to categorize them as part of a minority movement. Additionally it is viewed as a ghettoizing of their subject matter. There is a tendency for the Western world to group all the non-western in "World Cinema" or "Multiculturism". The Turkish author Elif Şafak describes this situation as the transformation of a creative individual into a representative of a culture. She says,

> When identity politics tries to put labels on us, it is our freedom of imagination that is in danger […] Multicultural writers are expected to tell real stories, not so much the imaginary. A function is attributed to fiction. In this way, not only the writers themselves, but also their fictional characters become the representatives of something large […] If you're a woman writer from the Muslim world, like me, then you are expected to write the stories of Muslim women (Şafak, 2010: audiovisual).

In conversation with filmmakers this theme is frequently touched. The Swedish-Lebanese filmmaker Josef Fares expressed that he views himself as a director, not an immigrant director (Fares, personal interview, August 28, 2008). Similarly, Saeys shares that during interviews with filmmakers of migrant heritage in Brussels, these directors did not want to be stereotyped as 'immigrant directors' as they do not make films limited to immigration (Saeys, 2009a: 351). The Danish director Omar Shargawi sums up these feelings when he says, "I'm quite hostile to the idea of being classified as some immigrant director. I'm a Danish director." (Hjort, Jorholt and Redvall, 2010: 247).

This rejection to being labeled based on identity is echoed in film and gender studies. Many female filmmakers reject being labeled as woman filmmakers, preferring instead to be called simply filmmakers. Fátima Arranz attributes this to a hidden invitation to be excluded from the profession. She says, "El lenguaje, servil siempre de las posiciones dominantes, se convierte en su instrumento cuando estas posiciones se ven amenazadas por la trasgresión o el cuestionamiento del orden social que las mantiene en el lugar de reconocimiento" (Arranz, 2010b: 318). She says filmmakers resist being labeled as different when this same labeling is not used for films made by the dominant group of filmmakers. (*ibid.*: 322). María Camí-Vela repeats this position finding that the idea of creating a different genre, subgroup or category is dangerous because while it recognizes, in this case the filmmaker as a woman, it also marginalizes her (Camí-Vela, 2005: 31-32).

However, there is general agreement that minority identity filmmakers due to their different identities are able to provide distinct outlooks, different points of view from the dominant population, and therefore they are able to produce different kinds of films. Icíar Bollaín says that women make films with a feminine outlook, however they do not belong to a different category of cinema called women's cinema (Bollaín in Camí-Vela, 2005: 60). The filmmaker Rosa Vergés adds:

> [D]ifícilmente una cineasta va a realizar un filme donde las mujeres sirvan de espectáculo para el espectador o de excusa para que el protagonista masculino lleve a cabo la acción. Esta es una de las características más destacadas de los filmes realizados por mujeres cineastas durante la década de los noventa; La mirada falocéntrica va desapareciendo para dar paso a otras miradas. Salvo en raras excepciones, las protagonistas son mujeres; vistas por otras mujeres. Es de esta forma que, en mi opinión, el término 'cine de mujer' debería usarse (Camí-Vela, 2005: 32).

Migrant heritage filmmakers use Western film styles to provide non-Western points of view. Often migrants are better connected with culture and media from other countries, thereby transforming European films through their contributions. "At times explicitly and at other times implicitly, these films introduce the possibility of a multicultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious Europe, free of the fear and hatred of the other" (Loshitzky, 2010: 9).

Loshitzky idealistically claims that these films are free of xenophobia, idealization or exoticization as Others. She says, "the "problem of the other" in these films is presented from within, from the point of view of the other himself/herself, negotiating whether and how to maintain his/her identity within a dominant culture" (*ibid.*). Authors such as Reba Chaisson, instead argue that all films, including those produced and directed by sensitized directors or by migrant heritage filmmakers continue to feed off of the dominant ideology and continue to include xenophobic and exoticized treatment if not of their own ethnic group, then of other minorities present as well as to idealize relationships with the dominant majority.

> Another factor that undermines the move toward autonomy is the role of minority filmmakers in furthering the denigration of their own identities. While the filmmakers in this study assert that there should be a broad range of roles available to racial minorities, many of them at the same time participate in the propagation of the stereotypical images of their own group (Chaisson, 2000: 4).

Other authors such as Desai stress that even when minority made films use the dominant styles and means of production, their films remain different.

> [M]inority-made films are often assimilated into larger national canons and cinemas by interpreting the texts as conforming to dominant aesthetics and forms. Although many of these films are read as Hollywood, British, or even Bollywood films, their disjunctures, heterogeneity, and hybridity belie this attempt to define texts by their relation to these dominant cinemas (Desai, 2004: 36).

An increasingly larger number of studies from diverse departments and disciplines, including film studies and cultural studies, are dedicated to studying the demographic and societal changes taking place influenced by globalization. Various terms are used to describe transnational director identities in cinema, what this thesis refers to as migrant heritage directors. Many of the terms express different nuances that overlap and repeat depending on the situation and author. Changing discourses and identity labels are constantly in flux and the meanings associated with the terms used to describe migration and ethnicity can, over time,

slide from neutral to derogatory connotations. Nonetheless, it is important to understand the various categories used by other writers and to understand the changes in theory applied to these films over time.

Categories and labels used to describe transnationality in film are derived from geographical, ethnic and colonization vocabularies, connecting the relationship with the border and cultural markers. Geographical terms include: World Cinema, Global Cinema, Third Cinema and Third World Cinema; identity and culture terms include Ethnic Cinema, Accented Cinema and Intercultural or Multicultural Cinema; colonization includes Postcolonial Cinema and Postcolonial Hybrid Cinema; and movement include Migrant Cinema, Immigrant Cinema, Diasporic Cinema, Transnational Cinema and the combination Transnational Diasporic Cinema. Various of the key terms are briefly summed up below. Much of the film theory that is here examined falls under the theoretical category of diaspora and exile cinema and criticism.

Third World Cinemas

Third World Cinemas is an early term used to describe world cinema produced by national film systems in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. These films are often identified with formerly colonized nations. Shohat and Stam list the following major film industries as examples: India, Egypt, Mexico, Argentina, China, Cuba, Algeria, Senegal, and Indonesia amongst others (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 28). While the political term "Third World" was coined in the 1950s to refer to developing nations, it was retrospectively applied to cinema produced from thus labeled countries, many of whom had produced films since the origins of film production (*ibid.*). Third World Cinema or World Cinema includes commercial, art house, and political message driven films and are primarily aimed at local audiences.

Third Cinema

Third Cinema is a term that emerged as a militant and political cinema of expression in the 1960s applied to films produced in a postcolonial context by "Third World" countries as a "cinema of resistance" (Hayward, 2000b: 40). Third Cinema is associated with the Argentines Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, who created the documentary *La Hora de los Hornos* (The Hour of Furnaces, 1968) and wrote the manifesto: "Towards a Third Cinema" in 1969, as well as with the Cuban Revolution and Brazilian Cinema Novo (Stam, 2000: 99). Teshome Gabriel's work, *Third Cinema in the Third World,* states that:

> The single theme that unites Third World films is that of oppression. In dealing with the issues of class, culture, religion and sexism, these films are making a call to action whether in the form of armed struggle or otherwise. Their concern is with social change and it is in this context that all the themes are taken up" (Gabriel, 1982: 20).

Hayward, succinctly sums up Gabriel's definition of Third Cinema as having

> […] a desire to address the effects of colonialism (as in Africa and India) or neocolonialism (as in Latin America, some African countries and Asia, including the Indian continent), exclusion and oppression (all of these countries or continents) [and] to politicize cinema and to create new cinematic codes and conventions (Hayward, 2000b: 391).

Principal aims of Third Cinema are to question power and colonial legacies; to liberate oppression based on gender, class, race religion, and ethnicity; address identity questions especially for diasporic populations; challenge previously held conceptions on oppressed groups; and to challenge audiences to be alert and reflect on these processes (Dodge, 2007: on line). While Third Cinema is most identified with the 1960s and 1970s and local audiences in these regions, films such as *The Battle of Algiers* (1966) created by the Italian Gillo Pontecorvo and current postcolonial hybrid films show the transnational and continuing effects of this movement (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 28; Dodge, 2007: on line).

Since its labeling in the 1960s, debates on what constitutes Third Cinema have begun to include Diasporic Cinema as part of the canon. Hayward writes in her anthology *Cinema Studies: the Key Concepts*:

> The Third Cinema debate remains an open one particularly in relation to what counts as 'in'. In general terms, it encompasses politicized and historicized cinemas of the Third World and the Black diasporas. In more purist terms, it can refer to the countercinemas of Third World countries. For the most part, it is the former reading that dominates, and this should be welcomed on the whole since it will allow for other diasporic cinemas – such as that of the Native American, the Asian-American, the Turkish-German, the Arab-French, and so on – to be imagined and viewed in a different way than they presently are (Hayward, 2000b: 396).

Transnational Cinema

Hamid Naficy introduced the genre Independent Transnational Cinema in his article "Phobic Spaces and Liminal Panics: Independent Transnational Film Genre" (1996). Naficy terms transnational filmmakers as interstitial authors. He defines these as located between the cracks of film systems, occupied with the borders and fissures where national film themes and issues do not reach. They create films dealing with the transnational positions of exile, émigré, and refugee filmmakers. In particular he focuses on filmmakers that originate from economically developing countries and live in host countries in the US or Europe. For Naficy, transnational films are concerned with self-narrativization and products of the transnational time and space as well as social life and cultural difference experienced there.

> By linking genre, authorship, and transnational positioning, the independent transnational genre allows films to be read and reread not only as individual texts produced by authorial vision and generic conventions, but also as sites for intertextual, cross-cultural, and translational struggles over meanings and identities" (Naficy, 1996: 121).

In this genre he sees the ability for different types of films to be studied as a group, for example fiction, documentary, and art house films. Many of the ideas expressed in this text were the groundwork for his future writings on Accented Cinema discussed later.

Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden , in their anthology *Transnational Cinema: The Film Reader* (2006), define Transnational Cinema as located between the local and the global. For these authors, the terms Third World and Third Cinema are left behind as antiquated in a world less binary in terms of communism and capitalism (Ezra and Rowden, 2006: 4). "[T]ransnational cinema is most 'at home' in the in-between spaces of culture, in other words, between the local and the global, it decisively problematizes the investment in cultural purity or separatism" (*ibid.*). Transnational Cinema includes the using of foreign actors in Hollywood, world cinema films that move internationally, as well as films produced by authors living in diaspora and their subsequent children. These authors link many of the narratives present in diasporic productions to a sense of loss, loneliness, and a sense of nostalgia (*ibid.*: 7).

> Indeed, in many films that can be fruitfully considered from a transnational perspective, identification with a 'homeland' is experienced and represented as a crisis. However, rather than being something that is simply transcended or jettisoned as the narrative unfolds, national identity often becomes a placeholder for idealized sites of cultural memory and imagined social security. In these films nostalgia for the mother country offers a tenuous refuge, which is constantly challenged by the constraints and attractions of life in the adopted country […] (*ibid:* 7-8).

Accented Cinema

Hamid Naficy in *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (2001) further develops his theories on transnational cinema and creates a new category, which he refers to as Accented Cinema. Accented Cinema is made up of three categories of films: those produced by exilic filmmakers, diasporic filmmakers and ethnic filmmakers. He describes these as unified by their in-between status, "liminal subjectivity" and "interstitial location", on the threshold of boundaries in society and film (Naficy, 2001: 10-11). Each category applies to a specific vision of in-betweeness. Exilic films deal with individuals banished from their homeland, "Although they do not return to their homelands, they maintain an intense desire to do so – a desire that is projected in potent return narratives in their films." (*ibid.*: 12). Diasporic relates to the scattering of the population from the homeland and

with the multiplicity of experiences from collectives of the population. Naficy explains that diaspora films focus on the collective and the collective memory of the homeland (*ibid.*: 14). "Thus, exilic cinema is dominated by its focus on there and then in the homeland [and] diasporic cinema by its vertical relationship to the homeland and by its lateral relationship to the diaspora communities and experiences" (*ibid.*: 15). The third category is that of postcolonial ethnic and identity films, which he defines as being made by both ethnic and diasporic immigrants or those born to nonwhite/non-Western postcolonial émigrés. Their cinema is defined by the "exigencies of life here and now in the country in which the filmmakers reside" (*ibid.*).

While Naficy is praised for expanding knowledge in this area, some authors, such as Saeys, have criticized his over-reliance on postcolonial literature and oppressed identities. For Saeys, the category "Accented Cinema" suspends filmmakers outside of national boundaries, neither part of their home country or their adopted home country and that the term is a way of "Othering" migrant directors. He argues that:

> Naficy constructs the category of an 'accented cinema' by putting the filmmakers in a liminal nowhere, not part of the host country cinema nor part of the home country cinema, nor part of the international cinema. The filmmakers are conceptualized as forever 'homeless', outside national and international film categories. This way, Naficy creates for himself a gap in the already existing film classifications, taking this as an argument to fill the gap with a brand new classification which he dubs an 'Accented Cinema' […] Moreover, I believe that labeling filmmakers as 'accented' reinforces the 'Othering' of migrant filmmakers by national and international film industries. In fact, the 'Accented Cinema' puts the filmmakers just into a new discursive ghetto. The 'Accented Cinema' is constructed as a stylistic category based on a generalized past of the filmmakers, modeled as a rupture from their natural territory of the nation-state. This way, the 'accented style' not only fails to account for the personal and professional evolution of the filmmakers over time but also obscures the contributions by migrant filmmakers to stylistic and other innovations in contemporary film industries (Saeys, 2009b: 6).

These reflections draw attention to the need to use labels as necessary evils, while maintaining awareness that each film and film system is plural and not essentialist.

Diasporic Cinema

Diasporic Cinema is a film category used to refer to films made by and about world diaspora populations. As was discussed in the section on Accented Cinema, for Naficy, Diasporic Cinema is attached to the collective and collective memory and its connection with the homeland. Authors such as Hayward and Desai use this category as a continuation of the Third World Cinema and Third Cinema progression applied to filmmakers in the diaspora. For Hayward, Diasporic Cinema includes US Black Cinema, cinema primarily associated with the African-American community of African or Caribbean ancestry, Black British Cinema, including Afro-Caribbean and Eastern Indians, and other groups such as Native American Indians, Chicanos and Americans of Eastern Indian and Asian ancestry.

Desai's work on South Asian Diasporic Cinema in *Beyond Bollywood: The Cultural Politics of South Asian Diasporic Film* (2004), has become a key text on Diasporic Cinemas. Similar to accented cinema she defines Diasporic Cinema as concerned with "social processes of exile and migration" (Desai, 2004: 41). Unlike Naficy's version, diasporic films are "not always oppositional, however, they employ repetition with a difference and are focused on the politics of displacement, alienation, or loss […] diasporic cinema and its categories of inquiry are fluid and heterogeneous rather than fixed and unitary." (*ibid.*). Additionally, Diasporic Cinema is located inside mainstream film industry and society and composed with all production styles: dominant, interstitial and by collective groups.

Desai does not view Diasporic Cinema as having to originate from diasporic directors.

> It is a difficult task to outline the characteristics of South Asian diasporic cinema outside of the logic of cultural nationalism or essentialism. For example, defining any such body of works based entirely on the racial identities of the filmmakers can be an essentialist project. Suggesting that

South Asian diasporic cinema is constituted by films made by South Asian diasporic filmmakers insufficiently characterizes what is at stake in discussing South Asian diasporic films as a cinema. This is not to say that the identities of participants in control of the filmic production are irrelevant; access to the means of production has been systematically unavailable to people of color, including South Asian migrants. Clearly, the dilemma is more complicated than a game of simple identity politics, and attempts have certainly been made to categorize or distinguish certain kinds of films from others based on the identities of those involved in production (*ibid.*: 34-35).

Particularly in this section, on migrant heritage directors, Desai's wider definition on who has the right to speak for another is compelling. The right to speak for another is a topic that surfaces continually in cultural studies, and gender and film studies. Exchanging "female directors" for "migrant heritage directors", in the following discourses leads to the same conclusions. For example, Kuhn argues that texts created by women may or might not be created as feminist works and that feminist works can be created by men (Kuhn, 1982: 8). Director Mireia Ros asserts that there are men who are able to narrate similarly to women; that this depends on the sensitivity of the person behind the camera, not on the gender of the person (Mireia Ros in Camí-Vela, 2005: 188). However she does feel that women make films that include more women and that they are more in touch with reality. She concedes that film has predominately been at the service of men and that they have tended to view the woman as "the weaker sex" (*ibid.*). Whereas for the director Silvia Munt, she views female characters written by a man as more symbolic than realistic in regards to women, that these characters are how men see women but that they don't understand them (Munt in Camí-Vela, 2005: 352).

As first generation migrants become second and third generation minority populations these debates increase in relevancy. The next section on Intercultural and Minority Cinema focuses more centrally on the directors instead of the films.

78

2. REPRESENTING THE OTHER, REPRESENTING OURSELVES

Intercultural Cinema

Laura Marks in *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment of the Senses* (2000) develops the term Intercultural Cinema to describe films created by filmmakers of multiple cultural backgrounds that live in the country where they were born. For Marks, Intercultural Cinema is created in the space where two or more cultures contact, "in the awareness that it is between cultures and so can never be fully verified in the terms of one regime or the other" (Marks, 2000: 24). The relationship between different cultures is never neutral and instead a mediation of power; the dominant culture decides what constitutes knowledge and requires the other culture to operate in its language and societal codes (*ibid.)*. However there is also a dynamic exchange constantly occurring between the dominant culture and minority cultures. This process also takes place between the various non-dominant cultures. Marks prefers the term Intercultural Cinema in place of the term Multicultural Cinema. For her, intercultural speaks of the interdependence of cultures whereas multicultural "implies the perspective of white or other dominant people who have been able to assume that their society continues to constitute the overarching culture" (*ibid.:* 7).

Minority Cinema

Minority Cinema is a category taken from the American cinema context. Chaisson writes on the experiences of African, Asian, Indian and Latin filmmakers in Hollywood and US film market, as well as on minority representations. She says,

> Filmmaking by some members of minority groups, as well as some films about minority groups, must be viewed as oppositional strategies that stand to present alternative images of these groups, and alternative versions of stories about these groups (Chaisson, 2000: 3).

In interviews with filmmakers, she cites the importance they place on having their racial identities reflected in the cinema and that these be in hero roles rather than villains, sidekicks and background characters where their representations are

typically marginalized. Often minority filmmakers in the mainstream must struggle to present these images against the priorities of film executives, themselves constrained by their ideas of what the market will allow.

> Some films do break through, but making films with representations that in effect contest their denigrated identities is a constant battle for minority filmmakers, and one that ensues with each successive moviemaking venture. The absence of racial minorities in positions of power in the film industry intensifies this contention. Moreover, it exposes the industry as a racially dominated system with priorities that serve to reproduce the hegemony among society members with respect to the racial stereotypes held about minorities […] The aesthetic priorities of minority filmmakers frequently conflict with the priorities of film executives. If contrasting images of minorities deviate too greatly from the status quo representations of these groups, the film's likelihood of release is significantly diminished (*ibid.*: 4).

Other Terms

In addition to these categories other labels include Immigrant Cinema, Migrant Cinema, Postcolonial Hybrid Cinema and ethnic or region specific names such as *Beur* Cinema. Many of these terms originated from the cultural studies movement begun in the 1960s in which minority cultures became a focus of study. One early example is shown in the article of Christian Bosséno in 1992, "Immigrant Cinema: National Cinema – the case of Beur Film" in which he made popular the term *Beur* Film.[2] New terms are constantly being created using combinations such as Transnational Diasporic Cinema (Maasilta 2007) or the term Migrant and Diasporic Cinema (Berghahn and Sternberg 2010).

As can be seen by these categories, there is a consensus that migrant heritage films create a fertile area of study. However, different theorists define as important for study different criteria thus creating a blurred sense of where one movement begins, overlaps and ends. World Cinema (or Third World Cinema) can be defined as including Third Cinema which itself can be seen to include Diasporic Cinema,

---

[2] Beur film is defined in more detail in chapter 3, *Changing Perspectives in European Cinema*, in section, 3.1 *Migrant and Ethnic Identities in French Cinema*.

or not, depending on its political objectives. Diasporic Cinema is at times interpreted to include Transnational Cinema as well as Intercultural and Accented Cinema (per Hayward and Desai) and could also include Minority Cinema. Intercultural Cinema begins where immigrant status ends, thus limiting Diasporic Cinema to the immigrant process and Intercultural Cinema to mixed heritage directors (Marks). While Diasporic Cinema and Intercultural Cinema are actually categories inside of the broader category of Accented Cinema (Naficy).

2.4.3 International Directors

The term International Directors refers to directors who direct films in a country other than the country represented by their nationality. These may be made up of directors working on international co-productions involving two or more countries. It may also include directors working on nationally funded films who have been invited to participate, or may have settled in other countries while maintaining their national alliances with their home country. Films produced by international directors may or may not include references to or characters from their home country. However, when they do, they are able to provide unique pluri-dominant points of view as they can provide self-identity representations through migrant and ethnic characters as well as host country characters.

The majority of national films made with international directors receive co-production funding. Co-production is a term used to describe films created by the joining of two production companies. When put into an international context involving two or more production companies from differing countries, a co-production is the creation of a film treated as a national film in each of the co-producing countries. The three film accounts described by Choi: territorial, identity and relational film, can all be applied to co-production films. These films are often financially tied to the territorial concept of national films in that each country involved must submit a certificate of nationality from each of the countries involved to apply for state funding. In the case of films made with national or

ethnic characters hailing from one or both of the countries, multiple versions of self-based identity construction may be evident. As a whole co-produced films are often necessary strategies used to confront a Hollywood dominated marketplace.

Reasons a production company might become involved in an international co-production agreement include eligibility to receive any benefits or assistance available in all the participating countries, a greater quantity of creative and technical assets, shared risk taking, and access to the domestic markets of each country of the co-production. European bi-national agreements are one form of cooperation created to help in the creation of co-productions. By following the rules set up by each country regarding co-productions, these agreements aid the process of allowing producers to more easily obtain certificates of nationality in multiple countries and therefore have access to their respective national subsidies in proportion to the participation of each partner (Talavera Milla, 2010: web). In the case of Spain co-production participation can be between 20% and 80% of the costs, and for multiple country productions, between 10% and 70% of the costs. Technical and artistic contributions as well as the location of filming must be proportional to the economic participation (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura- Cine y audiovisuales, n.d.e: on line).

Most local and international viewers perceive a film to be from one country. The fact that a film has received international co-production funding is not often recognized unless it is played up in the advertising campaign. Mark Betz in *Beyond the Subtitle: Remapping European Art Cinema* (2000) ironically comments that European coproductions in the categories of art cinema often are:

> […] left free to carry on as signifiers of stable national cinemas and identities or as gleaming expressions of their *auteur's* vision as which has somehow not been blurred by the determinants of cross-national cooperation that leave their marks everywhere on art films, from their budgets to their shooting locations to their casts to their soundtracks" (Betz, 2000: 54) .

Thus films which refer to the local are often made up of invisible forces essentially not local in origin and design. Lull describes transculturation as a process that produces cultural hybrids. He says,

> [C]ultural forms literally move through time and space where they interact with other cultural forms and settings, influence each other, produce new forms, and change the cultural settings. As we have seen, such syntheses often result from the physical movement of peoples from one geographic location to another. But we must not think of transculturation simply as the consequence of shifting populations. Many cultural crossings are also made possible by the mass media and culture industries (Lull, 1995: 242).

Similarly, Marvin D'Lugo associates co-productions with the process of hybridization. He refers to the historic trend of transnational film production and distribution in Latin America as being an unbalanced exploitation of the market for European films and as a location of exotic stereotypes embodied by the use of Latin American actors (D'Lugo, 2003: 104). However speaking on more recent co-productions made in Latin America he says,

> Out of the process of hybridization developed through the aggressive entrepreneurial schemes of multinational groups, a new type of Latin American film has emerged that does not adhere to the clichéd descriptions of neocolonial explotation or, as recent popular discourse would have it, of globalization. Rather, the most serious and significant of these co-produced films challenge the assumptions of the core/periphery model by generating cultural texts that have as their underlying project the co-production of newly emerging cultural identities (*ibid.*).

Therefore, according to Betz and D'Lugo, it can be derived that international co-productions often lead to a final film product involving multiple representations of "the local" and a fusion of cultures. Films internationally co-produced may be valued in each of the participating countries as local works and celebrated in national film award ceremonies. Yet through the extra-national nature of their creation, they are exposed to a different set of limitations than those in a film produced with purely local resources. While every artwork is forged through its "limitations", an international co-production, faces unique identity challenges through its imposed links to funding based on use of specific locations, and

percentages of national actors and creative crew. The international production process can equalize the voice of multiple cultures and different identities created by two or more dominant ways of viewing the national self. An example used by D'Lugo is that of the Spanish-Argentine film *Martín (Hache)* (Adolfo Aristarain, 1997). The spectator is led to reflect on identity politics, allegiance to a homeland, and rediscovery of roots in the world, while the camera slips easily between Buenos Aires and Madrid (*ibid.*: 119-120). As this film was marketed to Argentine and Spanish audiences, the representations of identity needed to coincide with these respective countries for the film to have the box office success it attained. This insider version of two cultures is not available in purely national cinema and does not exist with the same dominant culture position in hybrid cinemas.

2.5 Summary

This chapter expanded the concepts of identity and representation, discussed in chapter one *Identity Construction, Representation and Analysis*, to reflect on the influence of director heritage in shaping discourse point of view in national films representing migrant and ethnic populations. Point of view is used as the conceptual perspective from which a discourse is reproduced (Chatman 1978). Discourses are positions framed and limited by a speaker inside of a wider dialogue on that subject (Foucault 1971). The influence of authorial point of view is counterbalanced by audience reception and interpretation (Naremore 1999).

Analysis of a national cinema system can show how a society and producing group react to discourses on migration and minority populations through what it observes and comments on and what it fails to mention at a given point in time and location. These interpretations are formed by national discourses taking place on the topic of identity and migration or minority populations.

The concept of a national cinema based on territorial boundaries is controversial in the current era where borders are ambiguous in the face of multinational film creations (Higson 2000, Hayward 2000, Choi 2006). It is also difficult to argue that national cinemas represent national identities as national identities are constructed (Hayward 2000, Choi 2006). Instead national cinemas can be most closely defined

as a group of films that share production styles, and exhibition and distribution strategies creating and feeding off of similar film styles, narrative structures, themes and film genres (Choi 2006). They also serve as representations of the local that serve as counterpoints to Hollywood films (Choi 2006, Saeys 2009).

While it is recognized that films are art forms created by a team, this work uses the director as the point of reference for filmic point of view while maintaining awareness of screenplay and book adaptation authors where relevant (Truffaut 1954). This is due to the overwhelming involvement by the director in pre-production, production and post-production and the tendency of European and Spanish film to use auteurist directors and for their national film systems to recognize film authorship as through the director (Kamina 2002, Evans 1999).

Directors are subject to identity-based points of view. As filmmakers in Europe diversify from all male white heterosexual middle-to-upper-class identities who are members of the dominant population, to include females, mixed heritage ethnicity, mixed sexual orientations and class backgrounds, representations created on Other identities change. Who does the representing is tied to identity and identity in turn produces different effects in representation that go on to influence national discourses.

This investigation studies point of view as influenced from the filter of ethnic heritage dividing these into three categories: national heritage, migrant heritage and international directors. In the case of national heritage directors, the majority of studies focus on the hegemony of this group while ignoring the long term identity negotiation that is continually taking place by this group and their investment in minority representation from pre-migration to minority population countries (Shohat and Stam 1994, Larson 2006, Loshitzky 2010). Migrant heritage directors have by far the most studies dedicated to their status (Shohat and Stam 1994, Naficy 1996, Chaisson 2000, Hayward 2000b, Marks 2000, Naficy 2001, Desai 2004, Ezra and Rowden 2006, Saeys 2009b, Berghahn and Sternberg 2010). Various authors have contributed new terms and mingled definitions with previously defined terms from cultural studies and post-colonialism to describe these films. While these finely nuanced definitions serve to better explain the

maturation processes of diasporic populations and theoretical understandings, they also form a glut of similar and overlapping terminology. While studies on filmmakers of migrant origin grow, these filmmakers are vocal on their disinterest at being classified by their ethnicity when referring to their person or their film (Saeys 2009a, Hjort, Jorholt and Redvall 2010). For the film scholar this creates a dilemma in writing about director identity, as cultural studies and the post colonial theories manifest the importance of recognizing multiple voices while outside of the theory, filmmakers do not recognize themselves as part of this movement. International directors are the least studied in terms of their impact on migrant and minority population representation (Betz 2000, D'Lugo 2003).

CHAPTER 3

3. CHANGING PERSPECTIVES IN EUROPEAN CINEMA

3.0 Introduction

Just as migrations are global, the representation of migration in the arts and the media is also global. Many continents have undergone processes both of demographic change and incorporation of and witness to these in their repertoire of films including Africa, Asia, Europe, North America and South America. Using the first two chapters on the *Social Construction of Migrant and Ethnic Identities* and on *Representing Others, Representing Ourselves* as a theoretical base, this next chapter examines migration in Europe and representation of migrant and ethnic images in European national cinemas.

Various historical factors contribute to each countries experience of Other populations and in particular migrant populations. Europe as a whole has experienced conquests, colonization, fluctuations in times of poverty and return to prosperous times, wars and migrations. Since the era of the Roman Empire there has been a continuous Jewish presence in both eastern and western Europe (Dubnow, 2000: 1). Romani, also called Gypsies or Travellers, have been present in Europe since the 1300s (Liégeois, 2007: 18). Many countries experienced economic hardships between the World Wars I and II that led to population emigration inside of Europe as well as to the Americas. Additionally, most European countries experienced a period of industrialization, although at different time periods and to different degrees. This industrialization often served as impetus attracting immigration. In some countries immigration patterns are linked to former colonial occupations, while for others, these links do not exist. Changing demographics and historical interest in different and "exotic" populations has led to a continual representation in the media and film of ethnicity. European national

film systems portray particular migrant and ethnic groups in different measure according to their historic influences in the country. However, these images also share certain similarities in cultural harmony questioning as each country comes to terms with its role in a globalized world.

Four European countries were selected to serve as case studies inside of European national cinema: France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Sweden. These countries were chosen due to their developed nation-identities and large migrant and ethnic populations which developed primarily in the 20-21st centuries. They were also chosen due to their advanced stages of migrant and ethnic representation in film, representing third generation and beyond populations. Each country chapter has a subsection on *Migration History* which studies the individual country's historic context in the establishment of migrant and ethnic populations, including colonization, emigration, industrialization, immigration and integration efforts. This is followed by a subsection on *Migration Film History and Major Themes*, which summarizes the filmic representation of Other populations such as native ethnic groups, immigrants and migrant heritage minority groups. Finally, a subsection, *Example Films*, describes key films dealing with migrant and ethnic representation.

3.1 Migrant and Ethnic Identities in French Cinema

This next section explores France's historical context in relation to migrant and ethnic identities in French films. France has had a long history of colonization but a low 19th and 20th century emigration rate as compared to other European countries. Immigration has and continues to occupy a large part in national dialogues. While the bulk of immigrants originate from inside Europe, the largest extra-European immigrant group are those of Magreb descent from the ex colonies of Algeria and Morocco. Citizenship has traditionally been based on *jus soli*, or right of soil, however children of foreign parents must wait until the age of 16 to request French nationality. France supports a model of integration that does not emphasize ethnicity or religion. Second and third generation French filmmakers of Maghreb Northern Africa immigrant background have been the most vocal group of

filmmakers, known particularly for the production of *Beur* cinema and *Cinéma de banlieue*. Currently cinema made by filmmakers of immigrant background prefer to be known as *auteur* and not immigrant filmmakers.

3.1.1 French Migration History

Early ethnic groups in France include the Jews, who arrived during the Roman Empire and Romani populations who came around the 1500s. During the Middle Ages, the Jews faced continuing waves of expulsions and readmittance. In 1600, Jews reentered France and thrived in commerce but were subject to fierce anti-Semitism and persecution (Jewish Virtual Library, n.d.a: on line). Anti-Jewish sentiment peaked repeatedly under the guidance of Napoleon, as witnesses during the Dryfus case in 1894 where an innocent Jewish officer was sentenced for spying despite evidence to the contrary, and during the German occupation of France during World War II. Postwar France saw extensive Jewish immigration from other European countries and North Africa. The Romani population from the 16th to the 19th centuries endured expulsions and banishment from the country and were subjected to varying penalties for being in France including hanging, galley service, flogging and imprisonment (Liégeois, 2007: 109-110). Current day tensions exist between the government and Romani migrants from Romania and Bulgaria (BBC, 2010: on line).

In addition to the historic contact with Jews and Romani, France maintained an expansive colonial empire that lasted from the 1600s to the 1960s. It had colonies such as New France in Canada and the Mississipi Delta in North America, the French West Indies, Indochina and the Caribbean (Cohen 2003: 214). "The role of the colonies was to enrich the kingdom, which would advance the king's ambition to be a hegemonic power" (Belmessous, 2003: 351). However in wars with Britain and Spain it lost New France and later sold the Mississippi Delta area to the United States in 1803 (*ibid.*). Haiti and St. Dominique were liberated during slave uprisings. During the 1830s France took Algeria, which would later become the jewel of France's colonial empire. Additional territories were gathered and held up through World War II. These included Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in Asia; the

Congo, Nigeria and Chad, Senegal, Guiana, Mali, Mauritania in West Africa; and Tunisia and Morocco in North Africa.

> World War II spelled the end of empire for France, as it did for most other imperial powers. France was defeated in a few weeks and occupied by Germany. And as foreigners intruded in the empire, the decline in French power and prestige was revealed: Japan occupied Indochina, the Americans landed in North Africa, and the British entered Madagascar (Cohen, 2003: 218).

Soon after World War II ended, France created the French Union which granted citizenship to all colonies with the intent to discourage revolts (*ibid.*). From 1954-56 the French left Indochina and granted independence to Tunisia and Morocco. Algeria presented a different situation. It was considered a part of France and had one million Europeans living there (*ibid.*). Nevertheless after revolts beginning in 1954 that led to war, Algeria became officially independent from France in 1962.

French laws made it easy for French nationals to take up residence in any of the colonies, although progressively restricted the reverse. Unlike most other European countries, and in part due to the ease of movement to national territories, France experienced relatively low levels of emigration to areas outside its colonies in the modern era. Those that did emigrate include one million French nationals recorded to have gone abroad from the mid 1800 to mid 1900, mostly to the US, Argentina and Canada (Azcona Pastor, Douglass and Vazquez, 2004: 296).

Immigration was needed in France from the mid 1850s to support its industrialization growth. This was due to low birth rates and population losses after WWI and WWII, while France experienced an economic industrial boom (McNeill, 1998: on line). The first round of immigration, peaking in the 1930s, was mainly from European countries such as Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Poland (*ibid.*). It was also at this time that the first major influx of colonial subjects from African and Asian territories began, something which would be amplified in the 1950s and 1960s.

> Colonialism created the most effective channel for migration movements into France. As the major colonial power after Britain, France could call on a potential workforce from what is called the Maghreb (North-West Africa:

Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia), certain countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Senegal), Indochina (South-East Asia: Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos) and the DOM-TOM (*Départements d'outre-mer and Térritoires d'outre-mer*) like Guadeloupe, Martínique and French Guyana (in the Caribbean) and Reunion Island (in the Indian Ocean) (*ibid.*).

The first major wave of immigration took place in the 1950s and 60s. Maghreb immigrants, in particular those from Algeria, made up the considerable majority, heightened by Algeria's war of independence with France. Initially immigration was young and male (*ibid.*). Hostels and shantytowns located in the border areas of cities served to house this population. From the 1970s, as industry needs changed, France began restricting immigration. This led to limiting legal immigration to only family reunification and asylum for political refugees. As family regroupings took force, the face of immigration changed leading to the birth of second and third generations (*ibid.*).

Different in comparison with many countries, France traditionally avoided official attention to these ethnic generations. "France's long tradition of equating French citizenship with equal treatment has meant that the government has not tracked ethnic origins in official statistics." (Hamilton, Simon and Veniard, 2004: on line). It has traditionally held a policy of *jus solis*. However as immigration grew in importance in national politics due to unemployment, this was changed through the Pasqua Laws in 1986. These laws confered nationality to immigrant children born in France upon soliciting nationality from ages 16 to 21.

As migrant population increased, public housing in suburban areas called *banlieues* was constructed, intended to house working class families of immigrants and migrants from rural zones. These tended to be and continue to be multi-ethnic with immigrants from various countries and a substantial white European population (McNeill, 2002: on line). Carrie Tarr points out that, "[t]he spatial and social segregation of their inhabitants, which continues to the present day, effectively recreated the colonial geographic model of a city composed of adjacent but mutually exclusive parts" (Tarr, 2005: 6). One group in particular associated with the *banlieus* in the 1980s and 1990's was *les Beurs* (*ibid.*: 6). This term came

to denote second and third generation children of North African immigrants born or raised in France. The word *Beur* is a form of backslang of the word *Arabe*. In recent years the term *Beur* has gone out of use and amongst other terms currently used, the word *Beur* has been backslanged again into the word *Rebeu* (*ibid*.: 3).

As demand for workers fluctuated, the first to be discriminated against and excluded from the workforce were immigrants and their descendents. With discrimination came unemployment and less future possibilities that led to unrest (*ibid*.: 5-7). The *banlieus* came to be associated with crime and riot scenes in the media (*ibid*.). This unrest continues to the present day as evident in the Paris riots of 2005 and 2007.

> [T]he root cause was the hopelessness of a generation of young French people, ghettoised in dismal suburbs, marginalised and jobless because of their skin colour or their parents' immigrant origins. Since then discrimination against the third- and fourth-generation children of immigrants has worsened, tension is rife and Nicolas Sarkozy's rightwing anti-immigrant rhetoric is blamed (Chrisafis, 2010: on line).

France's population in 2009 measured roughly 64 million people, of which there is no official statistical data tracking ethnicity or religion of citizens. It is however estimated that there are four to seven million of Berber or Arab descent, three to five million blacks from Africa and the Carribean, 1.5 million Asians, and around 600,000 Jews (Crumley, 2009: on line). Migration and integration continue to play an important part in political decisions and election campaigns. Examples of these include the 2011 ban on wearing Islamic face covering veils in public places and the growing popularity of anti-migration policies supported by the *Union pour un Mouvement Populaire* and the National Front political parties.

3.1.2 French Migration Film History and Major Themes

French filmic representations of migrant and ethnic Others have passed through various stages since their emergence. Early films include brief stereotyped images of ethnic Others. In the late 1950s French filmmakers began by representing the first generation of immigrants in documentaries, often as marginalized and

stereotyped characters. In the 1970s and 1980s, the *Beur* film movement began, in which second and third generation filmmakers of Magreb and Arab descent began to represent themselves in low budget films. This was followed by *Cinéma de banlieue*, created by both national and migrant heritage filmmakers and centered on the *banlieue* ghettos.

Early representations of ethnic Others did not conform to reality but to fantasized stereotypes of the represented. These included films shot in far away locations, such as short documentaries shot in colonial settings, ie the images of Algeria shot by the Lumière brothers in 1895 (Loutfi, 1996: 20). From the 1920s on, the film industry offered fantastical stories and adventures set in exotic locations as well as colonial and propaganda films in North Africa. These representations did not deal with colonial issues or real experiences but instead with imagined territories with the white man at the head of hierarchies. Common to most European films, pre World War representations of Jews also share a part in stereotyped filmic representations. "[E]arly French filmmakers desirous of interpreting Jews for the screen did not draw portraits conforming to reality, but ironically expropriated two-dimensional stereotypes that constituted integral components of historic discourses of anti-Semitism" (Sibelman, 2000: 80). This anti-Semitism would return during German occupation of France in such works as *Les Corrupteurs* (Pierre Ramelot, 1942) (Hayward, 1993: 197).

In the late 1950s and early 60s, French national heritage filmmakers began making documentaries and films on Maghreb immigration and the Algerian war that tended to have a militant edge. Monterde identifies these first films as documentaries on the living conditions of immigrants and on the consequences of the war with Algeria (Monterde: 2008: 356). French New Wave of the 1960s, with its interest in social and political themes and documentary style, dedicated itself to the Algerian war in such films as the initially banned *Le Petit Soldat* (*The Little Soldier* – Jean-Luc Godard, 1960).

In the 1970s French censorship began to permit political views on colonized and ex-colonial territories (Sherzer, 1996: 4-6). However, mainstream French cinema has tended to shy away from critiques of France's colonial exploitation and neo-

colonial power. Although there were films of solidarity made representing the immigrant family plight, many portrayed them as victims.

> Its treatment of decolonization and immigration has tended to contribute to the stigmatization and othering of first-generation immigrants from the Maghreb and their descendants. In the 1980s, ethnic minority others feature primarily as marginalized and/or stereotyped characters, contributing to the dominant media construction of immigrants/beurs as deviant and/or outsiders (Minces 1989). They appear in policies (crime dramas) such as *Police* (*Police* – Maurice Pialat, 1985) or *L627* (Bertrand Tavernier, 1992) as criminals or prostitutes; or in more concerned, liberal films, such as *Tchao Pantin* (*So Long, Stooge* – Claude Berri, 1983) or *Traind d'enfer* (*Hell Train* – Roger Hanin, 1985), as victims and subsidiary to the central white characters (Tarr, 2005: 9-10).

It was in the 1970s and more strongly in the 80s that *Beur* cinema emerged, created by second and third generation immigrant children (Monterde, 2008: 362). *Beur* cinema is linked to the *beur* cultural movement influencial in art and media outlets, through the creation of *beur* Radio stations, music styles, literary creations, comics and film.

Monterde describes this as the fracturing and reforming of identity. He writes:

> Once settled, they began to form their own groups, build up their own culture, develop their own fashions and customs and experience inter-generational conflict, especially the young women, frequently fighting against the ancestral traditions that shackle the female condition. They also had their own identity issues, being split between two cultures, which on many occasions would take them back to the land of their parents in search of their roots. This journey would often end in the realization that perhaps they didn't belong in either place; still foreigners in France, but also in their ancestral Algeria, Morocco or Tunisia. They also had their own dreams and desires that were far removed from those of their parents; in the face of their parents' willingness to conform, satisfied with a more or less respectable home, a more or less stable job, a family that was reunited, the younger generation were either sucked in by nihilism or chose to rebel, often in the form of gangs, drugs and delinquency (*ibid.*: 363-364).

Partly it was a response to not feeling represented by the media and partly the need to express personal stories which differed from those of their parents. It incorporated many of the cultural markers: fashion, linguistic features, music as

well as angst experienced by this generation (*ibid.*, 360). The first films written and directed by French of Magrebi descent, originated from personal and firsthand experiences and were often partly autobiographical as they related to a sense of not belonging (Tarr, 2005: 15). Many films were centered in the *banlieue* housing estates.

The accounts were often male authored, dealing with the problems of young straight males, their identities and aspirations, says Tarr, adding that, "[i]t is not surprising that troubled masculinity is a significant theme in most films by and about the *beurs*, given the need to counter the ways *banlieue* youth are demonized in dominant media discourses" *(ibid.*: 15-16). It wouldn't be until 1993 that a French national heritage filmmaker centered on a female beur and until 1996 that this vision would be directed by a female *beur*. "[T]he structuring absence of young *beur* women in *beur* and *banlieue* films has been challenged in the late 1990s by the emergence of women filmmakers of Maghrebi descent, whose films to date centre on women's lives" (*ibid.*).

Monterde states that first generation immigrant made films which portrayed their migration. These showed the difficulties and arriving and of "settling in". He writes that this theme would reappear a decade later as the new generation of filmmakers began to use their parents memories as story lines in their films (Monterde, 2008: 363). Alongside these historical rewritings, *beur* cinema focused on the second and third generations and their struggles to fit in. Will Higbee sees this as the new positioning of a hybrid identity.

> What takes place in post-colonial cinema of the 1990s is a process whereby the hybrid (Maghrebi-French) subject is negotiating (re-positioning/re-defining) his/her sense of identity in relation to both North African origins and the French dominant cultural norm (Higbee, 2005: 321).

Tarr affirms this, stating that through these films the French of Magreb background are "challenging dominant French histories of the nation" as well as defining a new multicultural place for themselves in France (Tarr, 2005: 16).

Higbee mentions that in the early to mid 1990s, French filmmakers were not focusing on "issues of immigration, multiculturalism and national identity" and if they did, these

> […] were, for the most part, safely diffused through a handful of mainstream French comedies" in which "the ethnic/immigrant other – having overcome a series of initial (and seemingly obligatory) setbacks – is afforded a greater degree of social mobility and is thus able to integrate into [French society] (Higbee, 2005: 317).

By the mid 1990s this had changed. *Cinéma de banlieue* emerged and was recognized as a new genre, with films being created by both white French and *Beur* directors portraying life in the *banlieues*. These films dealt with the social problems and conflict in French society represented in these multiethnic and poor neighborhoods. The white authored films, equal to the *beur* films, dealt with issues of identity and ethnicity however without going deeper into "complex representations of ethnic minority cultures and subjectivities."(Tarr, 1998: 65). *Cinéma de banlieue* was often told from a realist perspective, though not limited by it. "Although *beur* films have been associated primarily with the subject matter of the *banlieue* and realist modes of filmmaking, filmmakers of Maghreb descent have never been limited to such categories" (Tarr, 2005: 16).

One of the most famous films to come out of this genre was *La Haine* (*The Hate* – Mathieu Kassovitz, 1995), directed by a white French director. The story portrays a troubled generation of *banlieue* youth through the story of three teenagers from the *banlieues* after a riot in the neighborhood. This film was immediately popular and went on to win numerous awards including France´s César Award for Best Film.

As time went on,

> What originally appeared as the *banlieue* film's strength – a genre that, through its focus on the disadvantaged urban periphery, would allow for an engagement with key socio-political debates of the period […] including works by directors from the disadvantaged cites that formed the location for these films – soon developed into a reductive series of representations of the *banlieue* that seemed to do little more than endorse media stereotypes of the cite as the exclusive territory of disenfranchised, criminalized male

youth (Higbee, 2005: 309).

Additionally, other filmmakers of Magreb descent prefer to not focus their films on the experiences and lack of identity in French society, aiming instead to be merely seen as filmmakers who are part of a multicultural society, or to see their films not as *beur* films but as part of the genre *Cinéma de banlieue*. Tarr explains this as positive in that *Beur* filmmakers were being accepted into mainstream French cinema and recognized as part of the *auteur* tradition (Tarr, 1998: 65).

3.1.3 French Example Films

Below is a brief synopsis of a sampling of key and contemporary French films representing migrant and ethnic characters. These include films made by both national heritage directors and migrant heritage directors. Mention is made if films were nominated or won at the César Awards, France's national film award ceremony.

Welcome (Philippe Lioret, 2009) National heritage director. Film nominated at César Awards.

Calais, France lies just 34 kilometers from the UK. Of course, in between is the English Channel. Bilal is a 17 year old Kurdish illegal immigrant dreaming of crossing over. Simon is a French swimming instructor, going through his own personal tragedies who agrees to train him to swim to the other side. The two develop a friendship despite the risks involved in helping out illegal immigrants. The film serves as a bleak eye opener on the realities faced by immigrants and those who want to help them. (Hird, 2009: on line).

La Graine et le Mulet (*The Secret of the Grain* – Abdel Kechiche, 2007) Migrant heritage director: Born in Tunisia and emigrated to France at age six. Film nominated and won at César Awards.

Slimane is an immigrant from Tunisia in his 60s who lives with his lover, almost girlfriend, Latifa, and her daughter Rym. He is pushed out by his job of 35 years at the shipyard due to his age. He has an ex wife, whom he can't afford to pay alimony. His children, from his ex wife Souad are often against him. With his job loss comes the revelation that he hasn't amounted to anything in life. Backed by the support of Rym, he decides to mount a couscous business in an abandoned ship. He convinces his ex-wife to help him cook and his children to take part in the business. After being denied credit, he holds a big dinner, inviting all the important people to show that the restaurant will be a success. The film focuses on the joy of food and the tumultuous family relationships brought out around the dining table edge. (Gondry, 2008: on line).

Inch'Allah dimanche (*Sunday, God-willing* – Yamina Benguigui, 2001) Migrant heritage director: Born in France of Algerian descent.

This is the story of Zouina who emigrates from Algeria in 1974 with her three children and mother in law to join her husband in France. There she is miserable: she misses her family in Algeria, her husband restricts her from leaving the house as well as physically abuses her for any mistakes, her mother-in-law is no better attacking her verbally and the neighbors don't like her. Zouina suffers until she begins to take secret Sunday outings with her children to find a rumored Algerian family in town. Along the way she makes friends with others in her neighborhood and begins to question the patriarchal society of her home. (Nesselson, 2002: on line).

La Haine (*The Hate* – Mathieu Kassovitz, 1995) National heritage director. Film nominated and won at César Awards.

La Haine spans 24 hours in the life of three teenage friends from the *banlieues* shot in black and white footage. Vinz, a Jew, Saïd, an Arab, and Hubert, a black man have grown up in a French suburb characterized by racial diversity, poverty and police bigotry. After riots take place in their neighborhood, one of their friends

ends up in the hospital after a police beating. There is a gradual increase in intolerance until tempers boil over. Vinz, who has got his hands on a police gun during the riot, threatens to use it on the police if their friend dies. The film final results in a unnecessary death of Vinz by a cocky policeman who accidentally kills him and the insinuated double killing by Hubert and this policeman. (Travers, 2002: on line).

Le thé au harem d'Archimède (*Tea in the Harem*, Mehdi Charef 1985) Migrant heritage director: Born in France of Algerian descent. Film nominated and won at César Awards.

In a Paris housing project, Madjid, the son of Algerian immigrants, and his French buddy Pat decide to make a living through theft and pimping. The film brings to the forefront the impoverished conditions and desolate future outlook for marginalized groups in French society (Goodman, 1986: on line).

Dupont Lajoie (*Rape of Innocence / The Common Man* – Yves Boisset, 1975) National heritage director.

While on vacation with his family, a white French man tries to rape the daughter of a campsite friend. When he ends up killing her, he buries her body near the shantytown of immigrant workers who are blamed and punished for her death in racist attacks (Monterde, 2008: 359).

3.2 Migrant and Ethnic Identities in German Cinema

This next section explores Germany's historical context in relation to migrant and ethnic identities in German films. Germany had a brief history of colonization beginning in the 1600s and ending after World War I. It has experienced high rates of emigration and later experienced high levels of immigration. The largest migrant group in Germany originates from Turkey. Historically, Germany has based citizenship on *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood, therefore immigrants, even to the third generation were legally classified as guest workers or *gastarbeiter* and not as German citizens. In 2000, this changed and Germany began to additionally recognize a form of *jus soli*, or right of soil, for children of long term immigrants.

Currently the country views itself as an immigrant nation and has adopted a multicultural policy of integration. These historical factors have helped to contribute to present-day German policies and attitudes towards immigration. Second and third generation filmmakers of Turkish descent, within which are Kurdish voices, make up its most vocal migrant filmmaker group.

3.2.1 German Migration History

Germany became a unified nation in 1871 when the then 39 German states combined to form one state. Before this time, in the area now known as Germany, the Jewish diaspora arrived in the fourth century (Jewish Virtual Library, n.d.b: on line). The Jews thrived as a merchant class until the beginning of the Crusades in 1095. From this period on, Jews were subjected to various waves of expulsions and readmitance in the various German states. In the 17th century, Prussia, Hamburg, Bradenburg and Pomerania, began to invite Jews to settle in their territories (*ibid.*). While anti-semitism existed, after the German revolution of 1848 and the unification of Germany in 1871, Jews were deemed equal citizens by parliament and prospered. This calm ended when Hitler took power in 1933. During this period Jews faced extreme acts of anti-semitsm and it is estimated that six million were massacred during the holocaust. Post World War II, Germany paid reparations to Holocaust survivors and their decedents. To this day there is a strong

conscientious drive to teach about the Holocaust so that future generations are aware of the past. In the late 1980s-2004, Jews from the former Soviet Union began to come to Germany. "[T]he Jewish population of Germany which was approximately 25,000 as the Wall fell is now estimated modestly at around 100,000 (with thousands more unaffiliated), and has over ninety congregations and many new synagogues" (Peck, 2006: on line).

Romani groups known as the Sinti and Roma came to Germany in the 15th century. Initially, in 1407 they were treated with tolerance but by 1449 they were expelled from many of the Germanic territories (Liégeois, 2007: 108). From 1500 to 1700, Romani were undesirables and faced hanging and mutilation if found in territories such as Prussia and Saxony (*ibid.*) In 1905, Romani in Germany began to be monitored officially by police surveillance through the Gypsy Information Bureau (*ibid.*) They were denied trading licenses unless they had a permanent address, which led to settlements in Frankfurt, Berlin and Hamburg (*ibid.*). During the Nazi regime, Romani were massacred alongside the Jews. This was not officially recognized until the 1980s (Hanesch, 2011: 14). Currently it is estimated that there are between 70,000 and 120,000 Romani living in Germany made up of German National Romani and migrants from other European countries such as Romania and Bugaria, in addition to non EU countries such as Kosovo and other former Yugoslavia regions (*ibid.*: 6).

Before unification, from the 1600s to 1700s, several of the German states dabbled in colonization in Ghana, Mauritania and the Caribbean. However, it wasn't until 1884, following the lead of the other European powers, that Germany began to administer colonies in Africa and the Southern Pacific. These included what today is known as Rwanda, Burundi, part of Kenya, Namibia, part of Botwana in Africa; and German New Guinea, the German Solomon Islands, the Mariana Islands and Samoa. This lasted until 1920, when Germany was stripped of its colonies subsequent to its loss in WWI. The confiscated colonies were transferred in great part to Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Japan (Schnee, 1926). The ex-colonies played no further part in migratory movements in Germany.

Concurrent with colonization, Germany experienced high levels of emigration beginning in the 1800s. It is estimated that some 6 million Germans emigrated from the 1840s to 1950s to North America, South America and Australia (Moch, 1992: 155). They were driven by economic, social and political motivations. For example, many Germans emigrated to Australia attracted by the possibilities of improving their conditions with free land grants, pushed out economically as Germany changed from an agricultural to industrial society (Nutting, 2001: on line).

Migration in Germany however was not unidirectional. Germany experienced an immigration boom beginning in the 1940s as industrialization grew and German industries needed workers. "Germany was simultaneously both a country of origin for overseas emigration and a destination of continental labour migration" (Moch, 1992: 196). Additionally, from 1945 to 1949 Germany saw a massive return of nearly 12 million ethnic Germans (Oezcan, 2004: on line). These were made up of nationals who had been living in areas of German jurisdiction before the end of WWII, of ethnic Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia as well as Eastern Germans before the rise of the Berlin Wall in 1961 (*ibid.*).

Towards the end of the 1950s Germany began encouraging immigration from other European countries, namely Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal and Yugoslavia, to fill its need for cheap labor. When inter-European migration declined, new labor sources were sought leading to Turkey as a primary source. Up until 1973, Italians ranked as the largest source immigrants (Deutsche Filminstitut, n.d.a: on line). After this date and to the present, the Turkish population makes up the largest single minority group. In 2003 Turkish citizens numbered at almost two million, of which 654,000 were born in Germany (Oezcan, 2004: on line). The majority of these came from Anatolia, the rural area of central Turkey (Ewing, 2002: 188).

The first recruits were single young males who worked in unskilled labor positions in industry. They were called *gastarbeiter*, or guest workers, brought over with the intention to stay for two years then return home.

> They were meant to be a rotating work force and were given short-term
> contracts, housed in hostels apart from established neighborhoods and given

> minimal social services. However, these arrangements proved inefficient for employers, who preferred to renew contracts, thereby creating a more long-term labor force. When the economy faltered in the early 1970s, […Germany created a] ban on further labor recruitment, but workers already in the country were allowed to remain and to bring their families into Germany (*ibid.*).

Unlike French housing projects used by immigrants, which tended to be located in "suburbs" outside the city, German immigrant housing was based in the city center. "They settled not in isolated housing projects but in war-damaged inner-city neighborhoods" (Curry, 2005: on line). As the individual economic situation of families improved, instead of resettling in better neighborhoods, they tended to stay and invest in the neighborhood. "The result was urban revival and inclusion in the fabric of everyday German life, instead of the physical marginalization of the sterile French housing projects" (ibid).

As female Turks began to migrate to Germany, families were formed and a second generation of migrants was born. Germany traditionally has followed the concept of *jus sanguinis* in deciding who is a German citizen. Therefore it did not recognize the children born to immigrants. This policy created a situation in which the Turkish grandparents had emigrated to Germany, the parent and grandchildren generation had been born in Germany, yet all three generations were considered foreigners. It wasn't until 2000 that this law changed and children born of foreign parents in Germany were automatically recognized as citizens. However, double nationality is not upheld in Germany and therefore children born to foreign parents have until age 23 to choose (Heckmann, 2003: 58).

As of 2008, Germany's current population is estimated at 82 million with an immigrant population of around 7 million, or 8.8% of the population (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, n.d.a: on line). In 2004, "citizens of the former guest worker countries continue[d] to make up the largest share of this number, which notably included 1.9 million Turkish citizens, of whom 654,000 were born in Germany. Another 575,000 Turks have been naturalized since 1972 and do not show up in statistics of the foreign population" (Oezcan, 2004: on line). As of

2008, the un-naturalized Turkish immigrant population was estimated to number 1.7 million (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, n.d.b: on line).

Integration of Turkish immigrants in the population have advanced as well as met setbacks. As the Turkish population grew to be the dominant immigrant group, stressful economic times have fomented xenophobic politics, media representation and extreme right reactions.

> The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the ensuing reunification of East and West Germany was followed by intense public debate around articulations of national identity and citizenship, including the place of Germany's largest minority in the future of a united Germany. These debates about citizenship were also accompanied by expressions of xenophobia and ethnic violence that targeted the Turkish population. Anti-immigrant sentiment was especially strong in the former eastern states of Germany, which underwent profound social and economic transformations during the reunification process. Turkish communities experienced considerable fear for their safety throughout Germany, but the political rhetoric calling for foreigner-free zones and the rise of neo-Nazi groups sharpened public awareness of integration issues and generated intensified support among liberal Germans for the competing idea of Germany as a "multicultural" society (Ewing, 2002: 188).

This animosity can be partially attributed to historical events: "Ever since 'Europe' was threatened by the Ottoman Empire [...Turks have] been perceived in terms of danger and threat in Germany" (Eksner, 2007: 20). A second hindrance has been that of the creation, intentional and not, of Turkish ghetto communities. "[P]arts of the Turkish community here remain isolated, with no incentive to learn German or adapt to German mores" (Curry, 2005: on line). German society contributes to lack of integration, often perceiving and treating second and third generation Turks as "foreign" in Germany (Eksner, 2007: 21). However, in spite of negative media and political representations highlighting the problematic German Turk, "nowadays [they] are socially stratified and are represented at all levels of German society. Even though the largest percentage still belongs to the working class, the image of Turks as a homogenous block does not hold true anymore" (*ibid.*: 24).

Germany today recognizes itself as a multicultural society and is taking increasing steps to integrate and support its foreign-origin population and in particular the German Turkish population. However, there is a growing sentiment that German multiculturalism has not worked and current political debates push for more integration efforts by immigrants (Weaver, 2010: on line).

3.2.2 German Migration Film History and Major Themes

German filmic representations of migrant and ethnic Others have passed through various stages since their emergence in the beginning of film. A pre-phase is that of Jewish representation in early films. Representation of the immigrant began in the late 1960s and can be divided into three overlapping phases lacking sharply defined borders. The first is that of "Guestworker" Cinema or Cinema of Alienation, the initial representation of the first generation of immigrant workers in films created by German filmmakers. This is followed by Cinema of the Affected, films made by German filmmakers and the introduction of migrant heritage filmmakers, which primarily covered first and second generation immigrants as victims and outsiders. Finally *Cinema of Métissage* which represents the transition to filmmakers of migrant heritage representing themselves and including choosing to make films that do not center on migrant themes or characters. While films exist which represent many of the immigrant nationalities in Germany (Italy, Iran, Greek etc), the majority of films center on the Turkish migrant experience.

Similar to other European countries, Germany has represented ethnic Others, such as the Romani since the early days of film.

> When in 1932 László Moholy-Nagy shot his barely twelve minute-long experimental film Großstadtzigeuner (Big City Gypsies), he confirmed the widespread image of the Sinti and Roma as fortune tellers, musicians and trainers of dancing bears, but at the same time showed them as a happy and confident community (Bahlmann and Reichelt, 2012: on line).

During the Nazi reign, documentaries and films created anti-Semitic propaganda films. One such film was *Jud Süß* (*Jew Süss* – Veit Harlan, 1940). Images in this film reflected the Jews as perpetrators of crime, sexual abuse and aiding the dark side of the native German population (Bartov, 2005: 7-8). With the end of World

War II, subsequent representations have presented a counterpoint to previous Jewish stereotypes and reflect the ongoing coming to terms with the country's past.

New German Cinema emerged from the 1960s to the 1980s interested in creating artistic yet socially critical films. Starting in the late 1960s, directors began focusing their attention on the immigrant population. A segment of films emerged dedicated to the representation of the "guest-worker" population, which was referred to as Guestworker Cinema, *Gastarbeiterkino* (Burns, 2006: 127). These representations called attention to the problems faced by immigrants in which "[T]he foreigner was depicted as little more than a tolerated and exploited, oppressed and humiliated guest worker in an arrogant, ignorant, and prejudiced society" (Deutsche Filminstitut, n.d.b: on line).

Georg Seeßlen describes this first wave of films as focused on the conflicts of a Germany not ready to accept as citizens the guest workers that were welcomed as a workforce. He describes this time as a *Cinema of Foreignness* or *Cinema of Alienation* which reflected immigrant characters as outsiders and attractive losers (Seeßlen, n.d.: on line) and in which "the films seemed more like melodramatic appeals to German society than authentic portrayals of immigrant life itself" (Seeßlen, 2003: on line).

Themes in these films focused on the "myth of return", with both the immigrant and the German host nation desiring a final return; the poor treatment of immigrants in the host country and women's oppression (Ewing, 2002; Burns, 2006). A few example films of this era include *Angst essen seele Auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul* – Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1974), *Shirins Hochzeit* (*Shirin's Wedding* – Sanders-Brahms, 1975) and *Ganz unten* (*Lowest of the Low* – Jörg Gförer, 1986). *Angst essen seele Auf* relates the story of a lonely older German, Emmi Kurowski, who meets and falls in love with Ali, a Berber worker (IMDb, n.d.: on line). *Shirins Hochzeit* centers on a female Turkish protagonist and the theme of women's oppression under patriarchal systems (Burns, 2006: 127-8) and *Ganz unten* is based on the documentation of Günter Wallraff, a German, who went undercover disguising himself as a Turkish worker to highlight exploitation.

For Seeßlen, there are two film periods: that of *Guestworker cinema*, which stressed the foreignness of the immigrant, and the subsequent *Cinema of Métissage*. *Guestworker cinema* of the 1970s showed films on the immigrant typified with existential foreignness and the 1980s with demands for tolerance similar to the political messages of the time (Seeßlen, n.d.: on line). He marks the 1990s as the beginning of films demonstrating a confidence and questioning of the self by migrant cultures with the arrival of *Cinema of Métissage* (*ibid.*). Filmmakers from second and third generation immigrant families began creating a new hybrid film experience that of a genre "between cultures" which reflected their everyday life (Seeßlen, 2003: on line). "Georg Seeßlen has assigned the generic label of 'Kino der Métissage' to films foregrounding such intracultural tensions, in which the family frequently appears as the site where battle is waged between the old and the new culture, between the generations and the sexes" (Burns, 2006: 133).

However Rob Burns and Katherine Pratt Ewing differ from Seeßlen in their division of the period leading up to the arrival of *Cinema of Métissage*. Burns introduces the term Cinema of the Affected and describes this cinema as "continuing the tradition of the 'guest-worker cinema'" and as bringing the perspective that the immigrant "alien culture was one in which the focus was unremittingly on alterity as a seemingly insoluble problem, on conflict of either an intercultural or intracultural variety" (*ibid.*).

Katherine Pratt Ewing notes the transition from solidarity with male guest workers in the early films to a chasm as soon as immigrant females begin to arrive in Germany and on screen, and the ensuing "clash of cultures".

> Although there is a socially critical genre of film and literature focused on the oppressive working and living conditions of the male guest worker in Germany, especially in the early years of Turkish migration (e.g., Fassbinder 1973; Gförer 1986), the cinematic gaze shifted toward the end of the 1980s to cultural difference and the plight of Turkish wives and daughters who eventually followed these men to Germany. The young woman who is deprived of her freedom and rights by her family was a central figure in the limited repertoire of images of Turkish immigrants

constructed by filmmakers in the 1980s. As in the social policy literature, the dominant theme was a clash of cultures (Ewing, 2002: 191).

An example film that both Ewing and Burns use is *40 m2 Deutschland* (*40 m2 of Germany*, Tevfik Başer, 1986). As part of Cinema of the Affected, Burns notes a common use of the trope of incarceration in the first wave of migrant cinema and specifically in the works of this director, the Turkish born Tevfik Başer (Burns, 2006: 128).

Representation of the immigrant woman continues to be an ongoing polemic topic both in the German media and film. "The scenario of the adolescent girl who is tightly controlled by her 'traditional Turkish' family until she finally rebels is one that has been replayed over and over in the media accounts, in cinema" (Ewing, 2002: 189). They are represented as in a subordinate position both in their immigrant status and in their family position (Monterde, 2008: 395). During the cinema of the affected, Burns describes women as commonly being portrayed in subaltern positions, which changed to more male focused cinema when *Cinema de Métissage* came into force. "The new transnational cinema appears decidedly male-oriented, either marginalizing women or restricting them to the role of escape route for oppressed or endangered male characters" (Burns, 2006: 142).

One area in which the academics agree on is the change in representation that occurred in the 1990s when migrant heritage filmmakers began representing themselves on-screen in greater numbers.

> In recent years, young German directors of Turkish background have produced a number of films, depicting the lives of second- and third-generation youth. Read by critics as resistant to the German discursive positioning of Turks, they have been celebrated as the "neo-neo" German cinema (Ewing, 2002: 193).

These filmmakers "began to direct films about their generation's dreams, troubles, and hopes" different than the films made in the 70s and 80s by German directors on their parents lives. Their films contrasted with those of the 1970s and 1980s, in which primarily German directors portrayed their parents' lives (Deutsche Filminstitut, n.d.b: on line). Representations as a whole were positive

and hopeful, a far cry from the German representations of resignation, homesickness, delinquency, isolation or depression (*ibid*.).

Turkish-German cinema today centers on "open forms of coexistence in a hybrid, urban society" (Deutsche Filminstitut, n.d.c: on line). Ironically, even as Turkish-German directors combat the association of ethnicity with the image of victim or criminal that had emerged in the mass media and film of the past, a reoccurring setting of many of their early films was that of the ghetto. Ewing mentions that "[a]lthough voicing the perspectives and the raw choices that face many Turkish youth, many of these images (like those of other genres of popular culture such as hip-hop) also inadvertently reinscribe the dichotomies of the dominant discourse" (Ewing, 2002: 193)

One of the most celebrated of these early films was that of *Kurz und schmerzlos* (*Short Sharp Shock*, 1998) by the Turkish-German filmmaker Fatih Akin. *Kurz und schmerzlos* narrates the tragedy of three multi-ethnic friends in the ghetto who become involved with the Albanian mafia (IMDb: on line). "Akin began his career not as a director but as an actor, and the main reason he started to make his own films was because he was no longer willing to play the 'stereotype Turk' in film productions where 'migrants could only appear in one guise: as a problem'" (Burns citing Moritz Dehn, 2006: 142). Akin's later films *Gegen die Wand* (*Head On* – Fatih Akin, 2004) and *Auf der anderen Seite* (*The Edge of Heaven* – Fatih Akin, 2007) went on to have greater national and international success in both the box office and awards including as winners both receiving multiple Film Awards in Gold at the German Film Awards (see *German Example Films* in the following section).

Burns notes that Akin intends to make films in which intergenerational representations do not play out as repetitions and reinforcements of cultural stereotypes, however that he and other filmmakers

> […] in their determination to extricate themselves from the discourse of victimization, […] may run the risk of merely exchanging one set of clichés for another. For movies in which Turks appear variously as pimps, prostitutes, drug-pushers, thieves, petty hoodlums and gangsters might serve to reinforce populist stereotypes of the foreigner as anti-social

malingerer or inveterate criminal (Burns, 2006: 142).

Other filmmakers have gone the route of creating films in which representation of ethnicity is not necessarily included and if so, it is marginally treated. "The fact that young German-Turks make films that have nothing to do with their immediate reality, or what we think their reality is, is not only interesting, but also to be seen as a sign of them being integrated" (Köhler, 2008: on line). The Deutsche Filminstitut and Burns repeat this idea (Deutsche Filminstitut, n.d.c: on line; Burns, 2006: 141). It remains to be seen the new directions that will open up as migrant heritage directors from other nationalities begin to make their presence know in German cinema.

3.2.3 German Example Films

Below is a brief synopsis of several key and contemporary German films representing migrant and ethnic characters. These include films made by both national heritage directors and migrant heritage directors. Mention is made if films were nominated or won at the Deutscher Filmpreis Awards, Germany's national film award ceremony.

Auf der anderen Seite (*The Edge of Heaven* – Fatih Akin, 2007) Migrant heritage director: Born in Germany of Turkish descent. Film nominated and won at Deutscher Filmpreis Awards.

The stories of three families overlap in their connection with each other in this drama. German Turkish Nejat is a college professor who disapproves of Ali, his widowed father, living with his new girlfriend. Yeter is Ali's girlfriend whom he has convinced to give up being his prostitute and move in with him. She works in Germany to earn money for her daughter's college tuition, which she sends to Turkey. When Ali accidentally kills Yeter, Nejat goes to Turkey to find Ayten, her daughter. However Ayten isn't in Turkey, she's fled to Germany to escape from the Turkish police for her political activity. There she meets Lotte who invites her to

112

stay at her home, to the displeasure of her conservative mother Susanne. Ayten is arrested, denied asylum, and deported to a Turkish jail. Lotte goes after her and Susanne after Lotte looking for Ayten. (Deutsche Filminstitut, n.d.d: on line; IMDb, n.d.: on line).

Kebab connection (Anno Saul, 2005) National heritage director.

Ibo loves Kung Fu and wants to create great German kung fu films. His uncle pays him to make a commercial for his King of Kebab shop. The commercial mixes martial arts fighters holding kebabs and is a great success. As customers flock to the kebab stand, Ibo finds out his German actress girlfriend Titzi is expecting a baby. Ibo faces the displeasure of his Turkish family and comically prepares himself for fatherhood to prove to Titzi that is capable of her love. The screenplay was written by Fatih Akin and Ralph Schwingel. (Deutsche Filminstitut n.d.d: on line; IMDb, n.d.: on line).

Gegen die Wand (*Head On* – Fatih Akin, 2004) Migrant heritage director: Born in Germany of Turkish descent. Film nominated and won at Deutscher Filmpreis Awards.

Cahit is traumatized by the loss of his wife and turns to drugs and alcohol. He is sent to the hospital after a suicide attempt. There he meets Sibel, another German Turkish like himself. Sibel is at the hospital after a faked suicide attempt to escape from her conservative family. She convinces Cahit to arrange with her a marriage of convenience in which they will both live their separate lives, with separate lovers, but as roommates. With the passing of time, they fall in love with each other. Unfortunately jealousy on both their parts brings on the accidental murder of one of Sibel's lovers. Cahit is sent to jail. Sibel in turn is persued by her family for the shame she has brought them and escapes to Turkey. When Cahit is released from jail, he goes to Turkey looking for her. (Deutsche Filminstitut n.d.d: on line; IMDb, n.d.: on line).

Anam (*My Mother* – Buket Alakus, 2001) Migrant heritage director: Born in Turkey and emigrated to Germany at a young age.

Anam is a traditional Turkish wife and mother who works in Germany as a cleaning lady. Her world turns upside down when she learns that her son, Deniz, has been sucked into the drug scene and that her husband is cheating on her with a coworker. After kicking out her husband, she determines to fight for her son. In the process she comes to find and care for his drug addict girlfriend Mandy. Although Deniz rejects the help of Anam, it is the death of Mandy that pushes her on to reclaim her son. She does this together with the help of her multicultural friends and a friendly policeman. (Deutsche Filminstitut n.d.d: on line; IMDb, n.d.: on line).

Kurz und schmerzlos (*Short Sharp Shock* – Fatih Akin, 1998) Migrant heritage director: Born in Germany of Turkish descent. Film nominated at Deutscher Filmpreis Awards.

In a grim drama set in a marginalized community, three neighborhood friends, Greek Costa, Serbian Bobby, and Turkish Gabriel, get caught up in the Albanian mafia world. Gabriel, recently released from prison, does his best to stop his friends from joining, but he is unsuccessful. Their lives and friendships begin to unravel as everything goes wrong in weapons deal. (Deutsche Filminstitut n.d.d: on line; IMDb, n.d.: on line).

40 m2 Deutschland (*40 m2 of Germany*, Tevfik Başer, 1986). Migrant heritage director: Born in Turkey and emigrated to Germany at age 22. Film nominated at Deutscher Filmpreis Awards.

This film focuses on the domestic space where a Turkish wife, Turna, is locked into her house by her husband, Dursunm, who wishes to protect her from contamination by the host country after bringing her over from rural Anatolia. The title refers to the 40 square metres of the Hamburg tenement building in which the entire film takes place (Burns, 2006: 129).

Angst essen seele Auf (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul* – Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1974) National heritage director. Film nominated and won at Deutscher Filmpreis Awards.

Angst essen seele Auf relates the story of two lonely people, Emmi Kurowski, a German housekeeper, and Ali, a Moroccan auto mechanic, who meet and falls in love. They struggle against the prejudice and ageism in society. This includes the initial rejection of their relationship by Emmi's three adult children and discrimination and pressure applied by the neighbors. In the end, Emmi and Ali's relationship deteriorates even as the community comes to accept their union. (Deutsche Filminstitut n.d.d: on line; IMDb, n.d.: on line).

3.3 Migrant and Ethnic Identities in British Cinema

This next section explores the United Kingdom's historical context in relation to migrant and ethnic identities in British films. The United Kingdom has a long history of colonization and had and continues to have high rates of emigration and immigration. Immigration and integration occupy a large part in national dialogues, especially in reference to its large Indian and Pakistani population. Historically, it has based citizenship on *jus soli,* however from 1981 it has toughened up laws to include *jus sanguinis* properties such as delaying the conferring of British citizenship to children of immigrants until age 10. The UK is considered a multicultural country and uses a race relations model of immigrant integration. These historical factors have helped to contribute to present-day British policies and attitudes towards immigration. Black British Cinema (composed of blacks from Africa, the Caribbean and East Indians) and its later split into Asian British Cinema have been the most vocal national film groups dedicated to immigrant and migrant heritage representation.

3.3.1 British Migration History

Both the Jewish diaspora and Romani have existed in the United Kingdom since the Middle Ages. While individual Jews had lived in England in Roman and Anglo Saxon times, they were activity encouraged to form Jewish mercantile communities in 1066 (Jewish Virtual Library, n.d.c: on line). As Christians were not allowed to lend money for interest, Jews worked in this profession throughout Europe. Jewish financiers were therefore in a position to influence the British crown through financing and loans even as they were taxed heavily by the crown to pay for the Crusades. In 1290, the Jews were expelled from England. They were reestablished in England in the 1650s. In 1858, the Jews were emancipated. Xenophobia towards Jews grew in the decades leading up to World War I as increased numbers of European Jews emigrated to the territory.

> The 1930s brought an influx of refugees from Nazism and fascism.
> Approximately 90,000 Jews came from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia,

Poland, Italy and other countries. Many later moved out of Britain and, by 1950, about 40,000-55,000 prewar refugees were left (*ibid.*).

Romani of Indian origin first arrived in the United Kingdom in the 1500s. Similar to treatment in France and Germany, Romani were soon banned from the country in 1530. In 1550, it became a crime punishable by death for Romani to be in England. In 1603 a similar edict was issued by Scotland. Travellers are another non-sedentary group of Irish or English origin, considered an ethnic group in the United Kingdom. There are no official census data on the Romani and Traveller populations, however estimates describe the population as between 100,000 to one million (Craig, 2011: 3). These numbers include British settled Romani and migrants from Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Romania, Poland and other countries both inside and outside the EU (*ibid.*)

Britain began colonization in the 1600s and continues to maintain a small number of colonies up through the present day. During its heyday as a colonial empire, the British ruled over a vast empire, which contained colonies in Africa, Asia, Central America and the Caribbean, North America, South America, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific as well as in Europe.

Starting in the early 1600s, the Kingdom of England (later the United Kingdom) turned its attention to colony building. In the early 1600s, joint stock companies from England created the first permanent settlements in the Americas, located in Bermuda and Jamestown (Olson and Shadle, 1996: ix). From this point on Great Britain began increasing its colonial acquisitions, which are commonly referred to as the first and second British Empires. The first empire centered on the Caribbean and American colonies and ended with the loss of its 13 colonies in the American War of Independence. The second empire focused on India, Asia, Australia and New Zealand. Later in the end of the 19th century, "Great Britain took part in the great scramble for colonies in Africa and the Pacific Ocean" (*ibid*.: xi).

World War I was followed by an initial increase in British colonization, and then followed by the loss of many colonies as a result of the colonial independence movement. Most of the newly independent colonies, such as Canada, South Africa,

the Irish Free State, Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland, became part of the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1931. Following World War II, India and Pakistan obtained independence in 1947, and Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, in 1948, followed by a continually diminishing list of colony exodus in the next generation (*ibid*.). All that remains of the empire today are 15 overseas territories and the symbolic sharing of the monarchy figure between 15 commonwealth states.

The United Kingdom has a long tradition of emigration and continues to have high rates of emigration to the present day. The colonies, former colonies, and Commonwealth territories provided Britain with ample territory for unidirectional migration movements. Motivations for migration included religious freedom, escaping poverty, famine or economic inflation in Great Britain, and a desire to take advantage of free land grants and free transportation to the new colonies. There was also a percentage of forced emigration such as the expulsion of convicts and other British undesirables to territories such as the American colonies and later to Australia.

Starting in the late 1600s, there was high emigration towards the New England colonies and the Caribbean (Richards, 2005: 48). After 1776, and the loss of the American colonies, emigration rates continued to be high to the Americas, as well as to the newly added territories of Canada, South Africa and Australia. "Over 16 million British people left the United Kingdom between 1815 and 1914" (Constantine, 1990: 1). During the period of the World Wars, emigration decreased, however from the period of 1939-1960 another 1,500,000 people had emigrated to Commonwealth nations (Richards, 2005: 54).

Even today, emigration remains a significant factor in the UK population composition. From 1997 to 2006, 1.8 million British people emigrated for work and retirement reasons. The most popular destination countries are Australia, New Zealand, France and Spain. Emigration is and has always been marked by return migration. As many as 40% of the emigres of the early 20th century are thought to have returned during that period (*ibid*.). And in the period of 1997-2006, an estimated 979,000 have returned (Johnston, 2007: on line).

Concurrent with emigration is the role that immigration has played in the United Kingdom's 20th century social make-up. In the late 19th and early 20th century, immigration slowly began and included Russian and Jewish Poles, the Irish and German and Belgian refugees escaping the Nazis. While some blacks and Asians can be traced to having been in the UK from the days of the slave trade and in the ports as transient crew, it was the period of WWI and II and its aftermath that introduced larger immigration rates. The 1950s marked the transition of the UK towards its present multiracial state and it was only in the 1980s that Britain began to think of itself as a country of immigration.

Many immigrants from colonies and Commonwealth members (India, British Guinea, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Belize) worked for the UK during the World Wars. (Spencer, 1997: 17). After World War II, the UK experienced new labor needs. When European immigrants such as the Polish and Italians failed to supply enough manpower, the UK reluctantly accepted immigration from colonial and commonwealth citizens.

The British Nationality Act of 1948 reaffirmed the right of citizens of British colonies and the newly formed Commonwealth citizens to enter, live and work in the UK without a visa. However the UK also actively discriminated to deny passports to non-white citizens of the colonies (Spencer, 1997). With growing unease at non-white immigration, ten years after the British Nationality Act was created, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 curtailed freedom of movement more publicly, reducing the annual permitted number of Commonwealth Immigrants to 7,000 though allowing for family reunification (Rex, 2003: 82).

> At the start of the 1960s, the Asian and black population of Britain still represented only about 0.25% percent of the whole. By the time the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill became law in 1962 that population had doubled and was set to increase further (Spencer, 1997: 4).

Subsequent laws were created to continually reduce the quantity of immigrants allowed in to the UK. In 1971, UK born and UK passport-holders were differentiated from those from former British colonies (India, Pakistan, and the

Caribbean) with the latter subject to stricter immigration controls (Somerville et al, 2009: on line). *Jus solis* as a right to citizenship was eliminated in 1981 with the British Nationality Act. Asylum was restricted with the 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act. New visa controls were put in place after the 9/11 attacks in the US in 2001. The UK currently uses a mix of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* to determine citizenship. If a parent is an illegal immigrant, the child is technically not eligible for citizenship.

Reduced permission for legal migration has been fueled by both public and government discrimination through to the current day. A report in 1981 by the Home Office signaled that the frequency "of racial attacks against Asians was fifty times that for white people" (Anwar, 1998: 85). Sarita Malik, reflecting on the wide spread rioting of the 1980s says, that this decade was especially important "because it was the moment when the public debate about race relations opened up, and unprecedented degrees of pressure began to be placed on state institutions to alleviate racial discrimination and 'disadvantage'" (Malik, 17: 2002). Monthly poll data from the survey organization the IpsosMORI, reports that from the late 1990s race and immigration have almost consistently been rated one of the top three national problems (Somerville et al, 2009: on line).

As of 2008, the UK boasted a foreign born population of around 6.9 million, or around 11 percent of its population of over 61 million (Somerville et al, 2009: on line). The largest foreign-born populations in the UK hail from India (639,000), Poland (526,000), Pakistan (436,000), Ireland (424,000) and Germany (293,000) (ibid).

3.3.2 British Migration Film History and Major Themes

British filmic representations of migrant and ethnic Others have undergone a large transformation from early films. This transition includes the first films showing colonized territories and early immigrants in film in the early 1900s to international box office hits written and produced by migrant heritage filmmakers. Films can be divided into two stages. The first stage consisted of films emphasizing the imperial / colonial mind frame, heavy stereotyping, and a general absence in

films of positive minority images. The second stage took place with the rupture in the late 1970s and emergence of minority filmmakers sponsored by a government initiative providing funding and distribution. Films redefined what it is to be British and focused on the experiences from the point of view of minority voices. Current films reflect both the vision of migrant heritage filmmakers as well as the on-going immigrant debate in the United Kingdom. Representations primarily focus on Afro-Caribbean and South Asian portrayals.

In early British cinema, Romani were "demonised as drunks, thieves and child-abusers, a threat to the stability of the bourgeois Edwardian family." (McFarlane, 2003: 292). An example film is *Rescued by Rover* (Lewis Fitzhamon, 1905), in which a Romani kidnaps a baby who is later rescued. In subsequent films, Romani characters became romantic and exotic figures (*ibid.*). Examples can be seen in *The Romany* (F. Martín Thornton, 1925) *Romany Love* (Fred Paul, 1931), *Gypsy Melody* (Edmond T. Gréville, 1936) and *Gypsy* (R. William Neill, 1937). However this treatment was erratic as seen in later films such as *The Gypsy and the Gentleman* (Joseph Losey, 1958). In this film the lead character, a gypsy played by Melina Mercouri, "was cast as a promiscuous, amoral social parasite." (*ibid.*).

Early Jewish representation faced no better treatment. Jews were represented as dishonest and greedy (Epstein, 2003: 366). An example film is *A Just Deception* (A.E. Coleby, 1917) in which a Jew is bribed to exchange his dead baby for a live baby (British Film Institute, n.d.: on line). Later film treatments broached the subject of anti-Semitism in the build up to World War II, such as *Jew Süss* (Lothar Mendes, 1934). Still later films, such as *Chariots of Fire* (Hugh Hudson, 1981), portrayed a Jewish character, Harold Abrahams, who runs in the face of discrimination, provided "a significant attempt to show how social mistrust and dislike of Jews is bound up with class prejudice" (Epstein, 2003: 366).

British films have also represented colonial subjects from the origins of British film beginning with the *Savage South Africa, Savage Attack And Repulse* (Warwick Trading Company, 1899) (Ogidi, n.d.a: on line). Imruh Bakari remarks that early films of the Afro-Caribbean and West Asian stressed "the primitive and exotic" (Bakari, 2000: 253). Films from the 1920s to 1940s showed Afro-

Caribbean, West Asian and Chinese representations in exotic locations and relied heavily on stereotypes of the time. Examples include the black and white silent film *The Mystery of Dr Fu Manchu* (A.E. Coleby, 1923) set in the Chinese quarters and docklands of London, *King Solomon's Mines* (Robert Stevenson, 1937) set in South Africa, and *Black Narcissus* (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, 1947) set in the Himalayan Mountains near Darjeeling India.

For Stephen Bourne, the presence of Blacks in British popular films are marked by their absence (Bourne, 2002: 48). However he goes on to say:

> There is, of course, one substantial body of British historical films in which black performers have always been visible in volume (although typically nameless and speechless): the British imperial adventure or epic. However, in defining black Africans or Caribbeans exclusively as colonized, conquered or insurrectionary 'foreign' subjects, these films further reinforce the false image of Britain's domestic past as exclusively 'white' (Bourne, 2002: 49-50).

Among the representations of Blacks (Afro-Caribbean and West Indian) are a number of films of the late 1950s to early 1960s, reflecting the genre of British Social Realism, showing life in real unglorified moments. Bakari cites example films such as *Sapphire* (Basil Dearden, 1959) and *Flame in the Streets* (Roy Ward Baker, 1961), which both dealt with racially mixed relationships, in which "the depiction of Blackness conforms to the notion of a socially disruptive presence" (Bakari, 2000: 253). Ann Ogidi seconds this opinion, citing cross-cultural dilemmas as a recurring theme, as well as white prejudice, and the Black community represented as "unstable and dangerous"; she finds these films to demonstrate the social tensions of race and intercultural relationships (Ogidi, n.d.b: on line).

However for Bakari, British films continued to present a hierarchy division.

> All these films however, privileged a way of looking, a certain colonial and imperialist gaze which has determined the dominant discourse on the Black experience. They frame the Black presence in Britain in a subordinate and dehistoricized structural location in relation to the white subject and society. The representation of Black people is not simply racist but a complex discourse of power and ideology (Bakuri, 2000: 253).

As social unrest in the UK grew due to race tensions, so did the need to represent new models of Blacks and Asians in the media. The riots of 1976 and 1981 sparked by the Notting Hill Carnival resulted in a scrutinizing of government treatment of an emerging multicultural society. "Such policies resulted both in a militarization of the police against black youth in British cities and in the setting aside of funds for minority artist by the National Art Council, the Greater London Council, the British Film Institute, Channel 4 and arts councils of local governments" (Diawara, 2006: 126).

A new film movement created by these programs in the late 1970s and early 1980s came to be called "Black British Cinema" and encompassed representations of Black, Caribbean, and South Asians (primarily Bangladesh, Indian and Pakistani). Sarita Malik comments that,

> The imposed labels of 'Negroes', 'Immigrant' and 'Coloured', were transformed into a new Afro-Asian public and political 'working' collectivity called 'Black' (echoing the US Black Power movement of the 1960s). […] It was the shared experiences of both colonialism, racism and, for many, a post-migration history that prompted 'Blackness' […] and helped to develop new and strong forms of identification between different ethnic minorities (Malik, 2002: 19).

The Channel 4 initiative created workshop groups such as Sankofa, Ceddo, Retake Film and Video and Black Audio Collective. These set out with a mission to increase representation, to counteract the negative representation of the media and were instrumental in giving a voice, and the first starring roles, to a culturally diverse body of minority groups. The first films made by Black, Caribbean and Asian filmmakers were low budget and played to minority and art house crowds.

As the quantity of films being made by and about South Asian British increased in the 1970s, the category Asian British Cinema also began to gain more use. One such example film is *A Private Enterprise* (Peter K. Smith, 1974), which was the first film representing Indian immigrants told from the point of view of a migrant protagonist, Shiv Verma (Screen Online, n.d.a: on line).

By the late 1980s a number of these films began to attract mainstream audiences. *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), written by Hanif Kureishi and directed by the English filmmaker Stephen Frears, was one of the first. The story explores race, class, and homosexuality through the story of the romance between Omar, a Pakistani in charge of running a laundry shop, and Johnny, his ex-right-wing-extremist friend. The same director team went on to create another mixed Indian / white British relationship in the film *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* (1987).

From 1990s and on, other notable films attracting mainstream and international audiences emerged directed by migrant heritage filmmakers and collaborations with white British filmmakers. Notable mentions include *Young Soul Rebels* (1991 Isaac Julien), *Bhaji on the Beach* (Gurinder Chadha, 1993), and *East is East* (Damien O'Donnell – written by Ayub Khan-Din, 1999). Gurinder Chadha also directed the runaway hit *Bend it Like Beckham* (2002), described in more detail in the following section, along with *East is East*.

Shohini Chaudhuri comments that these films enlarged the definition of what it is to be British. "They reinscribe the distinctive experiences of Black Britons into the discourse of British cultural identity, where they are so often absent. In this sense, they are "de-defining" Britain, or redefining British cultural identity." (Chaudhuri, 2005: 18).

In addition to films on British minority groups, both national and migrant heritage British filmmakers continue to make films reflecting the ongoing dialogue on current immigration. A few examples are *Last Resort* (2000) by Polish director Pawel Pawlikowski on asylum seekers, the previously mentioned English director Stephen Frears with *Dirty Pretty Things* (2002) describing the underside of immigrants and body part trafficking in London, and *Breaking and Entering* (2006) by British Italian director Anthony Minghella on the struggles of an immigrant family from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

3.3.3 British Example Films

Below is a brief synopsis of several key and contemporary British films representing migrant and ethnic characters. These include films made by both national heritage directors and migrant heritage directors. Mention is made if films were nominated or won at the British Academy Film Awards, the United Kingdom's national film award ceremony.

Brick Lane (*Sarah Gavron, 2007*) National heritage director. Film nominated at British Academy Film Awards.

Brick Lane is based on the book by Monica Ali, who is half Bangladeshi and half white English. In the 1980s, Nazneen is a young Bangladeshi bride who comes to live with her much older arranged husband, Chanu, in the UK. Fast forward eighteen years, Nazneen and Chanu have two daughters however Nazneen is deeply unhappy. With the loss of Chanu's employment, she takes on piece-sewing and meets Karim with whom she has an affair. By the films end she must make a choice between returning to Bangladesh with Chanu to the dismay of her daughters or staying and continuing a life in London. (IMDb, n.d.: on line).

Bend it Like Beckham (Gurinder Chadha, 2002) Migrant heritage director: Born in Kenya to Indian Diaspora parents and emigrated to the United Kingdom at age two. Film nominated at British Academy Film Awards.

Torn between love of her traditional Sikh family and love of soccer, Jess, is a teenage British Indian trying to please her family and follow her dreams. One day she is invited by Jules, another soccer lover, to play on a girl's team coached by the handsome Joe, whom they both fall for. This comedy revolves around the love of soccer, family traditions, race and racism, and the disappointments of one generation which are transformed by the next. (IMDb, n.d.: on line).

Dirty Pretty Things (Stephen Frears, 2002) National heritage director. Film nominated at British Academy Film Awards.

Dirty Pretty Things focuses on the underworld of London: immigrant work force, illegal organ donations, drug and prostitution activities that take place in a hotel in West London. Okwe, a Nigerian doctor and illegal immigrant, works double shifts as a cab driver and hotel porter at the hotel. Senay, an illegal immigrant from Turkey, works there as maid. When Okwe finds a human heart clogging the toilet drain, both get caught up in the black-market immigrant organ criminal ring run by the night manager at the hotel, with a goal to survive and maintain their dignity the best they can. (Mitchell, 2003: on line; IMDb, n.d.: on line).

East is East (Damien O'Donnell, 1999) National heritage director of Irish descent. Film nominated and won at British Academy Film Awards.

All hell breaks loose in this comedic drama when George, a Pakistani immigrant who runs a chip shop with his white British wife Ella, decides his eldest male children will have arranged marriages in traditional Muslim manner. His family of 6 children do their best to outwit him supported by their mother. East Is East is based on an autobiographical play by mixed British Pakistani writer Ayub Khan-Din. (IMDb, n.d.b: on line; Screen Online, n.d.: on line).

Young Soul Rebels (1991 Isaac Julien) Migrant heritage director: Born in the United Kingdom of Caribbean descent.

Chris and Caz, are the DJs of a pirate radio station called Soul Patrol. Their friend TJ, a black gay man, is killed in a park at night and by accident they come across a recording of the killer's voice. Chris begins a relationship with Tracy, a production assistant at a commercial radio station, while Caz begins a relationship with Billibud, a punk rocker, which leads to tensions between the two friends. The police arrest Chris for the murder of TJ, even while the radio station is vandalized

and broken into by the real killer. A later riot scene, Caz and Chris apprehend TJ's murderer and Soul Patrol goes back on (Screen Online, n.d.d: on line).

My Beautiful Laundrette (Stephen Frears, 1985) National heritage director. Film nominated at British Academy Film Awards.

The film is based on a screenplay by Hanif Kureishi who is half-Pakistani half-White British. Omar is a Britain of Pakistani descent who's father helps him to get a job washing cars for his uncle Omar. He is soon promoted to be in charge of running laundry shop. Through a violent encounter on the street, Omar resumes contact with Johnny, his ex-right-wing-extremist friend. Johnny and Omar resume a love affair while renovating the laundry shop using drug money of an associate of Nasser. Omar must confront a planned wedding by his family and violent racist treatment in the world around him. (Screen Online, n.d.d: on line).

Flame in the Streets (Roy Ward Baker, 1961) National heritage director. Film nominated at British Academy Film Awards.

Set in London in 1959, Guy Fawkes bonfire night coincides with racial tensions that are mounting in the Notting Hill neighborhood. Kathie Palmer, a white teacher, and Peter Lincoln, a Jamaican teacher, face the prejudice of her family. Kathie's father Jacko, a trade union leader, promotes a black worker to foreman while he comes to terms with his own racism and the racism in society amidst race riots on the street (Screen Online, n.d.c: on line).

3.4 Migrant and Ethnic Identities in Swedish Cinema

This next section explores Sweden's historical context in relation to migrant and ethnic identities in Swedish films. Sweden has a history of empire building through wars and a short history of colonization. It has had high rates of emigration and high levels of immigration especially from refugees and asylum seekers. Citizenship is based on *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood, with a four to five year resident waiting period for refugees, children of immigrants, and other applicants. The government supports a policy of full integration of newcomers. These historical factors have helped to contribute to Sweden's policy and attitude towards immigration. As migration to Sweden has been made up of diverse ethnicities with no principal minority group, it has multiple ethnicity migrant representation in national film. Films containing immigrants are actively created by the dominant majority as well as by filmmakers of immigrant origin.

3.4.1 Swedish Migration History

Different from Western Europe, Sweden does not have an extended historical past with the Jewish Diaspora. Before the 17th century there was no Jewish presence in Sweden; the first documented Jew to enter was a physician to Queen Christina in 1645 (Tossavainen, 2009: 1088). From 1681 to 1774, Jews were required to convert to Christianity in order to stay in Sweden. After 1775, Jews were permitted to settle in the freeport Marstrand. In 1870, Jews were given civil rights (*ibid.*: 1089). During the period of 1880-1930 Jewish immigration came from Eastern Europe and by 1930 around 7,000 Jews lived in Sweden (*ibid.*). This migration would continue during and after World War II.

The Romani in Sweden arrived in the early 1500s. Swedish Roma are made up of various groups of which two are the Travelers or Tattare, and the Finnish Roma. Sweden also has an ethnic group local to the Northern regions called the Sami. The Sami are a traditional nomadic people who continue to migrate in the Northern regions of Sweden, as well as in Finland and Russia (Wright, 2005: 55-56). In the 20th century Romani from Poland and Eastern Europe began to arrive and currently

new Romani have arrived from the former Yugoslavia (Halleröd: 2011, 4). Romani today are the most discriminated against ethnic group in Sweden, almost completely excluded from mainstream society (*ibid.*: 5).

Apart from these ethnic minority groups, Sweden has a historical presence that includes contact with various other ethnicities in the surrounding territories. In the 17th century, Sweden was a major European ruling power with a territory much larger than currently makes up present Sweden. At times this territory included all of modern-day Finland, parts of Norway, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Latvia, and Russia, as well as parts of Poland and Lithuania (Westin, 2006: on line). Due to continued warring, territories expanded and were lost through military exploits up until the beginning of 1900s. Since this time Sweden has maintained its current geographical position.

Similar to other world powers of the time, Sweden was attracted by the status of having colonies. It dabbled in limited colonization with little success. In 1638, Sweden established New Sweden in the Delaware Valley of the Americas. In 1655, this colony of 400 residents was annexed by the Dutch (Boyer, 2009: 57). Its longest held colony, 1784 to 1878, was the island of Saint Barthélemy, later traded to the French (Gravette, 2000: 268).

Emigration from Sweden began in the 1820s and lasted up until World War II in the 1930s. Due to an increased population and a number of years of poor crops affecting rural southern Sweden, heavy migration began to the United States and Canada (Westin, 2006: on line). Official Swedish statistics list a total of 1,122,292 Swedes emigrating to the Americas from 1851 to 1930 (Ljungmark, 1996: 10-11), in other words, a quarter of the population of Sweden. Historian Franklin Scott says, "[b]y 1930 they filled the United States with some 3 million Swedish Americans of first, second, and third generations; Sweden itself then held only slightly more than 6 million" (Scott, 1992: 366). A smaller segment of Swedes migrated to Denmark (Westin, 2006: on line). This trend came to an abrupt end with the onset of World War II. World War II marked the end of emigration and the start of immigration to Sweden.

Immigration to Sweden followed four major stages (Westin, 2006: on line). The first stage takes place from 1938 to 1948 during and after World War II. Sweden began accepting refugees from neighboring countries including Jews escaping German occupation. Half of the Norwegian Jews and nearly all of Denmark's Jews came to Sweden (Tossavainen, 2009: 1089). After the war from 1945-1946, Sweden accepted Jews who had been in the German concentration camps. Nearly 10,000 Holocaust survivors arrived in Sweden of which 3,000 settled and remained (*ibid.*).

The years 1949 to 1971 marked a second stage of migration. Sweden had been officially neutral during World War II and emerged with a thriving industry, a high production of exports and great demand for workers. It began to encourage labor immigration from Finland and Southern Europe. From the 1950s to 1960s nearly 555,000 Finns came to work (Westin, 2006: interet). In addition, companies turned to the Mediterranean countries of Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey (Bredänge, 1996: 117). From 1972 to 1989 Sweden entered a third stage of immigration as its demand for labor declined. This new stage was based on family reunification and accepting refugees from developing countries in the Middle East and Latin America (Westin, 2006: on line).

The fourth stage of migration runs from 1990 to the present. It is composed of accepting asylum seekers from southeastern and Eastern Europe and the free movement of European Union nationals (*ibid*.). Large numbers of refugees were accepted from Bosnia and Kosovo during the 1990s (Westin and Dingu-Kyrklund, 2003: 105). As of 2008 Sweden had a population of just over nine million (*ibid.*: on line). The nationalities which today have seen the most growth in Sweden due to asylum and family reunification include the former country of Yugoslavia (128,245) and Iraq (109,446). Other notable asylum seeking populations have come from Iran (57,663), Chile (28,118), Somalia (25,159) and Lebanon (23,291) (Statistiska centralbyrån, n.d.: on line). Additionally, a large part of migration flows have came from territories bordering or near to Sweden with a past history of having been part of the Swedish empire. Finland has overwhelmingly comprised the largest sector of immigrants with 175,000 foreign born living in Sweden (*ibid.*).

Poland registers at 63,000 immigrants and around 137,000 (46,000 each) hail from the countries of Germany, Denmark, and Norway.

> Today at least 1 million individuals, more than one-eighth of all residents, have a non-Swedish heritage; more than 150 different nationalities are represented. In other words, during a relatively short time, the last fifty years or so, Sweden has become a multiethnic and multicultural nation (Wright, 2005: 56).

The transition to a multiethnic society has been full of learning curves. "In the 1950s and 1960s, Sweden had no official policy of incorporating migrants into mainstream society. It was taken for granted that migrants from other Scandinavian countries, who were considered culturally similar, would assimilate" (Westin, 2006: on line). Unlike Germany, Sweden did not create a guest worker plan and unlike most Western European countries, Sweden instituted "a policy of permanent immigration that treated these labor migrants as future citizens" (*ibid.*). As more migration began to come from non-Nordic countries, in 1975, Swedish Parliament created new multicultural policy based on equality, freedom of choice, and partnership in an attempt to integrate the population. This included giving municipalities subsidies for language instruction, vocational training, and housing based on their migrant populations. However the program was to prove unsuccessful as it created dependency in the refugees and often migrants were relocated to areas suffering general unemployment (*ibid.*). This program was amended in the 1990s, aiming for diversity instead of integration. Current day debates continue to center around policies towards migrant populations. In 2010, the far-right party, the Sweden Democrats entered into Swedish Parliament, winning 6% of the vote with their anti-immigration stance (Daley, 2011, on line).

3.4.2 Swedish Migration Film History and Major Themes

Swedish filmic representations of ethnic Others, migrants and those of migrant heritage present an ever-evolving body of images which can be broken down into four stages. The first stage includes early representation images of nomadic Romani and Travellers as well as of Jews. With the introduction of the migrant in

film in the late 1960s to early 1970s, the next representations portrayed ethnic others as strangers. A third stage represented immigrants as incompatible in Sweden and focused on reactions of racism and xenophobia. Finally, a fourth stage opened when immigrant filmmakers began to express a new vision of themselves and of the country. Currently directors of national and migrant heritage create films representing a multicultural society.

Swedish representation of the Other fits into a longer tradition of representations based on the outsider within. Rochelle Wright documents the emergence of patterns of ethnic representation in Swedish film. She writes that before 1950, Sweden had few ethnic minorities apart from the Sami and the Jews. Wright notes that the Jew had been portrayed as a stock character in predictable narratives in Swedish film since the 1920s. Ethnic stereotyping was common and in 1930s film, Jews more often than not represented an outsider figure who was punished at the end of a film. "With startling frequency the designated outsider figure is a Jew, inevitably portrayed as a Shylock out to take monetary advantage of ethnic Swedes" (Wright, 2005: 56).

Following these representations, in the 1940s to 1950s, various representations of the Tattare were identified as the Other to fear.

> Tattare are vilified to an even greater degree than Jewish characters had been a decade or two earlier, depicted as utterly beyond the pale of civilized society: the men are thieves, swindlers, and violent drunkards, while women are sexually provocative. Structurally, however, the narratives tend to follow a similar pattern: order is restored at the film's conclusion when tattare are removed from the scene, and the obligatory stalwart young Swedish couple takes over the family farm (*ibid*.: 57).

Wright attributes films made before the 1960s with an "us against them" ideology and attributes negative portrayals of ethnic groups as a method to highlight the positive values of "Swedishness"; a method of strengthening the self-image of the dominant culture (*ibid*.: 58).

132

In the 1970s immigrant images began to emerge in narrative film, predominantly created by the native population. These films included point of view from immigrants themselves.

> In contrast to the negative stereotyping so prevalent in earlier decades, films from the 1970s and 1980s examine the circumstances of various immigrant subgroups largely from their own point of view, revealing both how they define themselves vis-à-vis the dominant culture and how they perceive its attitudes towards them. Authenticity and verisimilitude are promoted by the use of actors (some of them nonprofessional) who belong to the immigrant group under consideration and speak their native language on camera […] The new ethnic minorities represented in Swedish film since 1970 include many groups that are numerically most prominent in the Sweden of today. Emphasis in these narratives tends to be on newcomers, the problems they encounter, and their attempts to adjust. The us-against-them constellation of earlier decades is now reversed, resulting in a generally sympathetic depiction of immigrants and their situation, while ethnic Swedes are frequently construed as a negative Other, and Swedish prejudice and ignorance may be castigated. There is often an implicit didacticism with regard to the Swedish audience, which is encouraged to reject ethnocentric attitudes and become more sensitive to and accepting of diversity (*ibid*.: 59-60).

Carina Tigervall analyzed representations of migrants in Swedish films during the years 1970 to 2000. She attributes the representative mood towards immigrants in films from 1970 to 1991 as "Strangers in Modern Sweden". Like Wright, she cites that these films depicted foreigners from large immigrant populations represented in this period such as from Finland, Argentina, Italy, Iran or Greece. Similarly, she believes these films rebuke Swedish society. However while Wright attributes these as castigations of prejudice and ignorance that encourage diversity, Tigervall attributes these to a criticism of the consequences of modernization and urbanization. These films serve as a rebuke to Swedish modernity by using the recently arrived immigrant with a more traditional lifestyle to highlight a "cold, modernised" Sweden. "The 'immigrant', with his different lifestyle and/or the problems he encounters in Sweden, is used to expose the problems of modernity faced by Swedish society at large" (Tigervall, 2005: 343).

In the following decade, 1991 to 1999, Tigervall sees a transformation in the representation of the immigrant from foreign stranger to youth of various ethnic backgrounds and urban racism.

> Films from this period are characterised by pessimism in relation to a society characterised by segregation, racism and xenophobia, as well as by a vision about the positive side of meetings across cultural boundaries. A desire for the Other is presented as a possibility to bridge different, incompatible worlds (Tigervall, 2005: 344).

Such films include *30:e November* (*30th November* – Daniel Fridell, 1995) and *Vinterviken* (*Winter Bay* – Harald Hamrell, 1996).

Both Wright and Tigervall mark 2000 as the year of the "New Swedish Movie". In 2000, three migrant heritage film directors of Middle Eastern background brought up in Sweden screened their first films. These were *Jalla! Jalla!* by Josef Fares, *Vingar av glas* (*Wings of Glass*) by Reza Bagher and *Före stormen* (*Before the Storm*) by Reza Parsa. Each dealt with a non-mainstream oriented viewpoint provoking the awakening of a new cinematic perspective in Sweden (Wright 2005, Chaudhuri 2005). Additionally this same year, *Det nya landet* (*The New Country*) was screened by Geir Hansteen Jörgensen, a national heritage filmmaker. In 2002, the opera prima *Hus i helvete* (*All Hell Let Loose*) was screened by Susan Taslimi, another migrant heritage filmmaker of Middle Eastern background.

Wright denotes this as the coming of age of a new immigrant population.

> Just as several films from the early 1990s that explore Jewish subject matter are the product of a particular generation examining its roots, these more recent films represent the coming-of-age of another group. Fares, born in Lebanon, and Bagher and Parsa, native to Iran, came to Sweden as children or teenagers in response to the volatile political situation in their homelands (Wright, 2005: 70).

These films deal with new themes not previously represented in national heritage director made films dealing with the immigrant. These new themes include gender issues, integration differences between the first generation and their foreign born children, fear of loss of traditions, and the countering of ethnic stereotypes. For

Wright, films produced in the early 2000s "highlight the intersection of immigrant subcultures with mainstream or majority society, stressing in particular various ways the generation now reaching adulthood negotiates cultural difference" (Wright, 2005: 68). The films avoid stereotypes while concerning themselves with the immigrant experience and demonstrating their presence in Sweden. Different than how immigrants are presented by national heritage directors, migrant heritage filmmakers "counteract stereotypes, not by moralizing or by casting members of minority groups as victims but by portraying the Swedish reality they themselves know, where immigrants are individuals rather than merely representatives of particular subcultures" (Wright, 2005: 70).

From 2000 to 2007, films with migrants as central parts of the plot grew. With the exception of Lebanse-Swedish director Josef Fares (*Kopps – Cops*, 2003) and Iranian-Swedish director Mani Maserrat Agah (*Ciao Bella* 2007), most box office successes containing immigrants as central characters are directed by National heritage directors. Various hits of the past decade by national heritage directors include *Lilja 4-ever* (2002, Lukas Moodysson), *Ett öga rött* (*One Eye Red*, 2007, Daniel Wallentin) and *Se upp för dårarna* (*Mind the Gap*, 2007, Helen Bergström).

Josef Fares became a darling of the Swedish film industry when his hits *Jalla! Jalla!* and *Kopps* (2003) became the most successful Swedish box office hits of the last decade bringing in 58,404,607 Swedish Krona (roughly equivalent to 6,758,756€) (Swedish Film Institute, n.d.: on line). These two comedies each grossed more than all foreign and Hollywood films screened in Sweden, with the exception of the *Lord of the Rings Trilogy* (Peter Jackson 2001, 2002, 2003) until the 2009 *Män som hatar kvinnor* (*Millennium Part 1: Men Who Hate Women* – Niels Arden Oplev) screened (*ibid.*).

However it remains to be seen whether these new immigrant directors will be willing to change the immigrant narrative structures existent in Swedish film. Tigervall questions whether Swedish films reproduce the dominant order in society or could be regarded as subversive practices. She concludes that among the films analyzed, they both reproduce and challenge dominant discourses simultaneously. The immigrant is represented favorably, which she interpreted as an anti-racist

counter discourse. However, the majority of films follow the dominant discourse by representing the immigrant as "fundamentally different". She regards the use of the immigrant linked to values of a traditional society as a counterpoint to the negative modern urban city. "'The immigrant' can thereby be said to represent an utopian desire, insofar as s/he and his/her culture are constructed as the positive opposite of what is seen as negative in Swedish society during a specific historical period" (Tigervall, 2005: abstract).

3.4.3 Swedish Example Films

Below is a brief synopsis of several contemporary Swedish films representing migrant and ethnic characters. These include films made by both national heritage directors and migrant heritage directors. Mention is made if films were nominated or won at the Guldbagge Award, Sweden's national film award ceremony.

Se upp för dårarna (*Mind the Gap* – Helena Bergström, 2007) National heritage director.

Yasmin and Elin meet on the morning they both apply to enter the police academy, part of a small minority of females applying to become police officers. While they go through mental, psychological, and physical tests to enter, they become close friends, sharing their histories and dreams. Yasmin's family emmigrated to Sweden 12 years earlier. Her father Sinan, a famous heart surgeon in Turkey, has had to take a position as a metro train driver. Elin's father, a criminal specialist, is critical of everyone and doesn't support Elin. Through the course of being accepted in the academy, Yasmin and Elin improve both of their fathers' lives, as well as apprehend a fellow classmate who works as a stolen arms dealer. Sinan is offered a position in a hospital and Elin's father becomes more loving.

Ett öga rött (*One Eye Red* – Daniel Wallentin, 2007) National heritage director. Film nominated and won at Guldbagge Awards.

One Eye Red is the adaptation of a book by half-Swedish half-Tunisian writer Jonas Hassen Khemiri. The protagonist is young Halim, raised in Sweden by his Morrocan immigrant parents. Since the death of his mother, there have been a lot of changes in Halim's life. His father decides they will start again and moves him from the Swedish suburbs, full of immigrant life, to the city center. Halim feels a rebellious pull between not wanting to be like his father, who is busy trying to assimilate into a Swede, not fitting in at his new school, and conversations with his ex neighbor Dalanda – an older perhaps crazy woman who tells him the Swedish integration plan is a conspiracy to convert all immigrants into Swedes. Halim, struggling with his identity, begins to write as the Sultan of the Mind – an immigrant counterrevolutionary in Sweden, in a diary given to him by his mother. He turns to vandalism and almost murderous acts before making peace with his father and coming to terms with his mother's death.

Ciao Bella (Mani Maserrat Agah, 2007) Migrant heritage director: Born in Iran and emigrated to Sweden at age 13.

Mustafa and Linnea meet and fall in love at Gothia Cup, the world's largest youth soccer tournament held in Gothenburg. Linnea performs as a flag girl at the festival and Mustafa has come playing for the Swedish team. Only, when they meet, he is accidently subbing for the Italian team, wearing the jersey of Massimo, which leads Linnea to think he is Italian, instead of Iranian-Swedish. He is befriended by the bisexual Italian, Enrico, who shows him how to act with the girls. Linnea meanwhile finds out she is pregnant by a boy she met earlier, and decides to keep the baby. She and Mustafa navigate love, honesty, and identity in this coming of age film.

Förortsungar (*Kidz in da Hood* – Ylva Gustavsson, Catti Edfeldt, 2006) National heritage directors. Film nominated and won at Guldbagge Awards.

Amina is a young nine year old immigrant whose family has been killed. She comes with her grandfather Saïd to live illegally in the Swedish suburbs housing

after having been denied asylum. Johan is a twenty something Swedish rock musician who agrees to hide the family in his messy flat. When Saïd unexpectedly dies, Johan is faced with maturing and becoming Amina's fosterparent, or leaving her to a destiny in a social services group home. The narrative unfolds in a musical format. As Johan transforms from friend to parent figure for Amina, Amina becomes friends with her neighbor Mirre, a young girl her age. Together with a neighborhood gang, they rap and bring to justice two thieves dealing in stolen goods and drugs. Meanwhile, Johan develops a romance with Janet, the social services worker in charge of Amina's case.

Zozo (Josef Fares, 2005) Migrant heritage director: Born in Lebanon and emigrated to Sweden at age 10. Film nominated and won at Guldbagge Awards.

Zozo lives with his family in war torn Lebanon. They are trying to escape to go and stay with the grandparents in Sweden. His family is killed in a bomb raid. He and his older brother decide to continue with their planned escape to Sweden. Out in the street they are surprised by armed soldiers. His brother hides Zozo in a garbage dumpster with the passports and tickets and orders him to wait for him, but he never returns. Zozo, now alone with only a little baby chicken he has befriended, decides to continue. He meets Rita, the daughter of a landlord, who helps him get bread to eat and hides him in her house for the night. They fall in love and plan to escape together to Sweden. Rita's physically abusive father finds her at the airport and takes her away. Zozo however, with tickets and passports is able to make the flight with the help of the airport security. He arrives in Sweden and meets up with his grandparents. There he learns to integrate in the school system – making friends with Leo, a boy with an alcoholic father.

Kopps (*Cops* – Josef Fares, 2003) Migrant heritage director: Born in Lebanon and emigrated to Sweden at age 10.

A local police station set in rural Sweden has a big problem: there is no crime. Jessica is sent from headquarters to close the station down, thus ending the

station's peaceful days eating hotdogs, having coffee, fixing the doors of local buildings, and chasing the occasional stray cow. One of the police officers, Jakob (of Lebanese background), accompanied by his squad car partner Lasse, begin to create minor crime disturbances to save the fate of the station. After blowing up the local hot dog stand, fellow police officers Benny and Agneta become embroiled in a cover up job. Benny distracts Jessica with fantasy scenarios involving gangs with oozy guns. As their stories get progressively worse, Benny concocts a faked kidnapping, which goes terribly awry with the arrival of a Swat team. They are soon caught out and in the most embarrassing of circumstances. After the closing of the station, the cops open up a Police pizza station and Jessica and Jakob possibly retake up a tentative romance.

Lilja 4-ever (Lukas Moodysson, 2002) National heritage director. Film nominated and won at Guldbagge Awards.

In an ending revealed first, sixteen year old Lilja, bruised and beaten, is about to commit suicide over a highway bridge in Malmö, Sweden. Three months earlier, Lilja lived in a former USSR country with her mother and friend Volodya until her mother left renouncing her daughter to the social services system. Lilja turns to prostitution to survive. She meets Andrei while prostituting at a disco and he promises her decent work in Sweden. Upon arrival she finds that she has been sent into prostitution. Her life is a nightmare cycle of servicing clients and being locked in an industrial suburbs apartment building, threatened with death if she tries to escape. Her only relief comes from dreams in which Volodya arrives as an angel to talk with her or play basketball with her. As rebellion grows in Lilja, she manages to escape her prison, but now realizes she is in a bigger prison – that of Sweden, that of the world. She arrives at the bridge of the first sequence and climbs over while Volodja pleads with her not to jump, but she doesn't listen. Lilja, now an angel, opens her eyes to find herself playing basketball with Volodya on the roof top of her former home.

Jalla! Jalla! (Josef Fares, 2000) Migrant heritage director: Born in Lebanon and emigrated to Sweden at age 10. Film nominated at Guldbagge Awards.

Roro has finally decided to present his girlfriend Lisa to his traditional Lebanese family only to find that his family has invited all the relatives to celebrate his arranged marriage with Yasmine. Yasmine and Roro, who do not want to marry, agree to their families request in order to buy time to find another solution so that Yasmine will not be sent back to Lebanon. Meanwhile, Måns, Roro's best friend is struggling with impotency, which destroys his relationship with his girlfriend Jenny. Soon after, he meets Yasmine and the two fall in love. Roro tells his relatives on his wedding day that he can't marry Yasmine because he is in love with Lisa. The two couples escape with Roro's father's blessing while the wedding hall dissolves in fighting.

3.5 Summary

This chapter examined the migration history and history of representation of migrant and ethnic images in four European national cinemas using the theoretical framework established in the first two chapters on the concepts of identity, representation, national cinema, and point of view. As can be seen in this chapter France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Sweden have all experienced various fluctuations in their migrant and ethnic populations over the course of history with a peak in the last century. Although each of these countries has an individual historical situation and heterogeneous mix in terms of migrant and ethnic populations, each of their film industries has documented these populations in a similar fashion. Each country represented historical ethnic groups in their early cinemas. As migrant populations increased in the country, national heritage filmmakers began documenting their presence in films. This period was followed by the emergence of migrant heritage filmmakers who change the types and themes of these representations and in turn influence the national heritage directed films.

Sizeable ethnic minorities populations such as the Jewish Diaspora and nomadic Romani have existed in Europe for centuries. In France, Germany and the United Kingdom the Jews arrived during the Roman Empire. Sweden is the only country of this group in which the Jews arrived later, in the 1600s. Romani populations entered Germany in the 1400s and in France, Sweden and the United Kingdom around the 1500s. Each of these countries has had fluctuation periods of acceptance and discrimination of the Jews and Romani. In France, Germany and the United Kingdom these groups have faced xenophobic rejection to the point of expulsion and execution, with a contemporary peaking in the 20th century prior to World War II. Xenophobic treatment of Romani and Jews has often been repeated in all four countries in the manner they have received and treated incoming migrants.

At different points in time, all four countries have actively solicited immigration to fill labor needs. The strongest surges in the contemporary era occurred after World War II through the 1960s to 1970s. France and the United Kingdom both have strong colonial pasts while Sweden historically ruled a much larger territory

including all of Finland. The influence of these historic links can be seen in migration patterns established during industrial booms when these countries required manual laborers. Germany, on the other hand, set up guest worker programs to satisfy its labor needs.

As labor demands decreased, family unification and acceptance of asylum seekers made up the next phase of migration. Each of these countries has gone on to have multiple generations of migrant heritage national citizens derived from their ethnic populations. As of 2009, France's population was 64 million people, of which the largest migrant group consisted of between four to seven million people of North African heritage (Crumley 2009). As of 2008, Germany's population of 82 million had around seven million un-naturalized Turks and an estimated 1.7 million naturalized German-Turks (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, n.d.a and b). As of 2008, the UK boasted a foreign born population of around 6.9 million, with the largest non-European foreign-born population coming from India (639,000) and Pakistan (436,000) (Somerville et al, 2009: on line). Sweden, as of 2009, had a population of nine million with its largest migrant populations coming from Finland (175,000), the former Yugoslavia (128.245) and Iraq (109.446) (Statistiska centralbyrån, n.d.: on line).

When immigrant populations began to mature and second generation migrant communities began to appear, again, reactions were mixed. Some countries, such as France, historically chose to accept these as natural born citizens, conferring citizenship by location of birth: *jus soli*. Others such as Germany maintained traditions of citizenship by blood rights: *jus sanguinis*, resulting in third generation immigrants effectively still considered immigrants. At the current time, all four of these European countries have blurred the lines and now offer mixtures of both *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* nationality plans.

European national cinemas have represented migrant and ethnic populations since the origins of their film industries. Filmographies represent these identities in a diverse array of film mediums and situations. These range from documentary footage, tourism spots, and emigration and immigration fiction narratives. Each country, with its different history and migrant and minority populations has passed

through various stages of filmic representation of these. These run the course from early representations of Jews and Romani populations, to early representations of immigrants, to contemporary representations of migrant heritage national citizens integrated in the national populations.

Each of the countries examined began ethnic Other representation with images of Jews, Romani, and in the case of France and Britain with exotic colonial images, which served as precursors to later representations of migrant and ethnic identities. France and the United Kingdom began representing first generation migration in film at the end of the 1950s, with Sweden and Germany following in the late 1960s. Representations tended to be of marginalized and stereotyped characters. First representations were likely to highlight the initial introduction of immigrants in the country as workers. These included solidarity-based treatments thought they tended to view immigrants as victims and outsiders, generally lacking positive images.

In Germany the first phase of films was known as *Guestworker Cinema* (Burns 2006) or *Cinema of Alienation* (Seeßlen 2003), and was followed by the Cinema of the Affected (Burns 2006). In Sweden the first phase of films showed migrants as Strangers (Tigervall 2005). Films in France and the United Kingdom during this period continued imperial traditions or were militant in their treatment of colonial representations (Bourne 2002, Monterde 2008). As social realist themes began to emerge in French and British films, focus shifted to living conditions and the social disruption caused by migrants in societies which rejected them (Tarr 2005, Bakari 2000). National heritage directors made the first phase of films in all countries.

Germany and Sweden divide this phase into sub-phases that include the transition in demographics as migrant populations began to produce second and third generations. In Germany, films depicted first and second-generation immigrants as victims and outsiders. Themes in these films focused on the "myth of return", with both the immigrant and the German host nation desiring a final return; the poor treatment of immigrants in the host country and women's oppression (Ewing, 2002; Burns, 2006). In Sweden, immigrants were shown to be

incompatible with Sweden and focused on Swedish xenophobia and racism (Tigervall 2005).

A second phase of films began in all countries as migrant heritage artists began collaborating with national heritage filmmakers. The introduction of migrant heritage filmmakers was the catalyst that dramatically changed migrant and ethnic representations, pivoting images to a new territory. As filmmakers of migrant heritage began creating films representing themselves, they redescribed themselves, the cultures they live in, and began to focus on generational narrations and inter-generational discoveries.

In the United Kingdom, race riots in the 1970s led to the creation of government-sponsored programs to provide funding to minority artists. Black British Cinema emerged from these programs and led to Asian British cinema (Malik 2002). For France, this movement began in the 1970-1980s with the *Beur* film movement where second and third generation filmmakers of Magreb and Arab descent began to represent themselves in low budget films. This was followed by *Cinéma de banlieue*, created by both national and migrant heritage filmmakers and centered on the *banlieue* ghettos (Monterde 2008, Tarr 2005). Germany marks this phase with the creation of *Cinema of Métissage*, in which filmmakers of migrant heritage began representing themselves as well as choosing to make films that did not center on migrant themes or characters (Burns 2006, Ewing 2002). And in Sweden, the year 2000 marked the turning point when migrant heritage directors entered the scene (Wright 2005, Tigervall 2005). These "New Swedish Movies" told stories about gender issues, integration differences between the first generation and their foreign born children, fear of loss of traditions, countering of ethnic stereotypes.

As narratives were told from new perspectives, they ruptured and redefined what it is to be a member of a dominant or minority population. These films created a period of renewed creations and revised representations produced by both national and migrant heritage filmmakers in their representation of multi-ethnic environments. A further development in all four countries has been the petition by migrant heritage filmmakers to distance themselves from "ethnic" markers and includes their involvement in film projects which do not represent migrant themes.

Many films including migrant and ethnic characters and themes by both national and migrant heritage directors have been celebrated with nominations and wins at national film awards. Celebrated films include:

La Haine (*The Hate*, 1995), directed by Mathieu Kassovitz, a national heritage director, and *Le thé au harem d'Archimède* (*Tea in the Harem*, 1985), by Mehdi Charef, a migrant heritage director born in France of Algerian descent. Both films were nominated and won at the César Awards.

Auf der anderen Seite (*The Edge of Heaven*, 2007) and *Gegen die Wand* (*Head On*, 2004), both by Fatih Akin, a migrant heritage director born in Germany of Turkish descent. Both films were nominated and won at the Deutscher Filmpreis Awards.

Bend it Like Beckham (2002) by Gurinder Chadha a migrant heritage director, born in Kenya to Indian diaspora parents and emigrated to the United Kingdom; and *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), directed by Stephen Frears, a national heritage director. Both films were nominated at the British Academy Film Awards.

Jalla! Jalla! (2000), by Josef Fares, a migrant heritage director born in Lebanon and emigrated to Sweden; and *Lilja 4-ever* (2002), by Lukas Moodysson, a national heritage director. Both films were nominated at the Guldbagge Awards. The second film also won a Guldbagge Award.

CHAPTER 4

4. CHANGING PERSPECTIVES IN SPANISH CINEMA

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter, *Changing Perspectives in European Cinema*, examined representation of migrant and ethnic characters in four European cinemas: France, Germany, Great Britain and Sweden. It used the theoretical base established in the first two chapters *Social Construction of Migrant and Ethnic Identities* and *Representing Others, Representing Ourselves*. This chapter examines representation of migrant and ethnic characters in Spanish Cinema, subjecting it to a deeper and more extensive analysis. It studies the historic influences of the collective imagination of the Spanish identity, the role of the Other within this identity and how this shapes opinions on immigration today. Additionally, it provides an overview of the Spanish Film System, looking at factors in film production from financing and audience to the national awards system.

Spain has an ethnically mixed heritage past. It also had an extensive colonial empire. In the modern era it has experienced high rates of emigration, and currently has high levels of immigration towards which it has adapted a multicultural policy of integration. Immigration has become a central theme in national dialogues during the past decade. Citizenship is based on *jus sanguinis*, meaning citizenship is transferred by blood. However it has a policy of nationality based on residency that allows those born on Spanish soil to become nationals after one year and those residing in the country the ability to solicit nationality after a determined number of years. These historical factors have helped to contribute to present-day Spanish policies and attitudes towards immigration. The Spanish film system has taken a greater interest in representing migration in popular films since roughly the 1990s.

However, representation of migrant and ethnic groups has existed since the early days of Spanish cinema. Spanish national heritage directors create the majority of films, international directors create a small number of films and migrant heritage directors have only just begun to emerge.

The first section in this chapter, *Spanish Migration History*, focuses on the historical trajectory and cultural representation of migrant and ethnic identities in Spain. It reviews the formation of Spanish identity through its historical past beginning with the Iberians, Celts and Basques up through the periods of colonization, emigration, industrialization, immigration and integration efforts in Spain up to the present time. This is followed by the section *Spanish Migration in the Arts*, in which representation of Spanish migrant and ethnic figures is placed in the context of representations in other Spanish arts such as literature, theater, music and contemporary art expositions. The third section, *Spanish Migration Film History and Major Themes*, examines representation in Spanish National Cinema. It begins with a panoramic overview of the Spanish film industry, outlining film production, distribution, exhibition, audience factors and recognition awards specific to Spanish cinema. It also explains the Spanish National Film Institute and the Spanish Goya awards system. This is followed by a detailed historical trajectory of migrant and ethnic representation in Spanish Cinema and cites the academic research trends in the field. Finally, the plot summaries of a list of key Spanish films dealing with migrant and ethnic representation are described.

4.1 Spanish Migration History

As immigration takes center stage in political and social debates, focus on historical precedents that have influenced current representation and treatment of immigration today are often not addressed. Laced through Spain's history is contact and intermixing with various neighboring cultures and overseas cultures in both dominant and subordinate political roles. Contributions to Spain's diverse ethnic origins have come from the Iberians, Celts, Basques, Tartessos, Greeks, Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Jews, Romans, Visigoths, Syrian Umayyads, Bereber Almoravids, Almohads, Franks, Africans, and Iber-Americans; in sum from a wide

range of European and other extra-European peoples. Colonization and ensuing emigration movements beginning in the 16th century and immigration movements beginning in the 20th century have deepened the rich exchange between cultures.

A text written by Terenci Moix on his first visit to New York in the 1970s provides an interesting starting point to reflect on the changes that have occurred in Spain's transition to becoming a migrant receiving country in the past decades. Moix's reflections on the culture shock he experienced upon being exposed to a multiracial society replete with cultural landmines provide a glimpse at the commonly held notion of Spanish racial homogeneity held at this time. He says:

> Una de las más profundas impresiones que me deparó mi primera estancia en Nueva York fue el descubrirme haciendo profesión de antirracismo a cada momento. Nunca necesité hacerlo antes, por la sencilla razón de que jamás tuve el menor problema con seres de piel distinta a la mía. El racismo sólo era una evidencia que se me presentaba en las películas y que, por cuanto acabo de declarar, se me antojaba incomprensible [...] Mi situación no podía ser más contradictoria: comprendía que viesen en mí al representante de una raza opresora y, por tanto, un enemigo potencial [...] Mis ideas eran de amistad y, en cambio, mi piel les llamaba a la guerra [...] Al regresar a Europa la encontré más cómoda que nunca. Inmerso en la seguridad que proporciona el moverse entre una sola raza [...] Han pasado 20 años y el fantasma del racismo vuelve a extenderse por Europa (Terenci Moix in Bañon, 1996: 76-77).

In this chapter attention is drawn to many of the national identity narratives that relate to migration relations through the use of a historical timeline extending to the present day. This thesis focuses on migrant identities. Only brief mention is given to Spanish minority ethnic groups such as the Romani population[3].

4.1.1 Spanish Identity and the Historical Backdrop

Spanish identity is made up of multiple influences, represented by an extensive composition of factors throughout its ancient and modern history. It is in the contemporary phase where most of the controversial debates on current Spanish identity arise. The contemporary phase of the 20th century to the present is

---

[3] For a comprehensive review of Romani population representation in Spanish film see Santaolalla (2005).

understood to include the liberal and social revolutions, conflicts between centralized and peripheral nationalism – especially in Catalonia and the Basque country, the conversion to democracy, transition to becoming part of the European Union and transformation from emigrant sending to immigrant receiving society. There is more consensus on the historic time periods where the storm has passed, therefore this chapter will focus on the roots of relationships with other cultures. This will prepare the terrain to understand migration trends of the 20th and 21st centuries before exploring the perception of migrant and ethnic cultures in the Spanish arts and cinema in the next subsection, 4.1.2 *Spanish Migration Film History and Major Themes.*

A historical synthesis of Spain's ethnic origins reveals a complex hybrid of multiple cultures that have combined throughout the centuries. During successive territorial dominations, different groups and cultures were mixed together creating a syncretism of cultures and genes. These cultures copied, shared and mixed religions, technology, science and agricultural knowledge, and intermarried between themselves. The next sections briefly detail four time periods of Spanish history with other cultures. The first section, *Hispania*, focuses on the early origins of the Peninsula, including the arrival of the Jewish diaspora, and sets the tone for later cultural mixing. The second section, *Al-Andalus*, looks at the period when the Moors ruled the peninsula for eight centuries until 1492, the year in which they lost their last stronghold, Granada. It was during this time period that that the first Roma travelers came to Spain. The third section, *Spain*, begins with the reign of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile and details the beginnings of the quest for "pure blood". The last section, *Overseas Empire and Colonialism*, outlines the rise and decline of Spanish influence in the Americas, Africa and Asian Pacific as well as the use of slaves during this time period.

Hispania

A brief summary of the history of Spain begins with the Iberians, the Celts and the Basque (Fear, 2000: 13). Added to these are the waves and enclaves of Tartessos, Greeks, Phoenicians, Carthaginians and Jews. Consolidation of this mixed population was achieved under the Romans, who invaded Spain in the year 218 BC and held the territory for 600 years until the Visigothic Kingdoms took over in 409 AD. The vanquished group became known as Iberian-Celtics and the land area, the Iberian Peninsula, became known as Hispania. While the people of Hispania were not culturally homogeneous, the Romans made them politically uniform under one political power. During the majority of these years there was a widespread practice of god and goddess worship before the introduction of Christianity in the final years of the Roman reign. Roman rule combined with local identities to develop a new Roman identity. "Although some areas [of Hispania] were less affected by Rome than others, the aristocracy and – importantly – the late-Roman clergy all firmly identified themselves with Roman culture and styled themselves Romans" (*ibid.*: 38).

It was during the era of the Roman Empire that the Jewish diaspora arrived in Spain. Some estimates put this date at 65 BC (Lindo, 1848: 6). Peace existed although in 304 AD, the Catholic clergy moved the Council of Elvira to produce edicts against Christians eating with Jews and intermarriage to curb their influence (*ibid.*: 10).

The Visigoths, at first allies of the Romans, entered Spain to aid Rome against attacks by the Vandals. They later remained in the region and took control of the peninsula (Collins, 2000: 42). They made few changes to the Romanic based law and city structures. It was under the German Visigoths that Christianity was fully introduced in Spain in the 400s AD and Arian Christianity was discarded for Catholicism. "By the end of the seventh century, if not earlier, the sense of separate Roman and Gothic identities in the Visigothic kingdom had ceased to exist" (*ibid.*: 61) The Visigoth kingdoms ruled from 409 AD for 300 years. During this time the local Hispano-Romano population (previously the Iberian-Celtic mixture) maintained their own fiscal systems and religious leaders. This period was marked

by significant infighting between the Visigoths as well as fighting with the local Hispano-Romano population. During their reign, the Visogoths were initially tolerant of Jews, however this changed after the Visogoth conversion to Christiantiy. In the 600s AD, Jews had to either convert to Christianity or emigrate to avoid being enslaved (Zirkin, 2009: 901).

Al-Andalus

The Visigoth era ended with the arrival of the Umayyads, a Syrian-Arab led army of northern African Berber troops, which began to conquer the peninsula leading to the start of the reign of Al-Andalus in 711. The Umayyad dynasty ruled from 756-929 as amirs and later from 929-1031 as caliphs (Fletcher, 2000: 64). The Umayyads were eventually plagued by the same infighting that all previous groups of the Iberian peninsula faced. In the 11th century, after much internal fighting and civil wars, the caliphate broke up and divided into taifa states. These taifa states collaborated with Northern Christian rulers by paying them tributes of Al-Andalus gold in exchange for military protection (*ibid.*: 73). During this time period both Catholics and Muslim kingdoms were composed of multiple sub-groups who fought each other and often formed Catholic-Muslim alliances during the fighting.

Similar to the reign of the Romans and the Visigoths, under Al-Andalus the local population of Hispano-Romano (Visigoth influenced) Christians and Jews intermixed with the Arab and Berber population.

> The peninsula thus entered the Middle Ages as a land in which three religions and cultures coexisted and overlapped. Settlement of Arab and Berber immigrants within that large portion of the peninsular land-mass lying to the south of the Ebro and Duero river systems, intermarriage with the indigenous Christian and Jewish populations, shifts of religious allegiance between Judaism, Christianity and Islam, all combined to produce a thorough cultural mix (*ibid.*: 63-64).).

While this period was periodically marked by pograms between the religious groups, during the reign of the Moors, the Jews flourished for 800 years,

contributing in economics, as diplomats in the court, in medicine, philology, and literature (Zirkin, 2009: 901).

The Moors had a hierarchy system of control led by the Arabs, followed by the Berbers, and below this the foreign converts to Islam, the Jews and last the Christians. The population was not required to convert to Islam, however due to taxes on non-Muslims and economic competition, there were many converts among the Hispano-Romano population. Thomas Blick points out that the Arab population during this time was very small, with the Berber population being much larger, and the bulk of the population was comprised of Hispano-Romans who converted to Islam during this era, with an estimated six to seven million converts (Glick, 1979: 202). The most intense conversion period was probably between the years 850 and 1000 (Fletcher, 2000: 64). "Convert and non-convert alike borrowed much of the non-religious culture of their rulers, most notably the use of Arabic as the language of everyday life" (*ibid.*). Fletcher explains this as the reason for such a high level of Arabic loanwords in the Spanish language today (*ibid.*).

In 1086, the Berber Almoravids, advanced from North Africa and took control of the taifa states. The Almoravids were more fundamentalist and less tolerant of the Christians and Christian culture. This led to an increase in migrations of Christians and Jews to the Northern Christian states. In the XI and XII centuries, Al-Andalus persuaded the Jews to flee from its territories.

> Los judíos, perseguidos, hallaron refugio en los reinos cristianos del norte, donde fueron bien acogidos por los príncipes porque procedían de un país – Al-Andalus – cuya civilización era por aquel entonces muy superior a la de la España cristiana, porque hablaban árabe, porque conocían la organización política, económica y social de los territorios musulmanes y porque dominaban las técnicas comerciales más avanzadas (Pérez, 2003: 10-11).

However by the 1120s the Almoravids had also dissolved into a second round of taifa states: as "they were being challenged simultaneously by the rise in Morocco of yet another fundamentalist sect […] the Almohads, and by successive native Andalusi risings against their occupation of Spain" (Fletcher, 2000: 78). The Almohads succumbed to the same internal strife as the Almoravids. This time they

were faced with a much more unified Northern Christian army than their predecessors. The Almohads were followed by the Nasrid Dynasty in 1212. The Nasrids were the last Moorish dynasty of the Iberian peninsula until their expulsion in 1492.

Spain

In the north of the peninsula over the course of the centuries, remnants of the Visigoths, the Basques and the Franks through the Carolingian dynasty grew in size. By the time of the Almohad downfall, these had come to be known as the three Christian kingdoms of Aragon, Castile and Portugal, and Navarre, which remained as an independent monarchy (Fletcher, 2000: 80).

While the Almohad and Nasrid dynasties and the Christian kingdoms coexisted in the Iberian peninsula, relations wavered between states of war and peace. The Northern Christian kingdoms and Al-Andalus maintained open borders with constantly migrating populations and exchanges of money, goods and services. Spain also had sizeable Jewish communities in the east and south (*ibid.*: 63-64). As the Christian kingdoms began conquering the peninsula, they rearranged the population hierarchy that had been put in place in Al-Andalus. Christians were placed at the top, and in the early years, continued as before their economic and political dealings with Muslims, Jews and New Christian converts. As the Christians moved south, resettlement policies for the Moors were implemented inconsistently across the different regions. For example, Aragon maintained its Muslim population while Valencia expelled them from the city and let them be in the country. These Muslim communities slowly assimilated the Christian culture, which helped with the problem of resettlement (*ibid.*: 83). The Jew's situation changed as the Christian kingdoms occupied territories. By 1391, Jews were being persecuted and killed in riots (Zirkin, 2009: 901). The coming union of the Northern Christian Kingdoms would lead to their future expulsion from the territory.

The union of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon occurred through the marriage of Ferdinand II and Isabella I in 1469. This unification was actually a confederation of kingdoms and lordships faithful to the kings, structurally similarly to the previous system of alliances of the peninsula. Each territory continued to use their own customs, tax systems and institutions, but were subject to central government by the use of force when any insurrections mounted (Álvarez Junco, 2002: on line). The Catholic kingdom of Navarre joined the Kingdom of Spain in 1515.

Ferdinand II and Isabella I brought a sweeping set of new changes to the peninsula.

> Entre 1478 and 1502, Isabel de Castilla y Fernando de Aragón toman tres decisiones complementarias: obtienen del papa la autorización para crear la Inquisición, expulsan a los judíos y obligan a los musulmanes de la corona de Castilla a convertirse al catolicismo (Pérez, 2003: 9).

In 1492, the situation for the Jews plummeted dramatically. All Jews were expelled from Spain and given only four months to leave the country. Over 100,000 Jews left and became known as Sephardi Jews. Many more were baptized in Christianity and become known as *conversos*, or as *Marranos* when accused of continuing to practice Judaism in secret (*ibid.*).

According to Norman Roth, the Inquisition had been existent in Spain since 1179 in the kingdom of Aragón-Catalonia with an original purpose "to act against Christian heretics who were deemed to be corrupting the faith from within" (Roth, 1995: 204). In 1480, the Inquisition was reestablished in response to fears that many who had converted were being corrupted and turning to Judaism (*ibid.*: 224). After the Jews and Muslims were forced to either convert to Christianity or leave the territory, the Inquisition dedicated itself to eliminating false converts among the New Christians, primarily among the converted Jewish population. It is estimated that tens of thousands of Jews were accused; many of these were burned at the stake (Zirkin, 2009: 901). The Inquisition was driven by a goal for religious purity as well as by political and economic motivations. The polemical campaign for "pure blood" led to various rounds of demands for conversion or expulsions,

leading up to the expulsion of the *Moriscos*, Christians converted from Islam, in 1609.

> Almost a century after Spain's Muslims had been forced to convert to Christianity, their situation continued to deteriorate. More politically powerful and socially flexible, the Converso's [Christians converted from Judaism] position was considerably better. However, even this group was continually challenged by *limpieza de sangre* legislation that cast it as alien and ignoble (Ingram, 2009: 19).

According to Álvarez Junco, the formation of a collective and modern sense of Spanish identity did not take place at the union of kingdoms under the Catholic Kings (Álvarez Junco, 2002: on line). A dominant narrative of Spain as a culturally homogenous society unified under the Christian religion colors the historical view of Spain's past. There has been an academic predisposition to think that the traditional values of the Spanish culture begin and were established by the Catholic Kings. The architectural monuments and churches accumulated in the golden age, glorify an immaculate history that begins with the unification of the territory in 1492, and its posterior ethnic religious homogenization. However, to identify classic Spain, dominated above all by the influence of the Catholic Church, made of local traditions, values and magnanimous values, is to accept a total construction that nevertheless has evolved with time. "[Spain's] nature at the beginning of that period bears very scarce resemblance to its nature at the end, that is, the meaning of the word "Spain" underwent radical transformation during those 500 years" (Álvarez-Junco, 2002: on line). Authors such as Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz y Menduiña in the twentieth century raised the debate over Spain's identity being derived from a mixed or unified status. Their either/or debate has been replaced in recent years by other authors such as Barbara Fuchs, who reports that the state of mixed affairs remains through and beyond the "official historical" line of the complete Catholic domination of the country as supposed by the marriage of Isabel and Ferdanand in 1469. Fuchs explains,

> The neat model of supersession that appears so frequently in official historiographies is thus primarily a rhetorical fiction designed to consolidate an emerging sense of national identity. And yet, for all that, it has been extraordinarily powerful: for centuries Spain's self-fashioning has

been predicated on the strict boundary between then and now, mapped onto Moors versus Christians (Fuchs, 2009: 11).

However, it was not only the Jews and the Muslims who faced persecution during this time period. Romani, Gitanos, began to arrive in the Spanish peninsula in the early 1400s in small traveling groups ranging from ten to one hundred people (Charnon Deutsch, 2004: 17). They were persecuted through the 1499 *Real Pragmática de los Reyes Católicos*, the *Medina del Campo Pragmatic*, which, among other edicts, expelled them from the territory if they did not have a permanent residence and a trade (Liégeois, 1994: 139). Those who were caught infringing the law were to be whipped, have their ears cut off or be converted into slaves depending on the number of offenses. In 1593, punishment was diverted to serving as slaves in the galleys as oars men, due to the need for manpower (*ibid.*: 140). By 1610, new legislation from Castile required Romani to turn to farming, "the pragmatic motivation behind this being that the expulsion of the Moors had left much land lying deserted and fallow" (*ibid.*). This group would continue to face discrimination, expulsions, and executions, such as during the round up of 1749 which sent Romani to labor camps.

Overseas Empire and Colonialism

Spanish overseas expansion and colonialism lasted from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries. In addition to the overseas empire, Spain had control of the Spanish Netherlands from 1581-1713 as well as various parts of Italy (Sicily, Naples and Sardinia) and Austria. Ventures into Northern Africa were carried out concurrent with the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula. The first visit to and start of colonization of the Americas began in 1492, the same year that marked the unification of Spain. Colonization in the Asian Pacific began in earnest in 1565. During the next 500 years, Spanish colonial involvement in Africa, the Americas and the South Pacific would undergo various changes and cycles of motivation factors.

Spanish enclaves in Africa were first established in the fifteenth century. The Canary islands were ceded to Castile by Portugal in 1479 (Johnston, 1905: 63). During the taking of the peninsula, Castile followed the Moors into Africa attacking the North Coast. Spain established itself in Melilla in the 1490s and proceeded to take possession of other coastal towns (Johnston, 1905: 61). From 1535 onward, possession of the North African coast alternated between Spain and the Ottoman Turks, with Spain controlling at one point Algiers and Tunis (*ibid.*).

It was also during this period that Spain came into possession of Ceuta and the present day holdings of the small rock islands of Alhucemas, Velez de la Gomera, and the Chafarinas Islands. The Portuguese city of Ceuta, colonized in 1415, was ceded to Spain in 1640 when the two kingdoms split (*ibid.*: 63). Currently Ceuta and Melilla are autonomous cities of Spain, Alhucemas and Velez de la Gomera serve as military outposts and the Chafarinas Islands as a national preserve. An additional uninhabited island, Perejil, also passed from Portugal to Spain during the handover of Ceuta and was the cause of a military standoff between Spain and Morocco in 2002. Morocco disputes the cities of Ceuta, Melilla, and all the rock islands including Perejil as part of its territory.

During the nineteenth and twentieth century, Spanish possessions in Northern Africa included the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, the region of Ifni and Spanish Sahara. The Spanish Protectorate of Morocco was the Spanish colonial area acquired during the period of the European land grab for Africa and was held from 1912 to 1956. It included Cape Juby and the entire north coast of present-day Morocco, excluding Tangier. Sidi Ifni was ruled from 1860 to 1969, and the Spanish Sahara from 1884 to 1976. African colonial rule was marked by tension and viewed as a financial and military drain on Spain: "Spain had been granted the protectorate over a barren strip inhabited by restive tribes, that led to the establishment of a dictatorship" (Carr, 2000: 235-236). The North of Africa (with the exception of Ceuta, Melilla and the before mentioned rock islands), Cape Juby, and Ifni were given to Morocco in the aftermath of Morocco's independence in 1956. In 1975, the Spanish Sahara was relinquished to Morocco and Mauritania, who both claimed the territory. This was after increasing pressure from these

countries, including the Green March staged by Morocco and an independence referendum movement by the local population of the Spanish Sahara, the Saharawis, accompanied by pressure from their militant liberation arm, Polisario (Bowen and Álvarez, 2007: 135). The area is now known as Western Sahara and remains under dispute by Algeria, Morocco and Polisario after its forcible annexation by Morocco.

In addition to Northern Africa, Spain had a small territory in the middle of Africa. Equatorial Guinea was colonized by Portugal in 1474, and ceded to Spain in 1778. It was called Spanish Guinea and consisted of the principal island of Fernando Pó (current day Bioko), Annobón and the mainland Rio Muni. Spanish Guinea was developed into a plantation colony in the 1850s, primarily for cocoa and coffee plantations. Slaves were introduced with limited success due to tropical disease and migrant labor was in constant demand. However, migrant laborers worked commonly worked under slave-type working conditions (Sundiata, 1996: 180). In 1968 the country was granted independence. Spanish continues to be used as the official language and the dominant religion is Catholicism. Since the 1970s it has faced political unrest and economic inequalities set in place by its current dictator

Spain's colonial empire in the Americas and Asian Pacific spanned from 1492 to 1898. Colonization began in the Americas following Columbus's arrival to the Caribbean in 1492. By 1600, Spain had control over the regions known today as Florida, most of Mexico and Central America and parts of South America from Venezuela to Argentina, as well as the Philippines. Control over the American territories ebbed and flowed over the centuries with a point of maximum expansion in 1580, when Portugal and its colonies came under Spanish rule.

A partial list of present day countries once colonized by Spain includes the Caribbean islands of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica and Puerto Rico; the previously Aztec empire of Mexico; the Inca empire which included Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, and Ecuador as well as Venezuela, Paraguay and Uruguay; the Central American countries of Belize, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama; large parts of the United States and

forays into Canada. In the Asian Pacific, Spain colonized the Philippines and the Federated States of Micronesia, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands and Palau. The Asian Pacific countries Cuba and Puerto Rico were among the last colonial territories that Spain possessed. After 1898, when these were passed on to the US and Germany, the Spanish empire consisted only of its holdings in Africa (Louis, 2006: 37).

During the colonial era, the Spanish, in the role of dominant culture, absorbed the natural resources of their colonies while imposing their values on the indigenous people. The goals of spreading religion and providing financial riches for Spanish backers proved to be incompatible. When the Indian population was unable to sustain labor needs, African slaves were imported. Conversion practices and notions of heritage and blood lineage led to a caste system hierarchy that differed greatly from treatment of the Moors and Jews in peninsular Spain.

The Spaniards made enthusiastic efforts to convert the "native savages" of the Americas and the Asian Pacific to the Catholic religion. "The effective colonizers were not the Spanish sea captains and conquistadors but the friars and monks who built churches and created parishes and schools" (Louis, 2006: 37). Emigration was controlled and restricted from the very beginning by the Spanish Crown. Jews, converts, Muslims, Romani, and those declared guilty by the Inquisition were prohibited from entering the Indies (Márquez Macias citing Richard Konetzke, 1995: 22). Testaments of Spanish influence are evidenced by the predominance of Catholicism in the Americas, the Philippines and Equatorial Guinea today and the continued widespread use of Castilian Spanish in many of these countries.

Historian María Elena Martínez draws attention to the changing motivations for colonial use.

> [W]hen Spain invaded the Americas, it was not an industrial power seeking raw materials and markets for its manufactured goods. Its expansion west was initially propelled by the search for gold (increasingly important as a medium of exchange in international commerce), and its economic project came to be based primarily on the exploitation of mineral wealth and on state-controlled systems of extracting labor and tribute from native populations that had few parallels (Martínez, 2008: 15).

Martínez continues, "The extent to which religion played a role in justifying expansion and colonial rule was another aspect of the early modern Spanish colonial project that distinguished it from modern ones" (*ibid.*: 16).

Under the *encomienda* system, landowners were responsible for the well-being of local Indians and were required to teach them the Castilian language and religion. In exchange they retained the right to use the Indians for labor. Nevertheless, contradictions existed in Spain's religious intentions in the colonies when faced with the desire for mineral wealth and labor. The desire for cheap dispensable labor soon overrode conversion desires and led to unchristian-like treatment and slave like conditions. Mistreatment of the Indians in the colonies was a polemic issue in Spain during the early centuries of colonization.

> [Existía] una incompatibilidad fundamental entre el deseo de la corona de proteger a los indios y el de incrementar sus ingresos en las Indias. La corona estaba interesada en proteger la llamada "república de los indios", amenazada por las depredaciones de colonos sin escrúpulos que sacaban ventaja de la inocencia de los indios y de su ignorancia de los métodos europeos. Por otra parte, la perenne escasez de dinero de la corona naturalmente la condujo a aumentar al máximo sus ingresos de las Indias por cualquier medio a su alcance. El grueso de aquellas rentas se derivaba directamente de los indios en forma de tributo, o indirectamente en forma de trabajo que producía bienes y servicios que dejaban un dividendo […] (León Portilla et al, 1984: 205)

As local Indian populations were insufficient to provide needed labor, and due to a backlash at treatment of Indian laborers, slave importation was chosen as a solution. The use of slaves or slave-type labor existed for the duration of the Spanish colonial empire. "El primer embarque de negros ladinos (de habla española) llegó a la isla en 1505…" (*ibid.*: 122). Between 1519 and 1867, it is estimated that the Spanish imported over 1.2 million Africans for use in the colonies and mainland (Francis, 2006: 968). In 1560, Seville had a black slave population of nearly 6,000 (León Portilla et al, 1984: 122). In the later years of the Spanish Empire, Spain was one of the last colonial powers that continued to use slaves for sugar production on the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Slavery was

banned in mainland Spain and the majority of the colonies in 1811 and ended in Cuba in 1886.

Religious converts to Catholicism, both among the indigenous and slave populations were given different treatment in the colonies than in peninsular Spain. While Moors and Jews in peninsular Spain were considered tainted by impure blood regardless of conversion, this was not the case for treatment of the indigenous Americans, South Asians and the African population. This can be attributed to the need for labor and the perception of the Indian as assimilable.

> El amerindio, por su condición de sujeto diferente, es asimilable y en potencia súbdito de las prácticas hegemónicas; el moro y el judío no tienen acceso a este sistema e valores culturales y por lo tanto quedan excluidos y representados como el Otro. La alteridad en este contexto es más bien un marco específico determinado para entender, percibir e interiorizar la diferencia en la manera en que nos proporciona una representación del sujeto diferente como un ser todavía ajeno, pero potencialmente propio (Domínguez García, 2008: 140).

However this did not mean that Spain viewed Indian converts as equals to themselves. During the first two centuries of colonization there existed an ideological contradiction in which the Christian doctrine pushed baptism and the equality of all Christians while existing policies favored hierarchy and different treatment of Christians based on race (Martínez, 2008: 16). This positioning was based on a circular superiority mode of thinking, "los españoles conquistaron a los indígenas porque eran superiores, y eran superiores porque conquistaron a los indígenas" (Restall, 2003: 190).

The controversy raised by the Inquisition on the concept of "limpieza de sangre" took on a different direction in the colonies. "[I]n Spanish America, the notion of purity gradually came to be equated with Spanish ancestry, with "Spanishness"" (Martínéz, 2008: 2). A racial hierarchy system was created with Spaniards born in Spain at the top, followed by Spaniards born in the new territories (Criollos), followed by mixed heritage Spanish-Indians (Mestizos) and lastly Indians and Africans.

The Amerindian was never accepted as an equal nor liberated from Other status. In fact, the liberation from rules possible in the Americas was considered a threat:

> El descubrimiento de América delinea en el plano simbólico su transformación en locus utópico. América es el lugar donde todo es posible y, por eso mismo, es el lugar donde la amenaza del Otro se presenta en toda su complejidad. Porque la posibilidad de una libertad ilimitada lleva consigo la posibilidad de transgresión ilimitada: la misma suspensión de las leyes del orden natural y social que caracterizan la figura de América como objeto del deseo la convierte en el lugar privilegiado de la alteridad. La figuración del deseo – el locus utópico – es inseperable de la figuración del horror – el Otro (Pastor, 1999: 79).

Ironically, the hierarchy of Christians based on blood and birth location did not impede continual intermarrying and the creation of an ever-greater ethnically mixed population comprised of Spaniards, Indians and Africans. An example from Peru's demographics illustrates this point. In 1620 it is estimated that the native Indian Peruvian population numbered around 600,000, having fallen from 9 million due to European contact (Cook, 1981: 114). By 1791 the population census recorded 40,000 blacks, 135,000 whites and 1,075,000 Indians, mestizos (Indian and white) and mulattoes (Franklin and Moss, 1947: 59).

Use of hierarchies, created a Spanish colonial system that was "authoritarian, legalistic, and paternalistic" (Louis, 2006: 37). Both in the Caribbean, the Americas and in Africa, policies of discrimination continued to be applied up to the end of colonial possession and beyond into the era of independence (*ibid.*). In the Americas, as mixed populations increased, governance was extended only to Spaniards born on the Iberian Peninsula. "Tension between the two groups, peninsulars and Creoles, and with plebeians of color besides, ultimately fueled the riots and independence movements" (Francis, 2006: 17). This was also the case for Equatorial Guinea.

> Discrimination against slaves and free people of color was not simply a question of political necessity (from the metropolitan point of view); it was rooted deeply in Spanish governance of colonial societies under the old regime and the blend of right and handicaps with which slaves and freedmen lived in the New World (Schmidt Nowara, 2008: 21).

4.1.2 Emigration

Until relatively recently, Spain has been associated with high rates of emigration similar to such countries as Italy, Greece, and Portugal. Spanish emigration has passed through numerous phases dating from colonial times to the present. Common destinations have been the Americas, Europe and Northern Africa.

Beginning with the discovery of the Canary Islands and West Indies, Spaniards emigrated as part of assigned military or government posts, for business investments, and to seek better circumstances and fortune. Peter Boyd-Bowman estimates that 200,000 Spaniards came to the overseas empire in the 16th century (Sánchez Albornoz, 2006: 59). This number rose to 450,000 by the middle of the 17th century according to Magnus Morner (Llordén Miñambres, 1992: 9). As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the Spanish crown strictly controlled emigration. "[Sin embargo] no consiguió impedir que judíos, forasteros, mujeres sueltas y reos circularon ocasionalmente por el Nuevo Mundo" (Sánchez Albornoz, 2006: 60).

Large scale emigration movements took place towards the end of the 19th century as the Spanish colonial empire in the Americas and East Indies came to an end. This period was marked by an economic crisis in Spain as loss of the colonies also meant loss of its source of metal to forge coins, its cheap mainstay of goods for national consumption such as coffee, coco, sugar, tobacco and cotton, the revenue produced from reexporting these products to Europe, and the loss of Spain's major market for Spanish products (Suárez Fernández, 1981: 90). From the 1880s to 1930s more than 4.6 million Spaniards emigrated (Llordén Miñambres, 1992: 11). Of this total, the majority left for the Americas, mainly to Argentina, Cuba, and Brazil; while Uruguay, the United States and Mexico also became popular destinations. Argentina received the bulk of migrants, with Argentine sources citing the arrival of 1.6 million Spaniards between 1881 and 1920. Cuba received the second largest quantity of migrants, many originating from the Canary Islands (*ibid.*: 12-13). "A Cuba fueron por cierto más emigrantes españoles después de 1898 que cuando ondeaba en la isla la enseña de la metrópoli" (Sánchez Albornoz, 2006: 72).

Others went to Algeria and Morocco in Northern Africa during the years of the French colonization. In 1882, there were 114,000 Spaniards in Algeria with an annual 20,000 Spaniards migrating and returning each year until 1914 for seasonal work (Nicolau, 1989: 92). With the start of World War I, emigrations came to a halt. During the Spanish civil war, from 1936 to 1940, around 500,000 Spaniards fled to France and 15,000 to Algeria, a French territory at the time. Many of these exiles later returned to Spain soon after the end of the war. A small number went to the Americas, primarily to Mexico.

Beginning in the 1960s the Spanish economy underwent a radical change. The country shifted from an agricultural to industrial economy, provoking mass migration from the country to the city between 1960 and 1975. The government, with planning help by the International Monetary Fund, put into practice the Stabilization Plan. This program opened up the economy to foreign investment and expanded the tourist industry. These changes were accompanied by a great swell of emigration to Europe. Around two million Spaniards went to work in Germany, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands and the UK until the international economic crisis of 1974 (Harrison and Corkill, 1988: 36). Most of the positions offered were for unskilled labor in factories, the service industry, and agriculture. Remittances sent home by emigrants were fundamental for the growth of the Spanish economy at this time. In 1963, four years after the Stabilization Plan was implemented, tourism brought in $919 million a year while emigrants sending money home brought in $5,000 million (Balfour, 2000: 269).

By the 1970s, Spanish emigration was in decline. Emigration fell from 100,000 per year to 25,000 emigrants per year by 1975, and was down to 10,000 per year in 1991 (Actis, Pereda and de Prada, 2002: 12). Similarly, there was a high return rate of emigrants, estimated at between 650,000 (*ibid.*) and nearly 1 million (Harrison and Corkill, 1988: 36). Nevertheless the number of emigrants living abroad still remained high with a total of 2.1 million emigrants in 1996, 37% living in Europe and 60% in the Americas (*ibid*.).

Spain continues to have a large emigrant population in the Americas, including Canary Islanders who live in the United States, Cuba, and Venezuela (Levinson,

1998: 82). In 2001 it was estimated that 1,431,000 Spaniards resided in countries other than Spain. This was similar to the number of immigrants living in Spain during the same year. Nearly one half of Spanish emigrants lived in Europe and the other half in the Americas (Nicolau, 2005: 94).

As of January 2011, this number has risen to 1.7 million Spaniards living outside of Spain (INE, 2011b: on line). The majority now live in the Americas (61.6%) followed by Europe (35.4%). The countries with the most Spanish emigrants are Argentina (345,866), France (189,909), Venezuela (173,456), Germany (108,469), Switzerland (93,262) and Brazil (92,0260).

4.1.3 Immigration

Spain's political situation, economy, and social demographics have changed dramatically over the course of the last 40 years. These changes have provoked a reversal of migration patterns. Emigration has dwindled while immigration to Spain has increased quickly in a short space of time, growing from just over 1% of the population in 1996 to 12% in 2011. Government policies, media coverage and public opinion have mutually influenced each other in attempts to assimilate these changes. With the emergence of second and third generation children of migrant heritage, the country is becoming increasingly multicultural. Looking at acceptance and rejection of migrant ethnic cultures provides an opportunity to reflect on relationships influenced by Spain's colonial past.

Immigration Trends[4]

As the country emerged from Franco's dictatorship in the 1970s, emigration and immigration existed alongside each other. It wasn't until the 1980s that migration flows registered more immigration than emigration. There were two phases of light immigration: between 1962 to 1967 and 1980 to s1996 (Actis, Pereda and de Prada, 2002: 15). These phases coincided with new industrial development in Spain, attracting migrant workers mostly in construction and small industries and an even larger population of European retirees (*ibid.*: 16). The majority of migrants were wealthier citizens from Northern Europe and the United Kingdom in particular. In 1985, 72% of migrants were from European countries; in 1995 they made up 53% of the migrant population (*ibid.*: 18). Alarm over immigration, however, did not become a public concern until economic migrants from poorer countries began to arrive, drawn by the growing industrial and agricultural economic impulse of the booms of the 1980s and early 2000s. During the mid 1980s to 1998, immigration grew to 720,000. The two top migrant nationalities were foreigners originating from the United Kingdom and from Morocco, with each group representing nearly 14% of the total foreign population in 1991 (Ferrer Rodríguez and Urdiales Viedma, 2004: on line).

---

[4] The population figures used in this section are primarily based on data provided by the *Padrón Municipal* (Municipal Register). While no system exists to know the exact numbers of documented and undocumented immigrants in a population, the *Padrón* numbers have been viewed as the closest approximation to real numbers. This is due to government incentives provided by the state to encourage foreigners to register, such as the *Ley Orgánica* (4/2000), which linked health coverage and proof of presence in Spain for regularization processes with being counted in the municipal census – *empadronado*. During the current economic crisis new legislation has been introduced to reduce the benefits to undocumented migrants, including those that are *empadronado*. However, during the bulk of this study, the *Padrón* numbers have been key sources used by sociologist and anthropologists to determine population counts. An example of its effectiveness can be seen when comparing the numbers of migrants *empadronado* with migrants who have obtained legal identification cards, *número de identidad de extranjero* (NIE); On January 1, 2005 there were 3,730,610 foreigners *empadronados* in Spain as compared to 1,977,291 NIE foreigner cards issued (Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 2007: 41). While Padrón numbers provide a closer approximation, these numbers do not reflect with total accuracy the number of immigrants. Varous factors which affect these numbers are EU community and extra community immigrants who have not *empadronado*, immigrants that have *empadronado* in multiple cities, and others that have left the country or died and have not been uninscribed in the statistics.

The mid 1990s marked the beginning of a third phase of immigration growth leading to Spain's conversion into a country of immigration in the 2000s (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de trabajo y asuntos sociales, 2007: 39). Even so, in 1996 Spain's foreign-born population was one of the lowest in all of Europe at a little over 1% of the Spanish populace (Granados, 2001: 3). By 2000 there were one million migrants (Harrison and Corkill, 1988: 38). The 2001 Census indicated that foreign-born individuals had grown to represent 3.8% of the population, still one of the least populous immigration receiving countries in Europe, (Ferrer Rodríguez and Urdiales Viedma 2004: on line). From this year on, the immigration population increased rapidly. By 2006, the percentage of foreign born had jumped to 8% of the population (INE, 2006: on line). In 2007, the last official Census reported that this number had increased to 10%, 4.5 million out of the 44 million residents in Spain (INE, 2007: on line). The provisional numbers of the census for 2008 estimated that the foreign born population had grown to 12%, 5.2 million people (INE, 2008: on line).

As of July 2011, the Ministry of Employment and Immigration signaled a new migratory phase of decreased immigration (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de trabajo e inmigración, 2011b: on line). The international economic crisis and ensuing collapse of the Spanish property bubble combined to produce a recession beginning in late 2008. In 2010, this had led to a sharp slow down in immigration due to the loss of job offers in sectors previously demanding migrant labor such as construction and service industries. The provisional numbers for the census for January 1, 2011, showed that the foreign population numbers were very similar to those of 2008; of Spain's population of 47.1 million people, 5.7 million people are foreigners, 12.2% of the population, of which 2.4 million are EU member citizens (INE, 2011a: on line).

The majority of migrants have come from the European Community, North Africa and Latin America. In 2008 the top five countries of origin were Romania (701,065), Morocco (573,156), Ecuador (408,412), the United Kingdom (334,318) and Colombia (280,336). Three years later, in 2011, these same five nationalities make up the most populous foreign nationalities however Romanians, Moroccans

and the British have increased in population while Ecuadorians and Columbians have decreased: Romanians (864,278), Moroccans (769,920), British (390,880), Ecuadorians (359,076) and Columbians (271,773). Looked at from continental groups, the foreign population is made up of: European community members (41.7%), South Americans (24.8%), and Africans (18.8%) (INE, 2011a: on line).

Additionally, Spain has an increasing population of second and third generation children of migrant heritage. Children born to migrant parents do not automatically acquire citizenship at birth unless one of the parents is either Spanish or was born in Spain. Instead Spain follows a *jus sanguinis* form of citizenship, acquired through Spanish ancestry. Alternate methods for receiving citizenship are through legal residence in Spain for ten years. Exceptions to the ten-year wait period are made for the grandchildren of emigrants from the Civil War who can acquire citizenship after one year's residence in Spain and those with Sephardic Jewish ancestry who can do so after two years of residence. Additionally, a number of countries connected to Spain's previous colonial empire can request citizenship after two years; these include Latin Americans, Filipinos and those from Equatorial Guinea.

The combination of migrant heritage children and reduced wait periods for certain nationalities counterbalance Spain's decrease as an attractive destination for migration due to the crisis. Future predictions indicate that Spain will need a much larger migrant population to offset low natality rates. The Spanish population is predicted to reach negative growth by the year 2020. Studies by the INE predict that even with annual immigration flows of 400,000 a year, by 2049, those over 64 years old will make up 32% of the Spanish population. This means that for every 10 working age people, there will be 9 inactive people causing the dependency rate to increase from 47,8% to 89,6% (INE, 2010: on line).

Immigration Policy

Public policy has experienced periodic waves of acceptance and rejection of migrant flows. Much of Spain's immigration policy was initially dictated by its

1986 membership in the European Community, later to become the European Union, and by its participation in the Schengen Agreement in 1991. Various rounds of regularization have been performed as the economy required more labor than was being legally processed and illegal immigrant numbers increased. These increases have also led to the creation of more government departments dedicated to immigration.

In preparation for acceptance into the European Community, Spain developed its first immigration policy in 1985. This was the Ley Orgánica 7/1985, also known as the *Ley de Extranjería* (Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain). This law focused on immigration as a temporary event and was directed at policing foreigners already living in Spain and at limiting Spain being used as a gateway for migrants in transit to other European countries. This law would later be revised multiple times. The first was in 2000 with the *Ley Orgánica* 4/2000, (Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and their Integration). It was created to make up for deficiencies in the prior law and to address the changing importance of immigration in Spain's economy by focusing on integration and political and social rights. It was reformed shortly after with the *Ley Orgánica* 8/2000, which changed the direction of its focus from integration and equality of rights for both legal and illegal immigrants to migration controls and norms for the expulsion of illegal immigration.

Spain became a participant in the Schengen Agreement in 1991, which allows free movement of residents within the borders of participating European countries. At this time, Spain's border became Europe's border. Visa requirements were imposed for North Africans and barbed wire fences were installed around Ceuta in 1993 and Melilla in 1996. Countries not required to have tourist visas for visits up to 90 days included South American countries and those from the Caribbean. However due to overstaying of tourist visas, some countries such as Ecuador and Bolivia have had free visa status revoked in 2003 and 2007, respectively (Padilla and Peixoto, 2007: on line).

The government also processed various rounds of regularization and normalization processes to compensate for overly restrictive entry requirements in

relation to labor needs and ineffective renewal requirements that had led to immigrants becoming irregular again. These regularization processes were initiated by both dominant political parties, the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) and the *Partido Popular* (PP), with almost equal numbers of migrants normalized by both parties. These were in 1985 (23,000), 1991-1992 under the PSOE (108,321), 1996 under the PP (21,294), in 2000 by the PP (199,365) and an agreement with Quito (20,352) and in 2001 under the PP a "regularización por arraigo" (239,174) (El Mundo, 2005). In 2005 a much larger regularization was processed under the PSOE with 573,270 approved.

The inverse of this process was the 2009 Voluntary Repatriation Initiative, in which foreign nationals were encouraged to return to their home countries in exchange for payment of their accumulated social security earnings. However, as these foreign nationals would then not be allowed to return to Spain for three years, the initiative was accepted by very few. Additionally, as of July 2011, Spain has introduced work visa requirements for new Romanian citizens who want to work in Spain.

Various government institutions have been developed or adapted to deal with immigration. The Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs changed name in 2008 to the Ministry of Employment and Immigration to deal with migration policies, bureaucratic procedures and migrant integration. In 2011, due to decreases in immigration, this Ministry signaled an interest in placing its focus on the social cohesion of its diverse population (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de trabajo e inmigración, 2011b: on line).

The Ministry of the Interior in the policing of the *Ley Organica's* mandates has had to create new systems to control immigration. This has resulted in the implementation of the Integrated System of External Vigilance (SIVE) to detect and stop illegal maritime entries in the waters off the Strait of Gibraltar and Canary Islands with a budget of 150 million euros from 1999 to 2004 (Carling, 2007: on line). Additionally they have established Foreign Detention Centers, *Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros*, where undocumented foreigners are held for a maximum of 60 days while paperwork is prepared for their deportation or

legalization (Gobierno de España- Ministerio del Interior, n.d.: on line). If after this time they are not deported, such as in the case of migrants from countries without return agreements, they are set free with an expulsion order, placing the migrant in a state of legal illegality.

Migration in the Spanish Media

The Spanish media has actively reported on the advent of immigration in Spain, particularly as non-European migration has increased. Media coverage tends to treat migrants of European countries differently than those from traditionally lesser-developed countries. Additionally, migration is characterized in print and television news as a major phenomenon associated with problems and receives scarce coverage of the positive benefits of immigration.

Migrants tend to be grouped and identified as national or continental collectives in the Spanish media despite differences in nationality and cultural origins, varying differences in religion, age, education level and financial resources. The migrant is generally presented as an Other: either a "foreigner" from the First World or "immigrants" from the Third World. European migrants are favored. Antonlin Granados notes that, "A pesar de ser mayoría a lo largo de todo el periodo, los extranjeros procedentes de los países ricos [...] son 'invisibles' [...y] los extranjeros procedentes de países pobres se hacen perfectamente 'visibles'" (Granados, 1998: 52). He adds, "El inmigrante económico, a diferencia del extranjero, el turista, es percibido y 'noticiado' en la prensa como un cuerpo extraño y, a menudo, molesto y problemático" (Granados, 2001: 25).

The arrival of migrants in the early stages was presented as a mass phenomenon by the media through hyperbole and sensationalism of figures and statistics (*ibid.:* 10). Periodicals described the phenomenon with words like "avalancha", "desembarco", "invasión" and "oleadas" (Checa Olmos, 2002: 427). Although 80% of undocumented immigrants enter Spain legally then overstay student or tourist visas or come via transit from another country, it is perceived that the majority arrive brought by illegal gangs in small boats, *pateras*, that travel from Africa to

Europe carrying migrants, or smuggled under trucks such as is depicted on the news. (Zamora, 2001: on line; Granados, 2001: 14).

The media project an image of the migrant as a problem, highlighting the negative aspects of immigration while overlooking the benefits given. "Se trata, en definitiva, de titulares en los que se presenta al inmigrante con un estigma problemático o conflictivo y, en cualquier caso, siempre al margen de la ley o en situación de precariedad" (Granados, 2001: 15). Francisco Checa Olmos similarly states that "tanto los medios de comunicación como los partidos políticos ofrecen una imagen negativa y negativizada de la inmigración, centrada exclusivamente en sus aspectos económicos, como un flujo incontrolado de personas que provienen del Tercer Mundo" (Checa Olmos, 2002: 435).

Newspapers often present the migrant in unstable situations, conflictive, marginalized and supposedly connected with illegality and criminality (Granados, 2001: 25). Newspapers focus on clandestine arrivals, police reports and expulsions driven by the state. "Para los periodistas –y los políticos– resulta fácil unir el 'tráfico de hombres' y 'las pateras' con 'el hachís' y la droga, procedentes todos del norte de Marruecos" (*ibid.*: 429).

There is a propensity to link migrants with crime, the threat of and those actually committed. However, crime statistics do not reflect this notion when the crime of not having legal papers in order is taken out of consideration. Zamora reports that in 1997, 58.6% of arrests of migrants were due to lack of administrative documentation and not the more serious crimes like sexual assault, murder, homicide or injuries, which accounted for only 5.2% of the total. In 2003, a study showed that detentions of foreigners for penal situations had declined to 3% of municipally registered foreigners (Soto Navarro, 2005: 40).

Information on the negative aspects of immigration is amply covered in the press while there is a marked lack of positive information on migrants and their lives in general. In a study of the Spanish press in 1998, Granados says that:

> [N]o hay ni un sólo titular en ninguno de los cuatro periódicos en el que se noticie la presencia del inmigrante en España como algo positivo, no sólo desde el punto de vista económico, por su trabajo en tareas que españoles

rechazan, sino por su aportación al enriquecimiento de la cultura española (Granados, 1998: 304).

He repeats these findings in a study of the Andalusian press in 2001, noting that rarely are migrants presented with a focus on success stories or the benefits of immigration (Granados, 2001: 8-23).

Public Opinion

Migration flows, government policies, and media attention all serve to influence public opinion on immigration. The Spanish Center of Sociological Investigations (CIS) provides a monthly barometer to measure Spanish public opinion. Each month the CIS asks citizens what they perceive to be the top problems currently affecting Spanish society. In 1996, Spain's foreign-born population still remained one of the lowest in all of Europe at a little over 1% of the Spanish populace; however, concern over immigration was one of the top five preoccupations of the Spanish people (Granados, 2001: 3). This was the case despite a study of the same year showing that 66% of those interviewed had never had personal contact with an immigrant (*ibid*.). In large part this fear was a direct consequence of disproportionately heightened media coverage.

Immigration has maintained a place on this list, usually within the top 10 for the past 15 years. In 2000 it ranked seventh in importance with a punctuation of 6.3% (CIS, n.d.: on line). Concern over immigration reached its zenith in September 2006 when it was ranked as the number one concern with a punctuation of 59.2%. While continuing to remain one of the top five concerns since this time, it has progressively declined to become the fourth concern at 10% as of July 2011.

Results from the CIS study show that the number of migrants is continually perceived to be much higher than the statistical data, highlighting perception as a more important factor than reality. Responding to the question: "Of every 100 people living in Spain, how many do you think were born outside the country?", data from January 2005 showed that over 50% believed the Spanish population contained over 20% migrants, when the reality was 8.5% based on data from the

municipal census (*Padrón Municipal*) (Zapata Barrero, 2009: 1111). This was accompanied by the opinion that there were too many foreigners living in Spain.

> Es decir, se tiene la percepción de que viven en España más extranjeros de los que habitan en realidad y en base a esa falsa información se valora su número como excesivo. Lo reciente del fenómeno inmigratorio en España y la notable presencia que esta cuestión tiene en los medios de comunicación puede estar en la base de esta distorsión y de este juicio de la opinión pública." (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de trabajo y asuntos sociales, 2007: 95).

María Ángeles Cea D'Ancona and Miguel Valles Martínez from the Observatorio Español del Racismo y la Xenofobia (Oberaxe), repeated this same finding in their "Report on the Evolution of Racism and Xenophobia" of 2010 based on data from 2009. Their report revealed that the population believed there was a medium of 21.3% migrant population when in reality this number was closer to 12%, of which a large percentage were EU citizens (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de trabajo e inmigración, 2011a: on line).

While Spaniards generally held a negative and inflated notion of migrant population numbers, they exhibited an interest in inclusion and tolerance as well as the recognition of the cultural benefits of immigration. In a study of public opinion and public policies using data from 2006, Ricard Zapata Barrero found that "One of the first conclusions is the apparent ambivalence in Spanish public opinion, which shows a negative attitude in relation to levels of flows and border-related matters and a positive, tolerant opinion on matters related to inclusion and equal rights" (Zapata Barrero, 2009: 1114). He argues that immigration volume is not as important to negative public opinion towards immigration as is the growth rate of immigration (Zapata Barrero, 2009: 1114). Additionally he linked government policy to negative associations of immigration due to a perceived failing of the government to respond to citizen expectations. Cea D'Ancona and Valles Martínez detail a similar mixture of reactions towards immigration in 2009; on the one hand the Spanish population valued the cultural richness that immigration brings, however traditional images of the relation between immigration and crime remains

prevalent and there continues to exist the notion that there are too many immigrants in Spain (Cea D'Ancona and Valles Martínez, 2010: 359-360).

Key Migrant Relationships

Cea D'Ancona and Valles Martínez's study includes an analysis of reactions to the different migrant groups and their acceptance levels by the Spanish population in a classification of *filias* and *fobias* towards economic migrants. As was discussed in the chapter 1.2.6 *Analyzing Representation of Otherness*, *fobia* is associated with differentiation of the "Other" while *filia* is associated with acceptance as an equal, and in this case with assimilation and integration. Latin Americans led the list of those most valued, while Moroccans and Romanians were the groups most rejected. These two nationalities are often associated with criminality, delincuency and extreme violence. While European Union citizens often go unnoticed as part of the migrant population, Romanians are viewed differently and negatively associated with economic immigration (Cea D'Ancona and Valles Martínez, 2010: 337).

The results of this study bring to the foreground the historic relationships between two continental groups from which Spain currently receives economic immigration: those of North Africa and Latin America. Although colonial and historical relationships do not play an active role in the associations of Spaniards with these groups, they may exist on a subconscious level. In this case, modern stereotypes may be based on historical hierarchies set in place centuries ago. The lack of employment opportunities, poverty, or political upheaval that causes many groups to become migrants may also be judged to be as a sign of ethnic generated inferiority rather than part of cultural and historical constructions about these groups.

Moroccan migrants stand out as the most discriminated against population. There are many factors that contribute to this opinion. In the first place, the Moroccan population has been one of the largest migrant populations in Spain for the duration of Spain's immigrant receiving period. Growth of this population has been constant

throughout the years in comparison with other foreign born populations. Secondly, negative reactions to migrants are often tied to the cultural distance between the migrant and native population (Zapata Barrero, 2009: 1106). Muslim culture maintains distinctions with the identity of classical Spain in religion, language and writing style amongst others. Marginalization occurs due to the emphasis on the religious element of Muslim Morocans in comparison with the historically Catholic Spaniards (Fletcher, 2000: 63-64). A third element is the historical use of the vanquishing of the Moors as part of the base of a modern Spanish national identity.

The historic association with Al-Andalus continues to influence the treatment of this group today. Muslim Al-Andalus was the last great enemy of Spain in the time of the Catholic kings. This cultural inheritance manifests itself in the Spain of today, amongst other elements by the name of the patron saint of Spain: Santiago Matamoros – James the Muslim killer. He is portrayed frequently as triumphant over defeated Moors on patriotic local symbols: traditional regional festivals reenacting the conquest and defeat of the Muslims and even through the national consumption of cured ham, introduced in the past as a public test of religious piety to weed out false converts who maintained their Jewish or Muslim faith. The term "moro", used in the past to refer to the Muslims, has transitioned into a derogatory reference attributed to all Arab and Muslim individuals, Moroccans included.

Daniela Flesler and Adrián Pérez Melgosa highlight the connection between the historic associations of Moorish Muslims and the current immigration of Moroccans. In a study on traditional festivals of Moors and Christians, they detail the increased popularity of these festivals, linking this to the coastal development of the tourism industry (Flesler and Pérez Melgosa, 2003: 151).

> Over the last few years, these transformations have meant a double return to the Spanish national imaginary of the figure of the "Moor." On the one hand, representations of the medieval Moors have multiplied in the culture industry and in popular festivities such as the Festivals of Moors and Christians. On the other hand, the number of Moroccan immigrants in Spain has increased significantly over the last twenty years, constituting today the largest national group of foreigners. In the Spanish cultural imaginary, both of these "Moors" coexist in the same symbolic paradigm born out of centuries of confrontations and coexistence in the same territory. While the Festivals grow in their reenactment of local victories

over invading Moorish armies, the media report daily on the arrivals of the pateras loaded with new immigrants to the coasts of Southern Spain, collaborating in creating the belief that the country is being "invaded" by foreigners. Regarding the arrival of Moroccan immigrants, in particular, the perceptions spread through the media resonate with memories from past, real (military) invasions from North Africa" (*ibid.*).

These authors view discourses surrounding immigration as a reworking of binary bad versus good narratives of the Moor invading and the Christian world as invaded (Flesler and Pérez Melgosa, 2003: 152). This creates a trauma that threatens the "national fiction of a pure and uncontaminated 'Spanish' origin" leading to "the ritualization of the image of the Medieval Moor in the Festivals and the repeated collective acts of rejection against Moroccan immigrants" (*ibid.*: 153).

A final point of reflection is on the modern diplomatic relationships between Morocco and Spain. These remain friendly yet coexist with a history of conflict in the areas of territorial disputes, Spanish dependance on fishing rights in Moroccan waters and larger disputes on human rights abuses put forth by the European Union. Tensions have developed over Spain's territorial enclaves in North Africa and over the military confrontations of the past century. Currently Spain and Morocco cooperate in bilateral agreements on their shared problem of understanding and managing migrations from the African continent towards Europe, as well as security efforts in terrorism and drug smuggling. Morocco must deal with mounting immigration from Africa while Spain maintains control over the "gateway to Europe".

Latin Americans are rated as the most favored migrant group (Cea D'Ancona and Valles Martínez, 2010: 336). The cultural difference between Latin Americans and Spaniards is perceived to be low, which is not surprising based on the shared language, as well as cultural and religious affinities (*ibid.*). While historic colonial treatement placed Indians and mixed heritage Spanish-Indians heritage at lower status in the hierarchy of equality, migration patterns of the past century have served to bridge acceptance. During the twentieth century 4.1 million Spaniards emigrated to different countries of America (Zamora, 2001: on line). Groups such as the Argentines are often viewed as distant relatives due to the large numbers of

Spaniards who emigrated to Argentina. Despite affinities between the cultures, as migration by these groups increased, discrimination did also.

The direction of influence and emigration has traditionally been from Spain to Latin American countries. While migration to Spain from Latin American began in the 1980s, Europe has traditionally been a second migration destination choice after the United States, and numbers remained low until a rapid increase begun in the 2000s. Amongst the first wave of Latin Americans to emigrate to Spain in the 1980s were student and middle class professional Argentines and Chileans fleeing military and political persecution in their countries. These were followed by economically driven migrations. The majority of these found employment in domestic work, construction and agriculture (Sánchez Albornoz, 2006: 92). From 1998 to 2004 Ecuador faced an economic crisis that led to a large migration movement to the Americas and Spain. Many were attracted by the lack of visa requierements in order to enter Spain; this prompted a change in visa requirements for Ecuadorians in 2003. "Indeed, the majority of the first migrants in Spain were women who posed as tourists, often with the help of Ecuadorian travel agencies" (Jokisch, 2007: on line). Both Ecuadorian and Colombian migrant populations have decreased in Spain since the onset of the 2008 Spanish recession.

4.2 Spanish Migration in the Arts

As migration came to dominate the media and public opinion polls in the mid 1990s, Spanish artists took notice. Representation of migration filtered into various creative media: photography, literature, theater, film, music and contemporary art expositions. In large part, the same themes circulated in and generated by the Spanish media and political climate are recycled into the arts.

Art is a propagator and instigator of national ideas, a place where questions of identity and alterity are explored in national narratives. Spain's artistic works foment nationalist discourses as well as champion for solidarity with the migrant. Artistic representations document views and manners of acceptable behavior at specific historic times and geographical locations that have continued to evolve. The Spanish national heritage population creates most works dealing with

179

migration. Added to these are the emerging contributions of works by migrant heritage artists who have come to Spain. These may be made up of artists who recently immigrated to Spain, artists continually moving between two countries, artists who are long term residents integrated in Spain, as well as artists born in Spain of migrant origin.

Both academics and research groups have dedicated themselves to the study of this field. One such investigation group is "Imágenes de la inmigración: educación y convivencia intercultural" established by the University of Granada, Department of General Linguistics and Literature Theory. This group, formed in 2011 and dedicted to serving both migrant and national populations, observes and analyzes the media and arts for migrant images found in the news media, film and lirerarture. It takes as its aim to investigate the various actors involved in the construction, reproduction and subversion of media images, in the various contexts such as film and literature in which intercultural experiences and coexistence are represented (Imágenes de la inmigración, n.d.: on line).

This section briefly reviews contemporary artistic contributions centered on the theme of migrant and ethnic representation in the Spanish non-cinematic arts. While migration themes exist in all the art forms included in this section, academic studies on the inclusion of migrant and ethnic figures in the arts have primarily center on literature and cinema. Theater and television programs are represented to a lesser degree; however, academic studies in the fields of music and contemporary art expositions in relation to migration and ethnicity in Spain are scarce to non-existent. Therefore this section provides examples of art works for each area and information from the academic studies where available.

Spanish literature has a long trajectory of representing other cultures. Studies exist tracing back to the fifteenth century the poetic works of the *Romances fronterizos* between Moors and Christians (Carrasco Urgoiti 1956). Spanish literature continues to be invested in contemporary representations of migrant and ethnic characters. Academic studies on migration in literature stress author preoccupation with the negative side of migration felt by the host society and the repercussions faced by migrants. Marco Kunz in a study of twenty plus texts

produced before and during the early 2000s, "La inmigración en la literatura española contemporánea: un panoramica crítico" (2002), cites the authors Juan Goytisolo and Maria Vargos Llosa for their occupation with the theme. He additionally covers lesser known books and authors, such as *Aguas de cristal, costas del ébano* (1999) by Adolfo Hernández Lafuente; *Las voces del Estrecho* (2000) by Andrés Sorel; *Al Calor del Día* (2001) by Miguel Naveros; *Ramito de hierbabuena* (2001) by Gerardo Muñoz Lorente, *Gálvez en la frontera* (2001) by Jorge M Reverte and *La Gran Bruma* (2001) by Juan Pedro Aparicio. In these works Kunz found a tendency to replicate negative stereotypes.

> La adopción acrítica e indiferenciada o la reproducción semiconsciente de ideas estereotipada, negativas o positivas es uno de los defectos principales de la representación de la problemática inmigratoria actual en al literatura española contemporánea (Kunz, 2002: 113).

He describes an abundance of *pateras* and themes of the voyage, racism, xenophobia, marginalization and crime (*ibid.*: 127). He notes that the literature focuses primarily on migration from Northern Africa and in lesser measure sub-Saharan migration. Those from Asia are nonexistent and Latin Americans are not portrayed as migrants but instead as part of the mafia and involved in crime or as part of the artistic and exiled community (*ibid.*: 130-131). The authors writing about immigration are often unknown writers, journalists or NGO affiliatied writers speaking on immigration, apart from the previously mentioned authors such as Juan Goytisolo (*ibid.*: 131-132). Few examples are given of migrants who have succeeded. Kunz says, "Se busca casi en vano el extranjero como vecino, amigo o compañero del trabajo, y raras son las mujeres inmigradas como personajes literarios [y la] segunda generación [es] ausente en la literatura española" (Kunz, *ibid.*: 134).

Domingo Sánchez-Mesa Martínez in his text "Nadie sabe lo que piensa un fugitivo. Imágenes de la inmigración en la literatura reciente en español" (2008), adds to Kunz's work conclusions based on more recent novels published in the mid-2000s such as *Los príncipes nubios* (2003) by Juan Bonilla; *Las vidas ajenas*

(2005) and *Nunca pasa nada* (2007) by José Ovejero; and *Cosmofobia* (2007) by Lucía Etxebarría.

The Moroccan writer, Rachid Nini in *Diario de un illegal* (2002) is a representive example of the central themes of immigration in literature according to Sánchez Mesa.

> [El] racismo blando de los españoles y de los propios colectivos inmigrantes, la heterogeneidad de estos últimos, la débil frontera que los separa a veces de la indigencia o del crimen, los resortes de su memoria, el miedo a ser detenido, las dificultades para hacerse con una vivienda digna, la nostalgia por el regreso, las diferencias culturales en cuestiones de género sexual (Sánchez-Mesa, 2008: 22).

Additionally, he sees an evolution in the treatment of migrant characters that have begun to integrate in Spanish society:

> Empieza ya a haber intentos de integrar a los personajes inmigrantes y las realidades y experiencias fruto de la inmigración como un elemento más, central a veces, sí, pero uno más, en las tramas y ficciones que aspiran a "una escritura de calidad" y al mismo tiempo de éxito comercial. La intencionalidad de testimonio o crítica no domina en estas novelas sobre el propósito de escribir novelas relevantes para el lector español actual (*ibid.*: 12).

Maja Zovko analyzed nine texts dealing with immigration published between 1993 and 2007, in the article "La imagen del inmigrante en la novela española actual" (2009). She found reoccurring themes dealing with the preoccupation of obtaining legal immigration documents and the voyage and arrival in Spain (Zovko, 2009: 165). The life of migrants once in Spain was generally depicted as far from the idyllic image they had imagined, creating a sense of loneliness and nostalgia (*ibid.*: 167).

> La vida en España, para la mayoría de los protagonistas, no ha cumplido con el deseado porvenir. Lo que antes se presentaba como la Tierra Prometida se convierte en las cárceles y los naufragios interiores de los personajes, cuyas vidas terminan, en ocasiones, en auténticas tragedias" (*ibid.*: 169).

She also comments on the connection between portrayals by the media and the type of migrant characters created. Migrants are often cast as either victims or involved in crime. Often they are shown to be poor, without studies and from the lower class.

> Los autores españoles y extranjeros afincados en España intentan reflejar, con más o menos conocimientos y documentación, el microcosmos creado alrededor de la vida de un inmigrante y adentrarse en su mundo interior para poder ofrecer al lector otra mirada de una realidad que está modificando la configuración socio-cultural en España y la cual estamos acostumbrados a observar desde el tamiz de los medios de comunicación, cifras estadísticas o planes del Gobierno, sin tener en cuenta la vida escondida detrás de cada de estas informaciones (*ibid.*: 171).

On par with literature, theater has also taken up the problematic of migration in Spain. "[T]heater in Spain has functioned, often to the despair of the authorities, as a marginal space, a place for questioning boundaries that might have once been sacred" (Delgado, 2003: 15). Many of the same themes present in Spanish literature on Other identities exist in Spanish theater. Since the 1990s there has been an increasing number of plays using immigration driven plots. Most of these were initially written and created by Spaniards, for example: *La orilla rica* (1992) by Encarna de las Heras; *La mirada del hombre oscuro* (1992) by Ignacio del Moral (1992) and *Bazar* (1997) by David Planell. Migrant playwrights living in Spain, mostly from Latin America, have also produced a small but growing number of works (Guimarães de Andrade, 2008: 8). These include the Chilean Fernando Aguilera with *Los Inmigrantes* (1996), the Argentinian Diana Raznovich with *Effectos Personales* (2002), the Brazilian Rita Siriaka with *La Niña Invisible* (2004), or the Brazilian Carla Guimarães in international collaboration with José Macías, Sophie Baron y Santiago Roncagliolo with *Carne de cañón* (2004) (*ibid.*).

The playwright Carla Guimarães de Andrade in her thesis *El motivo de la inmigración en el teatro español 1996-2006* (2008) adds to this list her investigations on *Rey negro* (1997) Ignacio del Moral; *Bazar* (1997) David Planell; *La mujer invisible* (2002) L'OM Imprevis; *Tentación* (2004) Carles Battle; *Animales nocturnos* (2003) Juan Mayorga; *Forasteros* (2004) Sergi Belbel;

Maldita cocina (2004) Fermín Cabal and Amanda Rodríquez; and *El Privilegio de ser perro* (2005) Juan Diego Botto and Roberto Cossa, all created by Spaniards with the exception of the last work by the Spanish-Argentine Juan Diego Botto and the Argentine Roberto Cossa. She defines this type of theater as *teatro comprometido*, or theater that feeds from and is critical of current affairs and societal conflicts happening contemporary to the production of a play (*ibid.*: 55). She explains that works are often written for, the need to "comprender, explicar e incluso cambiar algún aspecto de la sociedad refuerza la flexibilidad y movilidad que caracterizan a la Edad Contemporánea" (*ibid.*: 56).

Similar to studies on migration in Spanish literature, Guimarães de Andrade concludes that while contemporary situations inspire many of these works, there is a tendency to represent mostly Africans, migrants idealizing the new promised land who are met with a reality that disillusions, and the common theme of desire for legal papers (*ibid.*: 229-236). She notes that it is surprising that the majority of the works opt for immigrant protagonists as well their similar social critical messages. The works provoke a reflection on what immigration entails for both the immigrant and the host society. "A pesar de que los autores analizados sean españoles y sean parte de la sociedad de acogida, en todas las obras hay una crítica clara a esta sociedad" (*ibid.*: 232).

She also highlights that:

> Casi todos los autores presentan al inmigrante de la manera más humana y digna, por lo que resulta más próximo al espectador, pues siempre buscamos vernos identificados con ideales nobles. Incluso sus errores, sus miedos y sus fallos son cercanos al público, pues son humanos y explicables (*ibid.*: 208).

Television is perhaps the fiction art form that reaches the most Spanish audience. Migration is represented in television series such as the comedies *Aida* (2005-present), *Siete vidas* (1999-2006), *Los Serrano* (2003-2008), tragicomedies such as *Física o Química* (2008-2011) and *Pelotas* (2009-2010), as well as dramas like *Hospital Central* (2000-present) and *El Comisario* (1999-2009). In addition, programs made for television that deal with themes of migration have been

produced such as *Vientos de agua* (2006), which dealt with emigration from Spain to Argentina, or *Las hijas de Mohamed* (2004) which revolved around a family of Moroccans in Spain and a Spanish doctor. Programs like *Aida* or *Hospital Central* on any given night may have an audience of up to three million spectators. In peak seasons this can rise to five million; as was the case for *Aida* in 2007 (Formula TV 2007) or *Hospital Central* in 2005 (Formula TV 2005).

While the majority of series use migrants in sporadic episodes, a few series have developed ongoing roles. One such is the series *Aida,* which developed a migrant character in a secondary role: the Latin American immigrant, Oswaldo Wenceslao Huitalcoche, otherwise known as "Machupichu", who is counterpositioned with a racist boss. Another series, *Pelotas,* developed the role of the Korean Kim Ki Yong, a new soccer player for the neighborhood Union Football club, who dates the daughter of the xenophobic soccer club president. *Hospital Central* has also had various migrant doctors who are protagonist characters: Argentine doctors Cecilia Schuman and Hector Bejar, and Ecuadorian Resident Doctor Waldo Jaramillo.

The investigation group *Unitat d'Investigació en Comunicació Audiovisual* at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, studied television series of the major Spanish channels (TV1, Antena 3, Tele 5) during 2002 to 2003 in a study titled "La imagen pública de la inmigración en las series de televisión españolas" (2006). This study identified incidence of migrant characters in the program, analyzed character descriptions and detected narrative structures in fiction themes. Their resultes showed that the series *Un paso adelante* and *El comisario* contained the most migrant representations, there was a predominance of Latin American origin characters, few Sub-Saharan Africans, only one Moroccan and no Chinese representations. Characters tended to be devious, seductive and / or extroverted (Ruiz Collantes et al, 2006: 96). Amongst their conclusions they found that migrants:

> […] aparecen como personajes marginales y eventuales. Este factor proyecta la imagen de una realidad social en la que los personajes con origen en otros países poseen una posición periférica y no están integrados de una manera estable dentro de la vida social del país. Además teniendo en cuenta que los protagonistas estables de las series son aquellos con los que

espectador tiende a identificarse, la ausencia de protagonismo de los inmigrantes en la ficción televisiva podría considerarse un síntoma de la dificultad de identificación del espectador español con el inmigrante y, a la vez, supone una ausencia de voluntad por parte de los productores y guionistas de ir formando al espectador en este tipo de identificación con la figura de " el otro", de aquella persona que proviene de otro país y otra cultura (*ibid.*: 103)

In a different study, "La representación de los inmigrantes en la ficción televisiva en España" (2006), Elena Galán Fajardo analyzed the Tele 5 series *El Comisario* and *Hospital Central* between the years 1998 to 2005. Her results showed a negative connotation associated with immigration, based on repeating the frequent stereotypes produced by the news media (Galán Fajardo, 2006: 8).

Her study revealed that Latin Americans were the most frequent migrant group represented, followed at a long distance by Eastern Europeans and Africans and in very small numbers, Asians. Two migrant characters were protagonists while the grand majority were one-time episode characters. Galán Fajado says migrant characters tend to be used to introduce themes such as crime and drugs without going deeper into their personalities or motivations. Episode characters were associated with past dictatorships, marriages of convenience, sects, drugs, mafia, prostitution murder, sexual relations with their employers, children required by their familes to beg, arranged marriages, racist attacks, and lack of trust in western medicine (*ibid.*: 6). Almost half were associated with illegal immigration (*ibid.*:7). While the author notes that the two series show both Spaniards and migrants in crimes, she points out that Spaniards are balanced by positive representations and situations while migrants are not given the same balanced representation. (*ibid.*: 8). Of the two migrant protagonist characters, Galán Fajardo says:

> Únicamente aparecen dos personajes argentinos como protagonistas y caracterizados como trabajadores, con un contrato legal y en una profesión que exige título superior –licenciado en medicina–. Es entonces cuando el perfil de inmigrante se diluye y da paso a otro profesional y personal, con los mismos deberes y derechos que el resto de sus compañeros, presentando una serie de conflictos que tendrán que ir solucionando a lo largo de los capítulos –normalmente repercusiones o consecuencias derivadas de su país de origen (*ibid.*: 7).

Moving to Spanish contemporary art, similar to theater, expositions tend to be less visited by the general public and instead supported by a narrower crowd of followers. In turn, they are able to address and explore fringe areas of society more deeply in less commercially viable formats. There is a juxtaposition of exhibits by both migrant heritage artists and national heritage artists reflecting on migration and ethnic representation. Looking at a few of the larger productions in the past few years, it is clear that immigration is part of the social consciousness of contemporary art. One example created by a collective group of migrants in Spain can be found in the on-line catalogue, *Entre Dos Orillas,* created to draw attention to migrant artists in Spain. The catalogue, produced in 2006 and continually updated, showcases more than 100 artists in the fields of painting, music, literature, dance, films, media art and more. Other national heritage artists can be seen reflecting on immigration in expositions such as *Transimmigration and Borders*, produced by 12 artists at the Centro de Historia de Zaragoza in 2006, which reflected on the positive effects of immigration on Spanish society. Another example is provided by twenty young artists who presented their work in 2008 at the IX Bienal Guerricabeitia held at the Museum of Valencia with the theme *Immigration – Emigration.*

More polemically, the internationally recognized Spanish national heritage artist Santiago Sierra presented art addressing the politics of race in the recent 2009 showing *Los penetrados*. In this work, he created a video and photo installation with all the possible anal penetrations possible between a group of black and white men and women. His work combines two of his preoccupations: that of immigration and race. The author in an interview says about his work:

> La tradicional paranoia de los blancos hacia los negros o de los europeos con los africanos tiene que ver con un fuerte pánico pues pensamos que tarde o temprano habrán de cobrarse justicia por nuestras codiciosas canalladas pasadas y presentes. Pero esa paranoia blanca también tiene que ver con el tamaño de la polla o con el miedo a una sexualidad que nos rebaje, con que enamoren a nuestras hembras y a nuestros machos más que con que nos quiten el trabajo; el trabajo sólo lo quita el patrón. Las reflexiones políticas y las actuaciones que de ellas se derivan son algo más primario de lo que comúnmente se cree. Los comportamientos de identidad racial son muy animales porque somos animales (Lafont, 2009: on line).

The work by national heritage contemporary artists is permitted and challenged to explore social themes in polemic fashion. In other mediums such as music, themes on immigraion tend to be more moderately expressed in commercial works. Music created by national heritage musicians and migrant heritage musicians both address migration and serve as mutual influences.

Music by national heritage musicians highlights the concern with dangerous arrivals and focuses on illegal immigration often in a solidarity fashion. Example songs include the popular social themed singers, Manu Chao and Chambao (Table 4.1 *Migrant Themed Songs by Chambao and Manu Chao*). Other examples include "Viento", also by Manu Chao and "El confort no reconforta", by Ojos de Brujo.

4.1 Migrant Themed Songs by Chambao and Manu Chao

Papeles Mojados *Con otro aire* (2007) – Chambao	*Clandestino* *Clandestino* (1998) - Manu Chao
Miles de sombras cada noche trae la marea, Navegan cargaos de ilusiones que en la orilla se quedan. Historias del día a día, historias de buena gente. Se juegan la vida cansaos, con hambre y un frío que pela. Ahogan sus penas con una candela, ponte tu en su lugar, El miedo que en sus ojos reflejan, la mar se echó a llorar. Muchos no llegan, se hunden sus sueños, papeles mojaos, papeles sin dueño. (repite) Frágiles recuerdos a la deriva desgarran el alma, Cala hasta los huesos el agua los arrastra sin esperanza. La impotencia en su garganta con sabor a sal, Una bocanada de aire le daba otra oportunidad. Tanta injusticia me desespera, ponte tu en su lugar, El miedo que en sus ojos reflejan, la mar se echó a llorar. (repite) Muchos no llegan, se hunden sus sueños, papeles mojaos, papeles sin dueño. (repite)	Solo voy con mi pena sola va mi condena Correr es mi destino para burlar la ley Perdido en el corazón de la grande Babylon Me dicen el clandestino por no llevar papel Pa una ciudad del norte yo me fui a trabajar Mi vida la deje entre Ceuta y Gibraltar Soy una raya en el mar fantasma en la ciudad Mi vida va prohibida dice la autoridad Solo voy con mi pena Sola va mi condena Correr es mi destino por no llevar papel Perdido en el corazón de la grande Babylon Me dicen el clandestino yo soy el quiebra ley Mano negra clandestina Peruano clandestino Africano clandestino Marihuana ilegal … Argelino clandestino Nigeriano clandestino Boliviano clandestino Mano negra illegal

Migrant heritage artists come from Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Europe [5]. A few include the Argentine Coti; the Congo born rapper Frank T; the Barcelona group Che Sudaka, a band made up of musicians from South America; and the

---

[5] For a more extensive list of migrant heritage musicians and music groups see Caravaca (2011).

argentine rapper L.E. Flaco (Caravaca 2011). While some of these artists use themes of migration in their works, for example Coti with *El inmigrante* and Frank T with *La nueva España,* the greater impact of these artists is in providing new influences to the Spanish music scene. In particular Latin music, associated with salsa, merengue, bachata, reggaetón and vallenato, can be found in dance venues and radio stations throughout Spain (Llano Camacho, 2008: 18).

> "En Barcelona, la música latina ha cobrado una enorme importancia en la vida cultural local especialmente desde el año 2000. La llegada de personas procedentes de Latinoamérica y la internacionalización de la salsa, no sólo han transformado la ciudad a nivel sonoro, cultural y social, sino que han propiciado la expansión de un campo alrededor de la música latina. En la popularización de esta música ha jugado un papel central la trascendencia que tiene el baile entre los latinoamericanos, así como el auge del baile salsoso entre la población no latina, aunque cada grupo pueda asumir el baile de manera diferente" (*ibid.*: 12).

The diverse array of migrant musicians in Spain prompted TVE to create a reality television program in 2008 that used musical migrants as protagonists. The program "Hijos de Babel" was aired initially on TVE 1 then on TVE 2. It was an "Operación Triunfo" styled competition between singers with contestants originally from foreign countries. Each week contestants from Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Indonesia, Togo, Rumania, Siria and Venezuela competed through musical performances to maintain a place on the program. Casting for the program boasted 4,000 aspiring participants (Quijano, 2007: on line). The winner signed a music contract and the other top finalists were able to propose a solidarity project in their country of origin. The aim of the project was to discover migrant musicians present in Spain as well as to promote integration through profiles the each singer's country. Though not a commercial success, the program was high in solidarity scope.

4.3 Spanish Migration Film History and Major Themes

Alongside the other Spanish arts, Spanish film has a long history of representing Other figures on the screen. This section is divided into three subsections. *Spain: Film Industry* provides a panoramic understanding of production, distribution,

exhibition, audience and an synopsis of the Spanish Goya awards system. *Spain: Migration in Cinema*, looks more specifically and deeply at the historical evolution of migrant and ethnic representations and the signature film studies occupied with this theme. The last subsection, *Spanish Example Films*, gives a summary of the most widely academically discussed full-length fiction films treating immigration.

4.3.1 Spain: Film Industry

This section provides an overview of the Spanish film industry. Subsections focus on the areas of production, audience, financing, distribution, exhibition, and the national awards body. It addresses contemporary national trends, and factors governing audience such as the Miró law, the monopoly of Hollywood films in distribution and exhibition, the second life of films through the television and video markets. Special attention is drawn to the role of the National Film Institute and the Spanish Goya awards, from which this investigation takes its base of films for analysis.

Production

During the past 40 year period, Spain has produced an average of 97 films per year, taking into account both Spanish financed and co-production financed films. The following chart shows production levels per year (Table 4.2 *Number of Films Produced 1970-2010*). The data demonstrates high rates of production from 1970 to 1983, followed by low production from 1984 to 1999, with a return to high production from 2000 to 2010. In 2010, Spanish film production achieved an all time high with 200 films produced. During the film years of this investigation (2003-2010), the average was 165 films per year.

Table 4.2 Number of Films Produced 1970 – 2010

Year	Films		Year	Films		Year	Films
1970	107		1984	75		1997	80
1971	151		1985	77		1998	65
1972	104		1986	60		1999	82
1973	118		1987	69		2000	98
1974	112		1988	63		2001	106
1975	110		1989	48		2002	137
1976	108		1990	47		2003	110
1977	102		1991	64		2004	133
1978	107		1992	52		2005	142
1979	89		1992	52		2006	150
1980	118		1993	56		2007	172
1981	137		1994	44		2008	173
1982	146		1995	59		2009	186
1983	99		1996	91		2010	200

(Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales, 2010: on line)

Film themes produced during the past 40 years are wide ranging, but do follow certain historical trends. During the Franco dictatorship, the government and church decided what national films would be screened. All films were subject to censor based on the interests of these two organisms. In the case of international films, voice dubbing was used as a way to control dialogue content. Accptable themes permitted at this time were historical genres, religious cinema, folkloric comedy and musicals (D'Lugo 1997).

At the end of Franco's dictatorship in the late 60's and early 1970's, previously taboo situations, such as partial nudity, began to be permitted by the censors. In this period, *destape* films, or films which showed topless women, came on the scene (Kowalsky, 2004). Further changes rushed in after Franco's death and the ensuing period of transition to democracy. *Destape* films morphed into full frontal nudity in softcore pornography in *landismo* lowbrow comedy films. These were rated "S" for possible offensiveness to the spectator. The "S" rating continued to be used until 1982 when it was abolished and replaced by the implementation of "X" ratings (*ibid.*: 202). Other previously taboo subjects, which had been prohibited,

were now able to be produced. These included historical rewritings of the Spanish Civil War, sympathetic to the Republican point of view.

Since this time, film themes which have proved popular are: "comedias madrileñas" or Madrid comedies, black comedies, terror, soccer, current social and political themes such as on ETA, "cine de desarraigados" or cinema of the uprooted, regional films, films championing gay rights, as well as continued revisiting of the Civil War from both sides.

Audience

The Spanish film market is made up of an uneasy triangle of Hollywood blockbusters, Spanish commercial and artistic films, and European films. Spanish audiences, like most worldwide audiences, overwhelmingly prefer Hollywood films. Examining the following chart on statistics from 1996 to 2010 shows that box office revenues for Spanish films fluctuated between 9 to 17% of the total market share, while American films accounted for 62 to 82% (Table 4.4 Total Market Quotas).

During the period of this investigation, 2003 to 2010, Spanish films reached a mean average of 14% of box office revenues. Nearly 70% of the market went to film from the United States, 14% was attributed to European films and the remaining percentage to Other non European non-American films (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales, n.d.c: on line; n.d.f: on line)

Table 4.4 Total Market Quotas

% of box office revenue per year	Spanish Film	USA Film	EU Film	Other Film
1996	9.33	78.92	11.75	0
1997	13.17	69.05	17.78	0
1998	12	79.52	8.48	0
1999	14.35	64.22	18.91	2.52
2000	10.03	82.7	7.24	.03
2001	17.87	62.21	13.68	6.24
2002	13.66	66.07	12.8	7.47
2003	15.77	67.24	9.79	7.2
2004	13.43	69.74	13.77	3.06
2005	16.73	60.14	20.55	2.58
2006	15.47	71.22	11.78	1.53
2007	13.50	67.50	16.8	2.2
2008	13.18	71.71	12.81	2.3
2009	15.55	71.57	12.09	.79
2010	12.12	70.43	16.79	.66

(Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales, n.d.c: on line; n.d.f: on line)

Stepping outside of Spain's national borders, Eurostat, the European Union body created to compile European statistical information, reports that Hollywood's hold on market share is the norm across Europe. In a summary report titled *Cinema Statistics. The Upward Trend in Cinema-going Came to a Halt in 2002* it was estimated that the European film market captured only 32% of the continent's market share as compared to American films at 65%. US films reached up to 80% of the market share in the UK, Greece and Iceland, while France, Sweden, Italy and Denmark controlled a local share of the market between 19% to 32% (Dollt, 2003: 3).

Historically, it hasn't always been the case that Spanish films received such a such low national interest. During the mid 60s to mid 70s, Spanish films regularly captured over 30% of the market audience, and from 1970 to 1975, national films achieved more market share than Hollywood. (Ansola González, 2003: 54).

Much has been written on what has led to this decrease in audience share. *Once miradas sobre la crisis y el cine español*, a collection of articles edited by Luis

Alonso Garcia published in 2003, outlines a number of factors which have contributed to this decline in the Spanish film industry's attractiveness to viewers. The authors in this manual in part attribute this to lack of a standardized studio industry structure, lack of funding and the problem of distribution and exhibition sectors in the hands of multinationals.

> "In the age of Hollywood mega-blockbusters, most people's idea of a legitimate film is defined by high production values, expensive special effects, established genres like science fiction, disaster movies, or thrillers involving violent, 'superficial action'" (Chaudhuri, 2005: 38).

In pursuit of profits, there is more preference in marketing lucrative Hollywood films dubbed in castellano Spanish, leaving little screen time and space for Spanish films. Yet, perhaps the most important factor they cite is that many Spanish films have not appealed to local audiences because they were not directed at local audiences. Instead they were aimed at film festivals or director's personal interests.

This clash between the production of two different types of film has existed in Spanish film since the days of the Franco administration (Besas, 1997: 246). On the one hand are productions aimed at cultural and intellectual circles interested in the creation of artistic films capable of participating in international film festivals. On the other hand are films made for audiences based on commercial film interests, often popular films or Hollywood imitations that are able to sell tickets.

In 1982, with the selection of Pilar Miró as General Director of Cinematography, the balance tipped in the direction of artistic cinema. During her administration, the celebrated Miró decree was created. It aimed to promote films deemed to be of artistic quality, to help debuting film directors, and increase children's films and experimental films. This was done through directing substantial funding to serious or artistic films through subsidies paid in advance, while cutting off subsidy help for films which had previously been eligible, such as the low brow comedies (Besas, 1997: 245) and rated "S" soft porn films (Kowalsky, 2004: 191).

While the Miró decree created an increase in new filmmakers and awards at international film festivals it had a negative effect on production levels and local audience interest. "Not only did production plummet to about fifty features a year,

but, far worse, local audiences were turned off by the majority of Spanish films"
(Besas, 1997: 246). In 1993, Spanish viewership hit an all time low at 9.07% of the
Spanish film market; this low was repeated in 1996, with 9.33% of the market
share (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales, n.d.b: on
line). When compared to 1977 totals of 29.76% of the Spanish market, it becomes
obvious that viewers of this time had lost interest (Besas, 1997: 246).

Emilio García Fernández says, "Cuando se decidió que por encima de la taquilla
había que valorar los intereses culturales – para la mayoría de los espectadores, un
"coñazo" -, el rumbo se había tomado equivocado" (García Fernández, 2003: 67).

Subsequent laws replaced the majority of advanced subsidies with a system that
distributed subsudies to all films that reached a series of box office percentage
goals (Triana Toribio, 2003: 144). This has had an effect in viewer appeal. A 2009
survey led by EGEDA (Entidad de Gestión de Derechos de los Productores
Audiovisuales) found that, "el 61% de los españoles califica el cine español como
"bueno o muy bueno" e incluso opina que ha mejorado en los últimos años"
(García, R., 2009: on line).

Financing

Spanish film is financed in large part through subsidies. The majority of Spanish
films receive funding help through the Ministry of Culture, regional subsidies,
television broadcasting financing, and through personal financing.

The first place filmmakers often turn to for financing is the Ministry of Culture's
Instituto de la Cinematografía y las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA). In 2008,
76.300.000€ were available for distribution with the bulk directed at amortization
of full-length films (Table 4.5 *ICAA Financing 2004-2008*). This amount more
than doubled in the period of 2004 to 2008.

Table 4.5 ICAA Financing 2004-2008

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
ICAA Financing	28,060,484 €	56,463,269 €	59,263,269 €	65,922,000 €	76,300,000 €

(Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales, 2008b: on line)

In the days of the Miró decree, a system of prefinancing was set up which heavily subsidized a few productions practically eliminating the need for private financing (Triana Toribio, 2008: 261). When this innitiative ran out of money, a new system of subsidies was created connecting aid to box office revenue. What has remained from the Miró days is the idea of film financing arranged in preproduction.

> The financing system of cinema in Spain and in a varied system of subsidies and pre-sales, mostly within Spain, [...] enable many filmmakers to limit the risk factor to a minimum, if not to nil. The secret, in many cases, is that profits are assured at the financing stage and not at the box office (Besas, 1997: 241).

Spanish films have the right to an automatic general aid on amortization of 15% of gross takings during the first 12 months screening and up to 33% if they achieve a higher echelon of box office sales. Additional subsidies are possible on a case by case basis for: script development of full length features; reduction of bank interests for exhibition and financing; production of full-length films that incorporate new directors or are deemed artistically or culturally experimental, as well as for documentaries and animation pilots; financing of short films; help for participation in film festivals; conservation of negatives; and distribution and exhibition aid (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales, 2008a: on line). Aid is capped at either 1,000,000€ or when it has reached a determined percentage of production costs (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales, 2009: on line).

After national financing, many filmmakers turn to regional governments to find additional aid. A third major source of funding can be found through television broadcasters. Roughly €120 million a year is invested by television broadcasters in

local films (Cartoon- The European Association of Animation Film, 2008: on line). Broadcasting companies with programming aimed at audiences less than seven years old must invest 3% of their annual income in Spanish films and 2% in European productions. A producer can receive from €400,000 to €2 million in television aid (*ibid.*). Television stations influence the types of productions coming out because they choose to finance films to air later on their stations. In exchange for financing, televisions receive broadcasting rights and even a percentage of international sales.

> 'One consequence of Spanish TV hegemony is bigger film budgets,' Gordon says. Another is getting into Spain's B.O. top 10 this year. Through Aug. 10, Spain's 10 highest-grossing pics included seven titles produced by Telecinco Cinema or Antena 3 Films. 'We care about the spectator and make more commercial films,' asserts Mercedes Gamero, director general of Antena 3 Films (A3F) (de Pablos, 2008: on line).

The influence of subsidies is emphasized because it plays such a large part in Spanish film financing. It is largely film financing that decides what types of films will be made. Hollywood Blockbusters can operate on big budgets that allow special effects, big name stars, and worldwide coverage. In contrast, a Spanish high-end production will be produced on much less and quite often most do not gross even expenses (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales, n.d.d: on line). To give an example, the 2006 film *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest* by director Gore Verbinski was produced on a budget of over 168.000.000€[6] and grossed nearly 800,000,000€[7] worldwide (Box Office Mojo, n.d.: on line). Pedro Almodóvar's *Volver*, was produced for 7,454,000€ and earned 64,188,860€ worldwide (*ibid.*). Most Spanish productions are created on much lower budgets than an Almodóvar film, with average budgets closer to 2,600,000€ per film (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales, 2008a: on line; 2008b). Low production budgets lead to few blockbuster productions, less special effects and in the case of Spain this has led to a focus on neighborhood and social issue settings. While some excellent television

---

[6] $225,000,000
[7] $1,066,179,725

sponsored films and co-productions challenge this model, this has been the overall nature of Spanish films during the period of this investigation.

As can be seen, the different film funding sources all prove integral to the direction a film may go. The ability to receive funding up front as opposed to the Hollywood model generated from box office revenue can eliminate audience satisfaction as a necessary film goal. When box-office success is removed from the financing criteria, filmmakers are able to carry pet projects into production. Meanwhile, with an increase in TV broadcasting support, films that are more audience-oriented and with larger commercial budgets are produced hoping to eventually attract large audiences on the small screen.

Distribution and Exhibition

With Spanish audience focused on Hollywood films, it isn't a surprise that multinational distribution and exhibition companies would prefer to release less Spanish and more Hollywood films. There is big business to be made with Hollywood releases. Distributors and exhibitors work competitively for their share of the Hollywood market even if at times illicitly. In 2006, five of the major film distributors in Spain: Walt Disney Company Iberia (Buenavista International Spain), Sony Pictures, Hispano Foxfilm, United International Pictures and Warner Sogefilms were sanctioned for price-fixing and abuse of a dominant market position (Enrich and Enrich, 2006: on line). Prior to this Competition Court ruling, distributors were able to collect up to 60% of first week box office totals from Hollywood films. Additionally, the Spanish Federation of Film Distributors was sanctioned for exchanging information regarding the planned dates for releases that allowed them to avoid scheduling first screenings of popular films on coinciding dates (*ibid*.).

Spanish filmmakers for their part, decry that distribution and exhibition companies foster the lack of audience interest in Spanish film. In 2009, Ángeles González Sinde who was at that time the head of the Ministry of Culture, when asked about the current film crisis said, "el cine español le interesa a la gente

cuando lo tiene disponible en los cines de sus ciudades " (El Norte de Castilla, 2009: on line). In order to survive, the Spanish film industry has historically had to force ground from the Hollywood majors. In 1997 Peter Besas said:

> These, then, have been and continue to be the three financial crutches that have enabled the Spanish 'industry' to survive: subsidies, exhibit quotas, and dubbing licenses for foreign films issued only when Spanish films are also released (Besas, 1997: 249).

A decade later this equation has hardly evolved. The reliance on subsidies has changed little. Exhibit quotas, intended to stop distributors from excluding and leaving low season dates for Spanish films, have remained virtually unchanged. In 2000, exhibition quotas required one day of Spanish or European film for every three days of North American film (Puigdoménech, 2007: 66). In an update to this law in late 2007, the formula for measuring days was changed, however screening quotas remained intact (Marcos and Enrich, 2008: on line). Dubbing licenses have died out under increasing pressure from Spanish movie houses and the multinationals. The prior law allowed up to three screenings of North American dubbed films when Spanish films were released by the same distributor and reached a series of established box office totals. This requirement was repealed in 2007 (Pérez Bustamante, 2009: on line).

The box office, however, is just the starting point for films. While Spanish films may only reach 10-20% of theater going audiences, these numbers are far surpassed when it comes to the second life of film productions. In the national ambit, films make rounds at film festivals, are later available for sales and rentals as DVD releases, they are accessible for internet viewing (both legally on sites such as filmotech.com and illegally), before making their way to paid television networks such as Canal Plus and on to public television. Internationally, they are presented at film festivals, played in foreign theaters, sold and rented as DVDs and later seen on television.

To give an example of the amplified audience attained by Spanish blockbusters, *Volver* in July 2008 reached 3,019,000 Spanish television spectators (Europasur, 2008: on line). This was nearly 1.5 times the 1,930,840 spectators it played to in

Spanish theaters. It had box office gross in Spain of $12,241,181, in the US of $12,899,867 and in all other countries of $60,444,099, totaling $85,585,147 (Box Office Mojo: on line). In US DVD rentals alone, it made an additional $7.8 million in sales (*ibid*).

A popular local film like *El penalti mas largo del mundo* (Roberto Santiago, 2005) with 1,054,907 theater viewers more than doubled its audience when played on public television. It aired three times: first on Antena 3's *El Peliculón* with 2,831,000 viewers October 2007, next on TV Canaria in August 2008 with 55,000 viewers and finally on May 2009 for Telemadrid with 82,000 viewers (Vertele, 2007, 2008, 2009a: on line).

A final and even more dramatic example is that of *Atún y chocolate* (Pablo Carbonell, 2004) with 174,154 theater spectators, and reaching over one million viewers when screened on TVE 1 on November 2006 and 668,000 viewers in February 2009 on La 2 – Es tu cine (Vertele, 2006, 2009b: on line).

In Spain, total market DVDs (Spanish and foreign) reached 28 million units sold (359€ million in sales) while 172€ million worth of DVD's were rented in 2005, according to the data from the *Sociedad General de Autores y Editores* (SGAE: 2006: 16). These numbers are down from previous years with the movie industry blaming illegal internet downloads, a theme that will further develop as viewer habits evolve with new technologies. As further studies are compiled on the Spanish DVD sales, rental markets and on line viewing undoubtedly these will reveal further insight into a booming afterlife of Spanish films.

National Awards: the Goya Awards

A final aspect of the Spanish film industry to be discussed is the selecting and recognizing of films through national awards. In 1986, the *Academia de las Artes y las Ciencias Cinematográficas de España* (Spanish Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences) was founded to promote and honor Spanish film internally as well as internationally. One year later they established the *Premios Anuales de la Academia*, otherwise knows as the Goya Awards, the largest national film award

ceremony established to highlight outstanding cinematographic endeavors in Spanish film.

The Goya Awards annually hands out 26 awards for excellence in the categories of best: Film, Director, New Director, Lead Actress, Lead Actor, Supporting Actress, Supporting Actor, New Actress, New Actor, Production Supervision, Cinematography, Original Screenplay, Adapted Screenplay, Original Score, Production Design, Costume Design, Sound, Editing, Make-Up and Hairstyles, Special Effects, Original Song, Animation Film, Documentary, Best Short Film, Spanish Language Foreign and European Film, with one additional Honorary Goya award for lifetime accomplishment (Academia de las artes y las ciencias cinematográficas de España, n.d.: on line).

The awards ceremony takes place at the end of January or beginning of February and is composed of films that were screened for the first time in the prior year. To be eligible, full length films must be a minimum of 60 minutes long, be qualified as Spanish national films (except for the categories of foreign and European films), and must have been screened a minimum of one week, (except for documentaries and short films) (*ibid.*).

Members of the Academy vote for the nominations and for the award winners. Members are composed of Spaniards working in the film industry with at least three films credit as head of a specialty, such as director, producer, editing, etc. Voting members must have been in the academy for at least six months and be up to date on membership fees. All members of the academy are eligible to vote in secret elections made up of two rounds. In the first round, members vote for four finalists in each of the 26 categories. In the final round each member votes for one winner in each category. The films participating in this competition are made available for viewing in the Filmotecas of Madrid and Barcelona, as well as other locations.

While the Goya awards are widely viewed as selecting the best films of the year, authors such as Núria Triana Toribio see these awards as still connected to the past film Miró innitiative directed towards promoting European art films. She cites that

films which focus on social realism and *el cine de calidad* are considered to be the most legitimate in Spanish cinema for critics and members of the *Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales* (ICAA) when it comes time to select for grants and awards (Triana Toribio, 2003: 144).

Triana Toribio believes the Goyas should instead be used as indicators of how Spanish national cinema wants to be identified.

> For their supposedly neutral arbitration of taste and value, film prizes like the Goyas are crude devices and of little interest in and of themselves. However they can tell us a great deal about how the guardians of a national cinema want that national cinema to be perceived, both internally and externally. One need only look as far as the case of Pedro Almodóvar, who in 2000 received his first major recognition within Spain by winning the Goya for Best Director for *Todo sobre mi madre* (1999). Widely seen as the main representative of Spanish cinema outside Spain, and the recipient of numerous international accolades, culminating in the Oscar for Best Foreign Film in 2000, Almodóvar is still the source of some embarrassment within his own country (Triana Toribio, 2003: 158).

She repeats this sentiment five years later in reference to filmmaker Alex de la Iglesia as a non-prototype to this mold:

> Through processes like the annual prize giving ceremony of the Goyas, Spanish cinema as an institution functions as gatekeeper of its production and declares what films are considered *necesarios* (necessary). De la Iglesia's films have won Goyas but mainly in the categories of acting and special effects, and they are up against a preference for genre and spectacle. The best film awards tend to be conferred on films whose topics indicate an engagement with current problems (the sequels of the war in the Balkans in La vida secreta de las palabras, winner in 2006) or an awareness of the pressing concerns of Spanish society (violence against women was the topic addressed by the 2005 winner Te doy mis ojos/Take My Eyes [Icíar Bollaín, 2004] (Triana Toribio: 2008: 272).

Despite these sentiments, the Goya Awards continue to be the most acclaimed award possible in Spanish cinema. They bestow societal recognition that gives publicity and prestige to nominated film teams. Additionally, they facilitate access to future funding and more film awards. Spanish films that win a Goya are often re-released in theaters and receive higher second life demand in DVD releases,

internet play and incorporation in libraries and international libraries such as in the Cervantes Institutes.

4.3.2 Spain: Migration in Cinema[8]

Spanish representation of migrant and ethnic populations in film is part of a continuing history of Other representation in the arts. Spanish films have portrayed artistic versions of ethnic Others since the emergence of Spanish cinema production. These have included representations of different ethnic groups such as the Romani or gypsies, the Jew, the Moors, colonial subjects in the territories of Northern Africa and Latin America. As migration to Spain increased in the past two decades and transformations in the population demographics began to appear, cinema began to address these changes. The early wave of films was created primarily by national heritage directors with a few films created by international directors. Since 2002, a new generation of migrant heritage directors have begun to surface in the national artistic consciousness. The academic community, marking the country's modern day transition to migrant receiving society, has taken interest in these films for the past fifteen years.

A wide range of articles and books have covered the emerging genre of ethnicity and immigration in Spanish film. A boom of publications took off in 2004 that has steadily increased each year in article and book publications, conference papers and thesis. Amongst the growing canon of literature available on migration in Spanish film, various authors stand out for their pioneering work in the field and the extent of their influence on other writers. Early researchers included Alberto Elena and Isabel Santaolalla who began writing on the new phenomenon of immigration in film in the late 1990s. These two authors have gone on to publish multiple works of great impact.

---

[8] In accordance with the previous chapter on European Cinema, Spanish films are listed here with Spanish titles and their International English titles. In the few cases where an International title was unavailable, a literal translation was provided. In the following chapters five through seven, titles are listed in Spanish only.

Seminal in these was the 2005 publication by Isabel Santaolalla of *Los Otros – Etnicidad y "raza" en el cine español contemporáneo*, which today remains the most comprehensive analysis on representation of ethnicity in Spanish film. *Los Otros* extensively covered representation of the Other in Spanish film with chapters that include information on early filmic representations beginning in the 1900s and shot during the colonial era, the Romani population, and summaries of economic migration populations in film from Africa, Asia, Hispano-America. Her work extends through films produced in 2003 with a handful of additions from 2004. Additionally she has regularly contributed to the field with eleven articles spanning from 1999 with "Close Encounters: Racial Otherness in Imanol Uribe's Bwana" to "Body Matters. Immigrants in Spanish, Greek and Italian Cinemas" (2010).

A pioneer in the early studies, Alberto Elena covered the topics of Spanish film on colonial Africa and began documenting the Latin American presence in Spanish film. He has written at length on periphery films including informative documentation on "Latinoamericanos en el cine español: los nuevos flujos migratorios, 1975-2005" in 2005 and Spanish Africa in his 2010 book *La llamada de África. Estudios sobre el cine colonial español.*

A growing number of authors have begun adding to this field, expanding it in similar fashion as previous studies have done in other countries such as the United Kingdom and France. These include José Enrique Monterde Lozoya with his publication of *El sueño de Europa – cine y migraciones desde el Sur* in 2008, which provides not only a look at the different films created in Spain but sets them in context with other films produced in Europe on the same subject matter. Additionally, Chema Castiello has been publishing on migration in film since 2001. His most recent contribution is the 2010 publication *Con maletas de cartón: la emigración española en el cine* on emigration and Spanish cinema. Other authors who have contributed to this subject include Isolina Ballesteros in particular for her groundbreaking work in 2001, *Cine (ins)urgente: textos fílmicos y contextos culturales de la España posfranquista*; Rosabel Argote for her systematic analysis of films produced in 2003 *La mujer inmigrante en el cine español del inaugurado siglo XXI*; and Pavarti Nair for her contributions dealing with Magreb

and Islamic immigration in music, photography, and film in particular in her publication in 2006 *Rumbo al norte : inmigración y movimientos culturales entre el Magreb y España.*

In addition, various collective editions have advanced and broadened the field of investigation. These include the works edited by Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg in 2010 with *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic Cinema in Contemporary Europe,* for placing Spanish migration studies in the Eurpean context; Montserrat Iglesias Santos's *Imagenes del Otro: Identidad e inmigracion en la literature y el cine* in 2010 for broadening the study in the context of imagology which includes Barbara Zecchi's "Veinte años de inmigración en el imaginario fílmico español" in 2010 and the Verena Berger and Miya Komori collection in 2011 *Polyglot Cinema: Language Contact and Migration in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain* for exploring the field of linguistics in films on migration.

Following a cultural studies trajectory, the published materials have been very diverse. There are concentrations of works addressing the themes of ethnicity, gender, emigration and racism. A wide variety of theories are used and shared between the texts. These include postcolonial theories, discourses on power, theories from Sigmund Freud and psychoanalysis, hybridism as related to Homi Bhabha and Néstor Garcia Canclini, discourses on power from Foucault, New racism, European modernity, feminist discourse, the special reference theory of Henri Lefebvre and intercultural communication amongst others.

Apart from the articles by Alberto Elena on Africa (1996, 1997a and 1997b) and Latin America (1999), other early articles on immigration included a study on immigration in Basque films (Marti Olivella 1999), and attention to the sub-Saharan African presence in the films *Las Cartas de Alou* and *Bwana* (Santaolalla 1999, Ballesteros 2001).

Ethnicity was one of the first themes academics began to analyse. Santaolalla's studies at one point focused entirely on ethnicity and race (Santaolalla 2002 and 2003) leading up to the publication of *Los Otros* (2005). Studies on African

immigration mostly followed and continue to follow male immigration, due to the lower presence of African women in film. In addition to the previously cited studies on films with Saharan Africans, the Magreb and Islam have been studied by various authors (Martín Corrales 2000, Flesler 2003, Castiello 2004, Nair 2006, Flesler 2008, Navarro 2008 and 2009, Stickle 2010). Similarly, there are studies which treat both Magreb and Subsaharan migration together as a group (Santaolalla 1999, Ballesteros 2001, Materna 2007, Garcia Alvite 2007). Latin American immigration has also received a large share of documentation. Many studies have centered on the film *Flores de otro mundo* (Martín-Cabrera 2002, Martínez Carazo 2002, Nair 2002, Santaolalla 2004, Damerau 2007) in addition to broader studies discussing larger canons of films (Díaz López 2005, Elena 2005a, Santaolalla 2007).

Texts on Spanish cultural studies began to note the new emergence of migration and ethnicity in films (Corkhill 2000) and immigration cinema began to be seen as a potential new genre around the turn of the century (Hamdorf and López Rubio 2001). Apart from studies on ethnicity, another reoccurring theme in these analysis has been that of racism and xenophobia (de Urioste 2000, Ballesteros 2001, Castiello 2001, Molina Gavilan and Di Salvo 2001, Navarro 2009). Other authors began teasing out gender issues. While early films were clearly noted for being centered on male immigration, similar to migration patterns, gender specific studies started first with female immigration characters (Argote 2003 and 2006, Ballesteros 2005 and 2006, Stickle 2010) and were followed soon after by studies on males (Santaolalla 2003, Nair 2004, Fouz-Hernandez and Martínez Exposito 2007, Álvarez Suárez 2008), Queer studies (Pérez-Sánchez 2008) and gender contexts (Santaolalla 2006, Song 2008). Questions of interracial romances began to receive central prominence as well (Flesler 2004).

Other areas of investigation include emigration (Roncero Moreno and Mancebo Roca 2004, Moyano 2005, Castiello 2010), short films (Gordillo 2008), and documentaries (Berger 2010, Marín 2012). New developments include studies on linguistics and immigration and how films deal with multilingual contexts and the use of accents (Berger 2011, Martínez-Carazo 2011, Martínez-Sierra et al 2011).

Moving from academic studies on films to the films themselves, representations of ethnic Others have been included in Spanish cinema from the earliest days of film up through to the present day. Images of the Romani, the Jews, North and Central Africans, and Latin Americans, have origins going back to the beginning of Spanish film. In the early 1900s, Spanish Romani were one of the first ethnic Others to appear in Spanish short films and documentaries of the early twentieth century (Santaolalla, 2005: 28-29). Two early short films include *Celos gitanos* (*Jealous Gypsies* – Ricardo de Baños, 1909) and *Amor gitano* (*Gypsy Love* – Segundo de Chomón, 1911) (Garrido, 2003: 122). These early representations exploited exotic cultural differences yet also considered the gypsy a fundamental element in folkloric music represented on the screen with accompanying characters and narratives set in Andalusia (*ibid.*). Studies by José Ángel Garrido on contemporary film indicate that the gypsy is typically represented through:

> […] sus bailes, su música, las navajas, los pequeños robos, la Buenaventura, las castañuelas y las guitarras; mientras que ciertas características culturales, fundamentales para entender su cultural, no tienen prácticamente reflejo: la evidencia del suburbialismo, su religiosidad especifica o la existencia de un incipiente asociacionismo gitano (laico o religioso) (*ibid.*: 186).

Isabel Santaolalla, provides an extensive study tracing representation of the gypsy in film narratives and magazines in *Los Otros: Etnicidad y raza en el cine español contemporáneo* (2005). For Santaolalla:

> […] el tratamiento que ha recibido en pantalla ha sido restrictivo, tipificado y reflejo de prejuicios existentes también en muchos otros ámbitos de la cultura y la sociedad. Sin embargo, el hecho mismo de que lo gitano haya llegado a convertirse en una presencia fetiche en el cine español durante décadas es indicador de que ha poseído históricamente un cierto valor cultural de cambio, aunque naturalmente éste haya variado en las diversas épocas (Santaolalla, 2005: 85).

She adds that this treatment has evolved over time, incorporating more balanced images accepted by the Gitano community, and including the feminine point of view in films such as *Alma gitana* (*Gypsy Soul* – Chus Gutiérrez, 1995) (*ibid.*: 106).

Unlike most European film systems that included the Jew as a central part in their early images of Others, Spain produced very few films with Jewish characters. This is a reflection of the low population of Jews in Spain for historical reasons described in the subsection 4.1.1.1 *Spanish Identity and the Historical Backdrop*. A few exceptions exist such as the documentary *Los judíos de patria española* (*Jews of the Spanish Homeland* – Ernesto Giménez Caballero, 1931), which showed the diasporic movement of the Jews from Spain. This film is a documentary short film with footage shot in the 1920s. Various Jewish communities are visited in Europe pre-Holocaust as well as former Jewish quarters in Spain from the 15th century (IMDB, n.d: on line).

Rafael de España in an investigation of the 1990s details anti-Semitic images in the films made during the Franco dictatorship in the films ¡*A mí la Legión!* (*Follow the Legion!* – Juan de Orduna, 1942) and *La torre de los siete jorobados* (*Tower of the Seven Hunchbacks* – Edgar Neville, 1944) (de España, 1991: 2-3). In the first film, the Jew is presented as a moneylender in Morocco, while in the second it is implied that the hunchbacks are criminal descendents of Jews who built secret underground passages in the city during the era of the Catholic Kings (*ibid.*: 2-3). In the second film, *La torre de los siete jorobados*,

> [...] los judíos son asimilados a una organización clandestina que roba, secuestra e incluso asesina a las gentes de bien. Para completar la truculenta estampa, son deformes y viven bajo tierra, como ratas. Es difícil encontrar una representación más estereotipada de la raza judía como elemento subversivo y destructor de la sociedad civilizado (*ibid.*: 3).

Other trends mentioned by de España include films dedicated to the historic time-frame of the Inquisition such as *La dama de armiño* (*The Lady in Ermine* – Eusebio Fernández Ardavín, 1947) and disinterest in Jewish themes post-Franco with the exception of *Maravillas* (*Wonders* – Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón, 1981) in the context of Madrid's Jewish community and *Caso cerrado* (*Case Closed* – Juan Caño 1985) depicting Jewish Spaniards in a banking drama (*ibid.*: 4-8).

A third historic presence has been that of Northern Africa: Morocco, and sub-Saharan Africa: Guinea Equatorial. Morocco was depicted early on in war film

documentaries and dramas such as *Águilas de acero* or *Los misterios de Tánger* (*Iron Eagles / The Mysteries of Tangier* – Florián Rey, 1927), set during the war with Morocco and dealing with aviator espionage (Santaolalla, 2005: 33). During the Franco dictatorship documentary short films such as *Romancero Marroquí* (Moroccan Ballads – Enrique Domínguez Rodiño, Carlos Velo, 1939) and *Alma y nervio de España* (*The Soul and Nerve of Spain* – Joaquín Martínez Arboleya, 1937) were produced to influence public opinion favorably towards Morocco and the colonial effort during this time period (Elena, 1996: 83, 91). Dramas of this time include *La canción de Aixa* (*Song of Aixa* – Florián Rey, 1939), centered on a love story between two Muslims enamored with a half-Spanish half-Muslim girl, and *¡Harka!* (Carlos Arévalo, 1941), set during the 1920s war in Morocco (*ibid.)*. Post-Franco filmic versions have added references to the "reconquista" such as in the comedy *Que nos quiten lo bailao* (*They Can't Take Away What We've Danced* – Carles Mira, 1983) and the drug trade such as in *Bajarse al moro* (*Going Down in Morocco* – Fernando Colomo, 1988) (Martín Corrales, 2000: on line).

Guinea Equatorial, according to Santaolalla, never received more than scarce recognition in film (Santaolalla, 2005: 243). Among the films she lists are *Afan-Evu - El bosque maldito* (*The Woods* – José Neches, 1945), dealing with a lawyer who inherits land in Guinea and later falls in love with a Spanish woman and decides to stay; *Misión blanca* (*White Mission* – Juan de Orduña, 1946), the story of a missionary and a corrupt banker; and *Obsesión* (*Obession* – Arturo Ruiz Castillo, 1947) a love drama (Santaolalla, 2005: 51-2). A slightly more contemporary film which Santaolalla analyzes is depth is that of *Lejos de África* (*Far From Africa* – Cecilia Bartolomé, 1996), which narrates the story of a friendship between a Spanish girl and a Guinean girl during the 1950s in Guinea Equatorial (*ibid.*: 243).

Representation of Latin Americans in Spanish film began with documentary footage of the Cuban war in *Desembarco de las tropas llegadas a Cuba* (*Landing of Troops in Cuba* – Antonio de Padua Tramullas, 1898) (Santaolalla, 2005: 33). Almost thirty years later the first fiction feature film *La malcasada* (*The Unhappy Wife* – Francisco Gómez Hidalgo, 1926) portrayed a Latin American character, in

this case that of a famous Mexican bullfighter interpreted by a Spanish actor (Díaz López, 2005: 79).

In an investigation that traces the influence of Latin Americans in Spanish cinema, Marina Díaz López details five themes in films from 1926 to 1975 in the article "Cierta música lejana de la lengua" (2005). These are: bullfighters and soccer players, mostly associated with Mexicans and Argentines; comics; Latin American musicians; female stars; and vaudeville singing and dancing in musicals. Some examples she gives are *Dos novias para un torero* (*Two Girlfriends for a Bullfighter* – Antonio Román, 1956), *Millonario por un día* (Millionaire for a Day – Enrique Cahen Salaberry, 1963), *Boliche* (Francisco Elías, 1933), *Una cubana en España* (*A Cuban Lady in Spain* – Luis Bayón Herrera, 1951) and *Tu y yo somos tres* (*You and Me Make Three* – Rafael Gil, 1962) (*ibid.*).

During this period the Latin Americans depicted in these films were not treated as immigrants. Similarly, films in which the Spaniard is shown living in Latin America did not focus on their emigrant status. Spanish cinema promoted the idea of Latin America as a land of opportunities and moral pitfalls (Santaolalla, 2005: 68). Santaolalla adds that the images on Spanish screens were limiting and that they were:

> […] escasamente representativo de la variedad étnica y cultural del continente americano. La tipología de personajes incluye, sobre todo, indígenas infantilizados (con nula especificidad de grupo), mestizos o criollos rebeldes, colonizadores, e industriales o misioneros españoles civilizadores, todos ellos insertados en historias en su a mayor parte descontextualizada social e históricamente (Santaolalla, 2005: 70).

However films produced beginning in the 1970s and 80s began to show Latin Americans as migrants, in particular as exiles escaping from dictatorships. Two such examples are Argentines in *Los ojos vendados* (*Blindfolded Eyes* – Carlos Saura, 1978) and Uruguayans in *La vieja musica* (*The Old Music* – Mario Camus, 1985) (Elena, 2005b: 116). These early representations of ethnic others are later built upon and transformed in representations of immigration in Spanish film productions.

A large part of Spanish film, during its history, has portrayed the phenomenon of social and migratory movements. These include the rural exodus after the civil war in the late 1930's, ensuing massive emigration to richer countries of Europe, and the recent immigration of Africans, Asians, Europeans and Latin Americans. Since the 1990's, contemporary Spanish film has evolved into a qualified witness of immigration. Filmic representation of migration has grown in the last years on par with its importance as a top concern in the media and in Spanish public opinion.

Beginning with rural migrations, as Spain transitioned from an agricultural to an industrial economy, demand for workers pulled migrants from the countryside. Key films depicting the hardships which drove many from the country to the city were *La aldea maldita* (*The Cursed Village* – Florián Rey, 1929), *Surcos* (*Furrows* – José Antonio Nieves Conde, 1951), and *La piel quemada* (*The Burned Skin* – José María Forn, 1967); with comedic variations as can be seen in *La ciudad no es para mí* (*City Life Is Not for Me* – Pedro Lazaga, 1965) and *Chica para todo* (*A Girl for Everything* – Mariano Ozores, 1963) (Galiano León, 2008: 177-178).

Many of the current cinematic stereotypes attributing immigrants with backwardness draw on earlier filmic examples depicting Spanish internal migration from the rural country to the urban city. Chema Castiello details the prejudice held by many films that created a utopian valorization of city goers as modern and progress-oriented and country dwellers as slow and innocent.

> El paleto y la criada son los personajes prototípicos del emigrante interior. Se trata de una figura estereotipada, donde un hombre, o una mujer, sacados de su medio habitual y situados en un medio hostil, evidenciarán un ser y un saber carentes de sentido, objetos ridículos de mofa y befa (Castiello, 2010: 102).

While these stereotypes were generally not used to depict Spanish emigrants, they were present in film to contrast the Spaniard as naïve during the arrival of foreign tourists in Spain with modern notions during the destape cinema (*ibid.*: 99).

Concurrent with rural migration was emigration to Europe and Latin America. Under Franco's dictatorship and ensuing censorship, few films documenting emigration were produced. Notable exceptions are four films widely mentioned.

Two of these films were produced early in the dictatorship: the drama *El emigrado* (*The Emigrant* – Ramón Torrado, 1946), with a protagonist who returns from making it rich in the Americas, and the comedy *El inmigrante* (*The Immigrant* – Sebastián Almeida, 1958) in which a singer returns and remembers his time in Cuba. While the other two films were produced towards the end of the dictatorship: the drama *Españolas en París* (*Spaniards in Paris* – Roberto Bodegas, 1971) describing the lives of four Spanish girls who work in Paris as servants, and the comedy *Vente a Alemania, Pepe* (*Come to Germany, Pepe* – Pedro Lazaga, 1971) continuing the earlier "paleto" in the city prototype.

These films were followed by a larger number of productions dealing with emigration and the return of emigrants to Spain. Many these were created with a conscious intention to draw attention to the connection between current immigration in Spain and past Spanish emigration. Examples include *Guarapo* (Teodoro Ríos Santiago Ríos, 1988), dealing with emigration from the Canaries to Venezuela, *Frontera sur* (*Southern Border* – Gerardo Herrero 1999) centered around emigration to Argentina, *El tren de la memoria* (*The Memory Train* – Marta Arribas, Ana Pérez, 2005) a documentary dealing with the return visit to Germany by a former Spanish emigrant and *Un franco 14 pesetas* (*Crossing Borders* – Carlos Iglesias, 2006) depicting emigration to Switzerland.

While earlier films depicting Latin Americans in Spain did not emphasize their migrant status, in 1975 the destape film *Zorrita Martínez* (Vicente Escrivá, 1975) did. The story introduced Lydia Martínez, a Venezuelan cabaret dancer with the stage name Zorrita, who convinces the much older Spaniard Serafín to marry her so that she can stay in Spain. While authors such as Alberto Elena discredit this as an "atipica aportación" as immigration was not yet on the Spanish radar (Elena, 2005b: 118-9), in a certain sense it can be read as a filmic foreshadowing of the future to come as a plot model for treatment of Latin female migrant characters.

The topic of immigration was then left for almost fifteen years, with a few minor exceptions, until the increase in African migration was addressed by the release of Montxo Armendáriz's film, *Las Cartas de Alou* (*Letters from Alou*, 1990). Although previous films depicted migrants, this was the first Spanish film with a

central theme revolving around immigration and the first with an African migrant as protagonist.

Since this time there has been an annually increasing quantity of films treating the arrival of migrants to Spain and the migrant as protagonist, supporting actor, peripheral character and as background scenery. These films express both the hopes and prejudices of the dominant population and include many conflicting positions on immigration. They travel the gambit from representation of the solidarity and sympathy for foreigners, to reinforcing the stereotypes already in use that treat the migrant as an inferior being.

There are now well over one hundred full-length Spanish films produced whose representations create a visual documentation highlighting immigration. These films debate the construction and transformation of migrant acceptance as well as accentuate xenophobic hierarchization. To date, the vast majority of films that focus on immigration have been created by Spaniards and not by migrants reporting on their personal experience in Spain. As a consequence, narrations, including counter-hegemonic stories that question racism and ideological stereotypes in use, are creations of the dominant society.

Among the growing canon of films on immigration that are often cited, apart from the previously mentioned *Las Cartas de Alou*, exist *Bwana* (Imanol Uribe, 1996), *Taxi* (Carlos Saura, 1996), *Cosas que dejé en la Habana* (*Things that I Left in Habana* – Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón, 1997), *Barrio* (*Neighborhood* – Fernando León de Aranoa, 1998), *Saïd* (Llorenç Soler, 1999), *Flores de Otro mundo* (*Flowers from Another World* – Icíar Bollaín, 1999), *Poniente* (*West* – Chus Gutiérrez, 2002), *El traje* (*The Suit* – Alberto Rodríguez, 2002) and *Princesas* (*Princesses* – Fernando León de Aranoa, 2005). Descriptions of these films are included in the next section: *4.1.3 Spanish Example Films with Description*.

These films represent the migrant in either a central role or immigration as a fundamental part of the plot. Many of these films pursue the objective of exposing and denouncing xenophobia and racism (Ballesteros, 2001: 215). Additionally,

they tend to be presented in a "politically correct" manner intending to educate the population.

Equally present in filmic productions has been the representation of migrants as peripheral or background characters, often in comedies. These films include images of the migrant serving to provide local exotic touches to the setting or as part of the main story line serving as story development for principal and secondary characters. When the migrant and immigration is not a principal focus, representations tend to be more stereotyped, more connected with the established ideas of the majority population and without intentions to change points of view on racism. These films are generally seen by larger audiences especially when they are entertainment films not dedicated to exploring polemic or political issues.

This is the case of films such as *Torrente, El brazo tonto de la ley* (*Torrente, the Dumb Arm of the Law* – Santiago Segura, 1998), *Atún y Chocolate* (*Tuna and Chocolate* – Pablo Carbonell, 2004), *El penalti más largo del mundo* (*The Longest Penalty Shot in the World* – Roberto Santiago, 2005), *Va a ser que nadie es perfecto* (*Nobody Is Perfect* – Joaquin Oristrell, 2006) or *Pagafantas* (*Friend Zone* – Borja Cobeaga, 2009).

Both central and peripheral films tend to represent the migrant groups most numerous or idealized in Spain. Isolina Ballesteros articulates that the first films on immigrations principally described those groups most discriminated against such as Moroccans and Argelinos ("moros"); South Americans, Central Americans and Caribeños ("sudacas"); Senegalese, Gambians, Guineans and Caribbean Blacks ("negros") (Ballesteros 2001: 214-5). Santaolalla additionally includes Eastern Europeans and Russians in her analysis, though to date there have been few investigations on their presence in film due to their scarce inclusion. Included with these groupings should be added the new Asian face emerging in the last few years introduced in *La fuente amarilla, Tapas,* and *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*. Paradoxically, the statistically most numerous immigration groups, the Romanians, Ecuadorians, and the British are mostly absent from film, while Cubans, Argentines and Sub-Saharan Africans maintain a higher visual presence.

In a study of seventeen films produced between 1990 and 2005, Chema Castiello found a tendency to group certain ethnicities with certain archetypes (Castiello, 2005: 30-32). He describes these as:

• Latin Americans: dynamic, happy, in mixed relationships, intense relations with Spaniards, sexual stereotypes, share identity traits with Spaniards, scarce reference to cultural differences (*Cosas que dejé en La Habana, Flores de otro mundo, En la puta calle, Princesas*)

• Eastern Europe and Asia: mostly men, single, cultured and professionally educated, coexistence, more or less integrated, scarce references to cultural diversity, often attractive (*Hola, ¿estás solo?, El sudor de los ruiseñores, Tomándote, Los lunes al sol*)

• Maghreb and sub-Saharan: mostly men; single; without studies; naïve, not fluent; migratory looking for work; scarce social interaction; housed in ruins and pensions; suffer indifference, violence and rejection; strong cultural difference markers, scarcely attractive (*Las cartas de Alou, Bwana, Susanna, Saïd, En construcción, Salvajes, Poniente, El traje, Ilegal*)

In later films, as will be described in chapter 5.1 *Analysis 1: Content Analysis of Goya Nomianted Films 2004-2011*, it will be noticed that while Latin Americans continue to be treated in this way, Asians and Maghrebs have begun to receive different treatments.

In a global summary of the last twenty years, Barbara Zecchi cites various stages that she sees present in Spanish films representing migration. The first category she calls "La otrización del inmigrante", in which the Spaniard and migrant Other are positioned in binary opisition. In this stage she puts films such as *Las cartas de Alou, Bwana, Cosas que deje en la Habana*. She notes an interest in the journey and the arrival of the migrant in Spain (Zecchi, 2010: 160-172). She places special focus on the transformation of representations as women filmmakers began to present migrant figures, which she labels as ""NosOtras o la Homogeneización de la Otredad". The next stage she refers to as "Menos otros y más nos(otros): La 'integración' del español" in which she uses *Princesas* and *El próximo Oriente* to

216

discuss a new plot focus on the interactions between the Spaniard and the migrant. The fourth stage she describes notes a shift in representations towards a more hybrid treatment citing the works *Un novio para Yasmina* (*A Fiancé for* Yasmina – Irene Cardona Bacas, 2008), *Retorno a Hansala* and *14 Kilómetros* (Gerardo Olivares, 2007) as part of a new trend in the everydayness of the characters actions (*ibid.*: 176)

> Estas obras no defienden ya un proyecto de asimilación del inmigrante o de integración del español, sino que realizan una propuesta de diálogo para que los dos grupos se modifiquen y se enriquezcan mutuamente, anticipando la posiblilidad de una situación de hibridación (*ibid*).

Turning for a moment from fiction films, there are also a large number of documentaries that have been created by Spaniards that center on migration themes[9]. These include the film *En construcción* (*Work in Progress* – José Luis Guerín, 2000), which follows the construction of a building in Barcelona's Barrio Chino where two Moroccan migrants work, and *Extranjeras* (*Foreigners* – Helena Taberna, 2003) which documents the lives of various female migrants in Madrid. The documentary *Pobladores* (*Settlers* – Manuel García Serrano, 2006) follows the return of two students at a Spanish school to their families in Morocco and Ecuador during summer vacation. This film aims to show the reality of many families and the ability of education to promote integration and coexistence. *El Artista Emigrado* (*The Emigrated Artist* – David Orejas, 2007) is a documentary that *El País* described as one of the first Spanish films to celebrate the migrant living in favorable, normal conditions in Spain. The film follows the lives of three Latin American artists in Spain (El País, 2007).

Various directors from other countries have been active in Spanish international co-productions or produced entirely Spanish films that address immigration. Adolfo Aristaráin is a prominent director who has frequently participated in Spanish-Argentine co-productions. His films include *Martín (Hache)* (1997), *Lugares comunes* (*Common Ground* – 2002), and *Roma* (2004), all dealing with

---

[9] For a more detailed analysis of documentary works see Pablo Marín, (2012) *El documental español sobre inmigración (2000-2010). Una mirada sociocrítica*

Argentines settled in Spain. Sebastian Cordero from Ecuador directed the Spanish-Columbian co-production *Rabia* (*Rage* – 2009) about two South American migrants living in a house, one working and the other in hiding, based on the book by the Argentine writer Sergio Bizzio. Other co-production examples include the Mexican Alejandro González Iñárritu's *Biutiful* (2010), the Argentine Marcos Carnevale with *Elsa y Fred* (2005) and the Argentine Marcelo Piñeyro with *El método* (*The Method* – 2005), as well as the Cuban Alexis Valdés with *Un rey en La Habana* (*A King in Havana* – 2005), directed while he lived in Spain.

Additionally, numerous directors fall somewhere between the classification of migrant heritage filmmakers and international filmmakers. Alberto Elena provides a list of documentary films created by migrant heritage directors: *El otro lado: un acercamiento a Lavapiés* (*The Other Side: an Approach to Lavapiés* – Basel Ramsis, 2002), an independent film created by an Egyptian; *Si nos dejan* (*If They Let Us*– Ana Torres, 2004), another independent film created by an Argentine and *Cantando bajo la tierra* (*Singing Underground* – Rolando Ariel Pardo, 2004), a Spanish film created by an Argentine (Elena, 2005a: 130-131). Santaolalla adds Enrique Gabriel, director of *En la puta calle* (*Hitting Bottom*, 1997) as an Argentine resident of mixed heritage, Argentine-Russian, settled in Spain (Santaolalla, 2005: 207). Another migrant director settled in Spain is Omer Oke, born in Benin and director of the documentary-drama *Querida Bamako* (*Dear Bamako* – 2007) and *La causa de Kripan* (*Kripan's Cause* – 2009). *La causa de Kripan deals* with the decision of a father, immigrant in Euskadi, who must choose between attaining his legal papers or returning home to stop the female genital mutilation of his daughter.

Other filmmakers such as Santiago Zannou and Alejandro Amenábar belong to a new second generation of migrant heritage Spanish filmmakers. Zannou is a Spaniard of mixed heritage, half Spanish – half Beninese, born in Spain. In 2008 he screened *El Truco del Manco* (*The One Handed Trick*), which went on to win at the Goya Awards. Zannou's latest film, *La puerta de no retorno* (*The Door of No Return* – 2011) narrates the return of his migrant father to his old homeland, Benin. The half-Chilean half-Spanish Alejandro Amenábar, although born in Chile, could

also be placed in this category. His is internationally recognized for his films *Ágora* (2009), *Mar adentro* (*The Sea Inside* – 2004), *Los otros* (*The Others* – 2001), and *Abre los ojos* (*Open Your Eyes* – 1997), all of which have been nominated for if not winners of Goya awards, as well as the recipient of an Oscar award for *Mar adentro*.

4.3.3 Spanish Example Films

Below is a brief synopsis of the most academically celebrated contemporary Spanish films representing migrant and ethnic characters. These include films made by both national heritage directors, migrant heritage directors and international directors. National heritage male filmmakers made the majority of these films due to their high precence in the body of Spanish filmmakers. Mention is made if films were nominated or won at the Goya Awards, Spain's national film award ceremony.

Biutiful (Alejandro González Iñárritu, 2010) International director. Film nominated for and won a Goya Award.

Spanish Uxbal is a divorced father taking care of his two children. He is also a seer, able to see the spirits of those who have recently died. He lives and works in the underground economy of Barcelona as a middleman, bribing the police and connecting counterfeit products made by Chinese workers to African immigrants who sell them in the street. When Uxbal discovers he is going to die soon from prostrate cancer, he realizes he must put his house in order, as his ex-wife, Argentine Marambra, is unable to currently care for the children due to alcohol problems and a bipolar personality.

Amador (Fernando León de Aranoa, 2010) National heritage director.

Marcela is a young Peruvian who lives unhappily with her Peruvian partner Nelson in the suburbs of Madrid. When she decides to leave Nelson, she finds out

she is pregnant. As her economic situation is precarious, Marcela must accept a job caring for Amador, a bed-ridden elderly Spaniard. Amador, is a man accustomed to living a private and autonomous life and is unhappy with the intrusion of a caregiver in his home. They both do their best to accept their new roles and in doing so they find an escape from their solitary lives through each other. The sudden death of Amador forces Marcela to make a decision driven by her needs on one hand and her conscious on the other. She decides not to tell anyone he has passed away. The viewer shares this difficult disision traveling through the two worlds made up of the immigrant neighborhood where Marcela lives and the comfortable neighborhood of Amador.

Retorno a Hansala (*Return to Hansala* – Chus Gutiérrez, 2008) National heritage director. Film nominated for a Goya Award.

The film begins with the tragic accident of a boat carrying migrants from the North of Africa. Martín, a Spaniard, runs a local funeral home in Algeciras and after notification from the police, sets about collecting the bodies. One of the bodies has a contact direction which leads him to Leila, the sister of one of the dead Morroccan man. Together Leila and Martín return to Morroco, each with their own motives. The journey leads to soul searching on the part of Martín and a possible future with Leila.

El Truco del Manco (*The One-Handed Trick* – Santiago A. Zannou, 2008) Migrant heritage director. Film nominated for and won a Goya Award.

Set in a run down housing project neighborhood in Barcelona, this story focuses on the lives of Cuajo, a gifted Spanish rapper with cerebral palsy that limits his mobility, and his mixed Benin-Spanish heritage friend Adolfo who struggles with drug addiction and his alcoholic father. Cuajo decides to create a recording studio with the help of Adolfo and money from the sale of his luxury car earned through crime. When Cuajo's brother robs a local drug lord, Cuajo and Adolfo are falsely

blamed leading to a violent end to their utopian hope of escaping from their marginalized destinies.

Princesas (Fernando León de Aranoa, 2005) National heritage director. Film nominated for and won a Goya Award.

Princesas narrates the story of friendship that grows between Spanish Caye and Dominican Zulema, two rival prostitutes that live and work in a Madrid neighborhood. Caye has an estranged relationship with her mother and her only ambitions are to have a breast enlargement in order to attract more clients and a boyfriend who waits for her after work. Zulema is an illegal immigrant struggling to make enough money to send home to her family and young son. The two develop an unexpected friendship that cuts through racial and economic divides as they both accept their difficult realities.

El traje (*The Suit* – Alberto Rodríguez, 2002) National heritage director.

Patricio, an African migrant, is given a suit after helping a professional basketball player to change his tire. The suit provides him with confidence and respect from others in society, raising him above his class line. When migration officers come after his flatmates, Patricio is forced to look elsewhere for shelter, which leads to his being robbed of all his money by the Spaniard Pan con Queso. In an attempt to get his money back, Patricio moves in with Pan con Queso in a derelict building leading to an unexpected friendship between the two.

Poniente (Chus Gutiérrez, 2002) National heritage director.

Lucia, a young Spanish teacher who lives in Madrid, goes back to her home in Almeria with her daughter Clara after her father dies. There she must fight for her inheritance to a vegetable nursery and fight as a woman in a man's agricultural world run by farmers squeezed by distributors who in turn squeeze the migrant laborers who work for them. Lucia begins a relationship with Curro, the son of

Spanish emigrants to Switzerland now returned home. Together they try to run the business and create a world of multicultural equality before racial rioting brings tragedy for everyone.

Saïd (Llorenç Soler, 1999) National heritage director.

Saïd is a young Moroccan who comes to Barcelona but is disillusioned by the reality for migrants he finds there. He meets the Spaniard Ana and the two begin a relationship. He also becomes involved in a music group. He struggles to make a life worth living, and with the help of Ana he is put in touch with an NGO lawyer who can help him. However one day while walking down the street with Ana, he is attacked by racists. He is arrested by the police and faces deportation as he agrees to testify against those who hurt him.

Flores de otro mundo (*Flowers from Another World*- Icíar Bollaín, 1999) National heritage director. Film nominated for a Goya Award.

The rural town of Santa Eulalia hosts a dance aimed at bringing in a caravan of single women to meet the single men of the town in an effort to counteract the population decline. Amongst the women who arrive in the caravan three women, Patricia, a Dominican, Marirrosi, a Spaniard, and Milady, a Cuban each meet a local man. However, only Patricia is able to triumph in her relationship with Damián and his mother. The other two are unable to continue due to inflexible situations with the local men Carmelo and Alfonso.

Barrio (*Neighborhood* – Fernando León de Aranoa, 1998) National heritage director. Film nominated for and won a Goya Award.

Three Spanish teenagers, Rai, Javi and Manu, are stuck in the marginal immigrant filled suburbs of Madrid during a hot boring summer. They are inseperable, finding escape from their home lives in their friendship. However things change when Rai is caught for drug dealing, and Manu finds out his

successful brother is really a junkie. They are left with no hope of a better future nor an escape from their marginal surroundings.

Cosas que dejé en La Habana (*Things that I Left in Habana* - Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón 1997) National heritage director. Film nominated for a Goya Award.

Three Cuban sisters, Nena, Ludmila and Rosa, come to live in Spain with their assimilated Aunt María. However, their Spanish dream is not what they had hoped for as Aunt María puts them to work in her fur shop and tries to force Nena into an arranged marriage with a possibly homosexual suitor. Nena has other plans; she wants to become an actress. She meets Igor, a Cuban living in Spain who works in shady passport scams. Even though she and Igor fall in love, neither is in an economically stable position. The relationship furthermore is doomed as Igor begins to date Azucena, a Spanish friend of their aunt Maria.

Martín (Hache) (Adolfo Aristarain, 1997) International director. Film nominated for and won a Goya Award.

Martín is an Argentine film director living in Spain. His older teenage son, Martín Hache, in Buenos Aires accidently overdoses on drugs and his mother sees this as an opportuinity to liberate herself to focus on her new family by sending Hache to Spain to live with his father. Martín, who is accustomed to a solitary lifestyle, agrees and the two try to make a life work despite their contrary natures. Martín's Spanish lover Alicia and his good friend Dante, also Spanish, share in the experience with Martín and Hache as they open up and reconnect with each other.

Taxi (Carlos Saura, 1996) National heritage director.

Due to suspending her finals, Spanish Paz must work as a taxi driver with her father. She reencounters a long lost friend, Dani, a Spaniard whom she begins to date. The taxi drivers dedicate themselves to cleaning up the undesireables of the city: the drug addicts, homosexuals and transvestites and immigrants. When Paz

finds out that her father, Dani and the other drivers do this, she disapproves and becomes a threat to one of the members, an ex-policeman Calero.

Bwana (Imanol Uribe, 1996) National heritage director. Film nominated for a Goya Award.

In this story, the Spanish family consisting of Antonio, his wife and two children go to the beach for a day out collecting clams. There they meet Ombassi, an African migrant who has recently washed up on shore accompanied by his dead friend. Antonio loses a piece of the car's engine he has taken out so that no one will steal the car. The family confronts their racist thoughts and exotic longings towards the stranger during a long night as they find themselves stranded at the beach. In the morning, faced with an attack by a neo skinhead group, the family leaves Ombassi to a tragic fate.

Las cartas de Alou (*Letters from Alou* – Montxo Armendáriz, 1990) National heritage director. Film nominated for and won a Goya Award.

Alou is a Senegalese who arrives in Spain clandestinely by boat. He sends letters home in which he shares his hopes and fears while he experiences precarious employments in agriculture, street sales, garbage scavenging and at a clothes factory. He faces solidarity as well as discrimination from other immigrants and the native population. During this time, he meets and falls in love with a Spanish woman, Carmen. This romance is cut short by his sudden arrest and deportation by the police. The film ends with his clandestine return to Spain, hopeful and wiser, narrated through his letters.

4.4 Summary

Following the format applied to European cinema in chapter three, this chapter examined the migration history and representation of migrant and ethnic images in Spanish national cinema using the theoretical framework established on the concepts of identity, representation, national cinema and point of view. In addition to these areas, sections were added on migrant and ethnic images in the Spanish arts and on the Spanish film industry in terms of production and financing, audience and national awards system.

Spain has an ethnically mixed heritage past. Its origins include multiple populations combining to create *Hispania*. The Jewish Diaspora arrived in Spain late in the Roman Empire. During the *Al-Andalus* period, the Moors ruled in the peninsula for eight centuries. The rise of the Christian Kingdoms led to the expulsion of the Moors. It was also in this time period that the first Romani came to Spain.

The formation of a collective and modern sense of Spanish identity is attributed to the union brought by the marriage of Ferdinand II and Isabella I, despite the great changes that occurred in the transformation of the country in the ensuing 500 years (Álvarez Junco 2002, Fuchs 2009). The Jews, Moors and Romani faced discrimination and expulsion under the Catholic Monarchs who began a campaign of "pure blood".

Spain developed an overseas empire in the Americas, Africa and Asian Pacific that lasted from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. Many of the "pure blood" notions that originated at the time of the Catholic Monarchs were adapted to fit colonial needs for labor, differing greatly from treatment of the Moors and Jews in peninsular Spain. Instead a caste system of racial hierarchy was established.

In the modern era Spain has experienced high rates of emigration and high rates of immigration. From the late 1800s to 1974, more than 6.6 million Spaniards emigrated to the Americas and European countries for work. The mid 1990s signaled the start of Spain's conversion into a country of immigration. Immigration

to Spain increased quickly in a short space of time drawn by the labor needs of a booming Spanish economy and its attraction as a retirement destination. Population totals in 2010 stood at 5.7 million foreign born in Spain, 12.2% of the population, with the most populous foreign nationalities being the Romanians (864,278), Moroccans (769,920), the British (390,880), Ecuadorians (359,076) and Columbians (271,773) (INE 2011a.). European community members made up the majority of migrants with 41.7% of the total, followed by South Americans, 24.8%, then Africans at 18.8% (*ibid.*).

Spain has adapted a multicultural policy of integration. Citizenship is based on *jus sanguinis*, however those born in Spain can become nationals after one year. Spain's reaction to immigration has alternated between periods of acceptance and rejection. The Spanish media tend to project an image of the migrant as a problem, highlighting the negative aspects of immigration while overlooking the benefits (Granados 2001, Checa Olmos 2002). Immigration has been one of the top 10 concerns of the Spanish population since 1996 (CIS). Amongst migrants, Latin Americans are the most socially accepted, while Moroccans and Romanians are the most rejected (*ibid.*).

Migrant and ethnic themes are present in many of the Spanish arts. These include literature, theater, music, television, contemporary art and cinema. Many of the same migration themes present in the media are taken up by the arts. These include preoccupation with legal status and inflated attention to arrivals of immigrants, especially clandestine arrivals involving life-threatening passages, criminality (Molina Gavilan and Di Salvo 2001, Kunz 2002, Galán Fajardo 2006, Sánchez-Mesa Martínez 2008, Guimarães de Andrade 2008).

In terms of the Spanish film industry, there is a prolific quantity of films produced each year. During the film years of this investigation (2003-2010), an average of 165 films were produced per year. Most Spanish films are highly subsidized, receiving aid by the Ministry of Culture, regional governments and Spanish television. Film funding sources are integral to the direction a film may go: up front funding, as opposed to box-office generated funding, allow filmmakers to produce film festival type productions (which often feature current social and

political themes such as immigration) while increases in TV broadcasting support allows the production of commercial audience-oriented films with larger budgets (which tend to produce films which represent migrants as peripheral or background characters).

Spanish films do not receive a large percentage of film viewings in Spanish theaters. During the period of this investigation, Spanish films reached a mean average of 14% of box office revenues while Hollywood films were seen by nearly 70% of the film going audience (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y Audiovisuales n.d.c and n.d.f). In part this is due to past Miró influenced initiatives which valued artistic films over commercial films and abuses by the distribution and exhibition companies who prefer the profits available through marketing Hollywood films. However Spanish films quadruple their audience reach through rounds at film festivals, DVD releases, internet viewing, and Canal Plus and public television play.

Equal to the other European cinemas discussed, Spain represented historical ethnic groups in its early cinema. Representations date back to the 1900s and include images of Romani, North and Central Africans, and Latin Americans (Elena 1996, Santaolalla 2005). The Jew received scarce representation (De España 1991). As migrant populations began to grow in the late twentieth century, national heritage filmmakers began documenting migrant and ethnic characters in film. Immigration began to show up in films in the 1970s. It emerged as a central theme in Spanish film in the 1990s with *Las cartas de Alou*. Since this time, there are over 100 films that include migrant and ethnic characters.

Films have concentrated on migration topics such as xenophobia and racism (de Urioste 2000, Ballesteros 2001, Castiello 2001, Molina Gavilan and Di Salvo 2001, Navarro 2009), as well as gender issues and questions of multicultural relationships (Argote 2003, Nair 2004, Flesler 2004, Fouz-Hernandez and Martínez Exposito 2007). Many of these films pursue the objective of exposing and denouncing xenophobia and racism (Ballesteros 2001), however when migration is not a main theme of a film, stereotypes and dominant population conceptions flourish.

Both central and peripheral films tend to represent the migrant groups most numerous or idealized in Spain, with the exception of Romanians and the British who are minimally represented. Over time the representation of specific ethnicities has changed, such as the case with Latin Americans and Asians. While Latin Americans remain the favored group in films today, there is increased representation of the marginalized Latin American woman in film (Argote 2003, Castiello 2005). Other groups, such as the Moroccan male have been affiliated with historical pasts associated with the Moorish kingdoms and Northern African colonial campaigns (Flesler 2008).

Academic studies on migration in Spanish films remain concerned with cultural studies agendas: gender, ethnicity, racism, power, and tend to follow patterns of similar multi-cultural studies previously carried out on other European film systems (Argote 2003, Santaolalla 2005, Elena 2005, Nair 2006, Monterde Lozoya 2008, Iglesias Santos 2010, etc.).

Spanish national heritage directors create the majority of films with a small number of international directors creating as well. Different to France, Germany Great Britain and Sweden, the emergence of migrant heritage filmmakers has only just begun to develop in Spain, and therefore has had little influence on national heritage directed films. Many films including migrant and ethnic characters and themes by both national and migrant heritage directors have been celebrated with nominations and wins at the Spanish national film award ceremony, the Goya Awards. While the Goya Awards are marked by biases towards the types of films Spain wants to recognize (Triana Toribio 2003 and 2008), they continue to be the most acclaimed award possible in Spanish cinema, bestowing societal recognition and prestige to nominated film teams.

Celebrated Spanish films from the three director groups which were nominated for and received a Goya award include: *El Truco del Manco* (The One-Handed Trick, 2008) by Santiago A. Zannou, a migrant heritage director, *Princesas* (2005) by Fernando León de Aranoa, a national heritage director, and *Martín (Hache)* (1997) by Adolfo Aristarain, an international director.

4. CHANGING PERSPECTIVES IN SPANISH CINEMA

CHAPTER 5

5. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MIGRANT AND ETHNIC IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN SPANISH GOYA NOMINATED FILMS 2004-2011

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is the first of three analyses chapters that will provide insight on the social construction of migrant and ethnic identities taking place in contemporary Spanish national cinema. The current chapter, *Content Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Spanish Goya Nominated Films 2004-2011*, performs a quantitative analysis on a canon of 60 films. The following chapter, *Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Four Case Study Films* provides a critical analysis of four films derived from the canon of 60 films and directed by national heritage directors. This is followed by a theoretical analysis applied to the wider Spanish film history in the chapter, *Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction As Shown In Digestion and Relationships*.

Three analyses methodologies are used in this thesis: a quantitative analysis, a critical analysis and a theoretical analysis. These three analyses are used as part of a theoretical triangulation of research methodologies. Triangulation is the use of two or more methodologies to analyze a social phenomenon in an effort to make up for the limitations a single method may have. It is employed to reflect on the complex multidimensional nature of social and media studies (Stokes, 2003: 27; Denscombe 1998: 134-139). These analyses aim to provide a more accurate and nuanced understanding of migrant and ethnic identity construction as seen in films currently being awarded at the Goyas as well as in the context of the Spanish film industry as a whole.

The previous four chapters were designed to introduce the theoretical framework and principal theories used in preparation for these analyses. Chapter one, *Social Construction of Migrant and Ethnic Identities,* looked at the social construction of identities, highlighting how we create self-identity and define alterity, as well as how migrant identities are conceived. It also focused on representation of migrant and ethnic identities and how stereotypes become used in the media, arts and in film.

Next, chapter two, *Representing Others, Representing Ourselves,* examined national cinema and point of view to make evident the effects director and film crew heritage have on migrant and ethnic character representation. This chapter underscored the similarities across different national cinemas in treatment of migrant identities in film based on who is narrating. Homogeneity of representation of the Other figure found in these cinemas is ruptured when analysis is rotated to instead focus on the point of view of the national, migrant heritage or international co-production status of the director or film team behind the camera and the ripple effect this in turn has through the national representations of ethnicity in the media.

This was followed by chapter three, *Changing Perspectives in European Cinema*, which summarized migrant representation in four European cinemas and provided data to further reinforce the concepts defined in the previous chapters. Chapter four, *Changing Perspectives in Spanish Cinema*, provided a brief summary of Spain's migration history and contemporary representation of migration in the Spanish arts and film, as well as an introduction to the Spanish national cinema system and the Goya awards.

The current chapter, *Content Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Spanish Goya Nominated Films 2004-2011*, consists of a statistical content analysis on migrant and ethnic representation in 60 full-length Spanish films from the years 2002 to 2010 nominated for a Goya Award between the years 2004 to 2011. The first section, *Methodology,* provides information on the selection of the parameters for film canon selection and on the categories and questions analyzed inside of the films. The second section, *Content Analysis Results,*

provides the findings for each of the questions investigated. These are visually graphed and followed by a discussion commentary.

5.1 Methodology

The first step in this analysis was to designate the canon of film years to be studied and the analysis categories to be investigated inside of these films. Analysis categories were then chosen with the goal of providing quantifiable data to measure the frequency and manner in which filmmakers represented migrant and ethnic characters. Films were viewed and documented for their construction of migrant and ethnic characters as well as for technical and production information on each film. Initial attention was focused on point of view through director heritage and film funding, followed by measurement of the inclusion of migrant and ethnic images, the importance of the migrant and ethnic character in the narrative structure, the nationalities, genders and ages of those represented and in what settings, as well as markers for integration such as language abilities, occupations and relationships. This was followed by documentation on the rhetorical treatment of migrant and ethnic characters, focusing on representations of mania, philia and phobia; digesting immigration and romantic and sexual relationships.

5.1.1 Film Analysis Corpus

The origins of this investigation were based on a desire to research and compile a list of films that contained images of immigration. In 2004 there were few studies published on immigration in Spanish film and no previous compilation of films existed. The fruit of this initial foray can be seen in Annex A: *Spanish National Films with Migrant and Ethnic Character Representation Listed by Year*, which includes a concentrated listing of over 150 films from 1975 to 2010, with representation of migrant and ethnic characters in Spanish film. Texts by Isolina Ballesteros (2001) and Isabel Santaolalla (2002, 2003, 2004) provided a starting point for films for this list. Further web searches through the Ministry of Culture's on line film and audiovisual database helped this list to grow. Given that many films that contain immigrant representation are not self-described as such, early

research consisted of "blind" database searches entering ethnic or nationality descriptions and occasional encounters in viewed films. These searches led to the discovery of films containing migrant and ethnic representations, yet were random and based on chance.

The publication in 2005 of Isabel Santaolalla's *Los "otros". Etnicidad y raza en el cine español contemporáneo* and Chema Castiello's *Los parias de la tierra. Inmigrantes en el cine español,* as well as the growing number of articles published on this subject, focused attention on the increasing importance of studies on Other representation in Spanish cinema. Santaolalla extensively covered representation of the Other in Spanish film, including representation of the gypsy from the start of Spanish film in 1911 through to 2002. Castiello highlighted a less extensive, though equally interesting group of films, focusing primarily on films through 2003 with one film of 2005 analyzed.

As the number of films representing immigrant images continued to grow exponentially, it soon became evident that the compilation of an all-inclusive list of films with immigrant representation was outside the limits of a thesis investigation. This was made clear by the 2003 investigation by Rosabel Argote "La mujer inmigrante en el cine español del inaugurado siglo XXI". In a study of the two-year period of January 2000 to December 2002, she found that of the 287 Spanish films that opened in Madrid during this period, 67 included representation of a foreigner.

Due to the expanding quantity of films with migrant and ethnic representation, a more restricted canon was needed to limit the size of the investigation. The first decision made was to restrict the years of the investigation. Isabel Santaolalla's comprehensive investigation was chosen as the starting point. As her investigation included films primarily reaching up to the years 2001 and 2002 (*A mi madre le gustan las mujeres, Canícula, El traje, Poniente…*), the largely uninvestigated years of 2003 and on were chosen for this investigation.

The second restriction of the canon was the decision to include only Spanish national full-length fiction films. Concurrent with the Ministry of Culture's definitions, full-length films are 60 minutes or longer. The definition of a fiction

film excludes those that are documentary or animation films. As discussed in chapter two, *Representing the Other, Representing Ourselves*, the term "national film" is an ambiguous concept. This study uses the Spanish Ministry of Culture's definition: a Spanish national film has obtained a Spanish National Film Certificate "Certificado de nacionalidad española de las películas" or is an international co-production in which the participating proportion of the production companies is between 20% to 80% or 10% to 70% in multi-party participation. For a film to receive the Spanish National Film Certificate, 75% of the film authors must be Spanish or European nationals or residents, 75% of the actors and 75% of the creative team must also be Spanish or European nationals or residents, and the film should be created preferably in Castellano Spanish or another official Spanish language with filming taking place in the European Union (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura- Cine y audiovisuals, n.d.e, on line). Between the years 2003 to 2010, 1,266 Spanish national films were produced.

Table 5.1: **Full length Spanish Films Produced Between 2003-2010**

Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	
Spanish	68	92	89	109	115	124	135	151	
Co-production	42	41	53	41	57	49	51	49	
Total	110	133	142	150	172	173	186	200	1266

(Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura- Cine y audiovisuals, 2010: on line)

The Goya Awards was chosen as the third parameter for this investigation due to its tradition of selecting films dealing with social issues, its representation of both artistic and blockbuster films, and as an indicator of what the film making community values in its own ranks. Many of the most famous and commonly studied and referenced films in articles and texts dealing with migration and ethnicity in film have been nominated for the Goya Awards. These include *Las Cartas de Alou, Hola, ¿estás sola?, Bwana, Cosas que dejé en La Habana, Barrio, Flores de otro mundo, and A mi madre le gustan las mujeres, Princesas*.

As was discussed in the section 4.2 *Spanish Film Industry*, there are two veins of films produced in Spain: artistic and social themed productions and more

commercial films primarily interested in box office success. Both groups of films are created by artists who represent the center and border limits of current Spanish society's culture and thought, of which the artistic community characteristically occupies itself.

Both types of films are often nominated for Goya awards, albeit for different categories. Artistic and social themed films are typically nominated in multiple categories of the Goya Awards. Such was the case for *Las Cartas de Alou*, which won a Goya for Best Photography and Best Original Sceenplay and was nominated for Best Director, Best Editing, Best Film, Best Production Supervision, Best Sound and Best Special Effects. Popular and blockbuster films are also often nominated, for example *Torrente, el brazo tonto de la ley*, which won Best New Director and Best Supporting Actor and was nominated for Best New Actor.

The Goya Awards are considered the top ranking film award given by Spain to recognize Spanish national films. Being a peer voted selection, it is an industry tool for measuring artistic excellence of films and film crews through consensus. As the Goya's are also prone to infighting typical of popularity contests[10], this thesis chose to study all films that had received nominations, rather than winners of Goya Awards.

The Goya Award nominated films analyzed in this thesis are derived from eight editions beginning with the XVIII Goya Award ceremony held in January 2004 through the XXV edition held in February 2011. Films included in these editions were produced between the years 2002 through 2010. The Goya Awards are composed of 28 categories that include an average of four nominations per category. All categories were analyzed with the exception of seven categories, which were eliminated from this analysis. These were the categories of Best Animation Film, Best Documentary Film, Best Foreign Film in the Spanish Language, Best European Film, and Best Short Film (Animation, Fiction and Documentary).

---

[10] See *El Mundo* (2007) or Prieto (2012) for reporting on the of anti-Almodóvar sentiment documented at the Goyas.

Table 5.2: **Goya Nomination Categories Included in Analysis**

Las Candidaturas	The Nominations
Mejor Película	Best Film
Mejor Dirección	Best Director
Mejor Dirección Novel	Best New Director
Mejor Guión Original	Best Original Screenplay
Mejor Guión Adaptado	Best Adapted Screenplay
Mejor Música Original	Best Original Score
Mejor Canción Original	Best Original Song
Mejor Interpretación Masculina Protagonista	Best Leading Actor
Mejor Interpretación Femenina Protagonista	Best Leading Actress
Mejor Interpretación Masculina de Reparto	Best Supporting Actor
Mejor Interpretación Femenina de Reparto	Best Supporting Actress
Mejor Actor Revelación	Best New Actor
Mejor Actriz Revelación	Best New Actress
Mejor Dirección de Producción	Best Production Supervision
Mejor Dirección de Fotografía	Best Photography
Mejor Montaje	Best Editing
Mejor Dirección Artística	Best Art Direction
Mejor Diseño de Vestuario	Best Costume Design
Mejor Maquillaje y/o Peluquería	Best Makeup and/or Hairstyling
Mejor Sonido	Best Sound
Mejores Efectos Especiales	Best Special Effects
~~Mejor Película de Animación~~	~~Best Animated Film~~
~~Mejor Película Documental~~	~~Best Documentary Film~~
~~Mejor Película Hispanoamericana~~	~~Best Foreign Film in the Spanish Language~~
~~Mejor Película Europea~~	~~Best European Film~~
~~Mejor Cortometraje de Ficción~~	~~Best Spanish Fiction Short Film~~
~~Mejor Cortometraje Documental~~	~~Best Spanish Animated Short Film~~
~~Mejor Cortometraje de Animación~~	~~Best Spanish Documentary Short Film~~

(Academia de las artes y las ciencias cinematográficas de España, n.d.: on line)

In the period of Goya awards analyzed, 675 total films were nominated of which 187 were unique films (Table 5.3: *Unique Full Length Spanish Films Nominated for Goya and Included in Analysis 2004-2011*). A complete listing of all films nominated is provided in Annex B: *2004-2011 Goya Nominated Films Used for Migrant and Ethnic Characters in Film Analysis*.

Table 5.3: **Unique Full Length Spanish Films Nominated for Goya and Included in Analysis 2004-2011**

Goya Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Nominations	84	84	84	84	87	84	84	84	675
Unique Nom.	27	31	32	18	22	21	19	17	187

(Academia de las artes y las ciencias cinematográficas de España, n.d.: on line)

Nominated films were further narrowed down to include only films representing the contemporary era, set inside of Spain and with a spectatorship of over 100,000 viewers. Contemporary representation in Spain is defined in this study as films representing the same historical period as the production date and representing Spain as the physical location of the narrative. Information on spectatorship numbers was gathered from the Ministry of Culture – Film and Audiovisual Database and is derived from the Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura- Cine y audiovisuals, n.d.d: on line).

The decision to only include films with viewership of over 100,000 spectators was chosen as a barometer to demonstrate audience interest and possible audience impact, similar to other comparable studies for example Aguilar (2010). In this way the artistic community's reflection on migration and their ability to share this with an audience could be measured[11]. Many studies solely take into consideration artistic productions without reference to a film's ability to influence through audience exposure. They compare films with little or no audience, such as *Saïd* (1999) - a 7,000-spectator film, to others with decent Spanish audience exposure such as *Bwana* (1996) with 217,414 spectators and discard Spanish blockbusters like *Torrente, el brazo tonto de la ley* (1998) with 3,010,664 spectators. While research that focuses on artistic productions is valid and necessary, it prioritizes the

---

[11] It should be noted that spectator totals provided to the Ministry of Culture may not always be accurate as the undocumented practice of "seat buying" is alleged to take place in order to meet Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales (ICAA) grant requirements (Pitmann, 2011: on line). Nonetheless this practice is not believed to affect the results of this study as the ICAA requires a minimum box office taking of 300,000€ which equates to roughly 50,000 spectators and this investigation is based on double that total. It is possible, but highly improbable that production companies would buy any more seats than was necessary to achieve the required quota.

artistic vision of a film crew over audience interest and impact. A social issues film without an audience is, in the end, the opinion of a small group of artists with little power to influence the social discourses on a topic. The box office dazzler containing migrant and ethnic representations for local color or as part of stereotypical power structures is also the opinion of a small group of artists, yet has the added potential of influencing the population. This thesis moves from the standpoint that it is necessary to take into account the wider stereotypes and beliefs that are being transmitted in both artistic and non-artistic productions *and* that are reaching Spanish audiences.

Of the 187 unique films nominated, 60 films met this criteria while 127 were excluded from the analysis based on failure to represent the contemporary era, not representing Spain as the physical location of the narrative, and/or less than 100,000 spectators (Table 5.4: *Relation of Unique Films to Analysis Criteria: Goya Nominated Films 2004-2011*). This information is detailed in Annex B: *2004-2011 Goya Nominated Films Used for Migrant and Ethnic Characters in Film Analysis*.

Table 5.4: **Relation of Unique Films to Analysis Criteria: Goya Nominated Films 2004-2011**

Goya Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Excluded	19	21	23	10	13	15	12	14	**127**
Included	8	10	9	8	9	6	7	3	**60**

The 60 films that met the content analysis criteria are listed in Table 5.5: *Content Analysis Films Listed by Year of Goya Nomination*.

Table 5.5: **Content Analysis Films Listed by Year of Goya Nomination[12]**

Goya Year	Film Year	Title	Director	Spectators
2004	2002	*El refugio del mal*	Félix Cábez	114,967
2004	2002	*Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad*	David Alonso	286,947
2004	2002	*Planta 4ª*	Antonio Mercero	1,143,301
2004	2003	*Atraco a las 3... y media*	Raúl Marchand	138,284
2004	2003	*Días de fútbol*	David Serrano	2,562,132
2004	2003	*En la ciudad*	Cesc Gay	197,106
2004	2003	*Noviembre*	Achero Mañas	225,245
2004	2003	*Te doy mis ojos*	Icíar Bollaín	1,063,389
2005	2003	*Haz conmigo lo que quieras*	Ramón de España	143,47
2005	2004	*Atún y chocolate*	Pablo Carbonell	174,154
2005	2004	*Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*	Manuel Gómez Pereira	180,353
2005	2004	*Crimen ferpecto*	Alex de la Iglesia	860,71
2005	2004	*El séptimo día*	Carlos Saura	108,308
2005	2004	*Héctor*	Gracia Querejeta	196,316
2005	2004	*Incautos*	Miguel Bardem	238,362
2005	2004	*Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia*	José María de la Peña	1,437,916
2005	2004	*Mar adentro*	Alejandro Amenábar	4,099,442
2005	2004	*Roma*	Adolfo Aristarain	250,156
2006	2005	*7 vírgenes*	Alberto Rodríguez	995,579
2006	2005	*El método*	Marcelo Piñeyro	469,082
2006	2005	*El penalti más largo del mundo*	Roberto Santiago	1,054,907
2006	2005	*Elsa & Fred*	Marcos Carnevale	124,573
2006	2005	*Obaba*	Montxo Armendáriz	468,808
2006	2005	*Otros días vendrán*	Eduard Cortés	105,043
2006	2005	*Princesas*	Fernando León de Aranoa	1,194,155
2006	2005	*Tapas*	Juan Cruz, Jose Corbacho	737,935
2006	2005	*Un rey en La Habana*	Alexis Valdés	326,292
2007	2006	*Azul oscuro casi negro*	Daniel Sánchez Arévalo	209,083
2007	2006	*Bienvenido a casa*	David Trueba	234,601
2007	2006	*Cabeza de perro*	Santi Amodeo	111,717
2007	2006	*El próximo oriente*	Fernando Colomo	129,617
2007	2006	*La educación de las hadas*	Jose Luis Cuerda	353,923

---

[12] Spectator totals collected from Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura – cine y audiovisuals, n.d.d.: on line.

2007	2006	*La noche de los girasoles*	Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo	204,473
2007	2006	*Volver*	Pedro Almodóvar	1,930,895
2007	2006	*Yo soy la Juani*	Bigas Luna	444,82
2008	2006	*Cándida*	Guillermo Fesser	360,965
2008	2007	*[Rec]*	Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró	1,428,572
2008	2007	*Bajo las estrellas*	Félix Viscarret	196,613
2008	2007	*El orfanato*	Juan Antonio Bayona	4,420,636
2008	2007	*La carta esférica*	Imanol Uribe	381,935
2008	2007	*La soledad*	Jaime Rosales	125,856
2008	2007	*La torre de Suso*	Tom Fernández	282,483
2008	2007	*Mataharis*	Icíar Bollaín	243,204
2008	2007	*Siete mesas de billar francés*	Gracia Querejeta	225,68
2009	2008	*Camino*	Javier Fesser	314,982
2009	2008	*Cobardes*	José Corbacho, Juan Cruz	183,084
2009	2008	*Fuera de carta*	Ignacio García Velilla	899,779
2009	2008	*Sólo quiero caminar*	Agustín Díaz Yanes	210,206
2009	2008	*Una palabra tuya*	Ángeles González-Sinde	197,343
2009	2008	*Vicky Cristina Barcelona*	Woody Allen	1,295,492
2010	2009	*[Rec] 2*	Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró	860,523
2010	2009	*Agallas*	Andrés Luque, Samuel Martín Mateos	118,785
2010	2009	*Celda 211*	Daniel Monzón	2,123,269
2010	2009	*Gordos*	Daniel Sánchez Arévalo	302,716
2010	2009	*Los abrazos rotos*	Pedro Almodóvar	691,447
2010	2009	*Pagafantas*	Borja Cobeaga	342,996
2010	2009	*Spanish Movie*	Javier Ruiz Caldera	1,245,250
2011	2010	*Biutiful*	Alejandro González Iñárritu	507,084
2011	2010	*Los ojos de Julia*	Guillem Morales	1,106,626
2011	2010	*Tres metros sobre el cielo*	Fernando González Molina	1,573,214

5.1.2 Film Analysis Categories

The purpose of the content analysis is to provide a general overview of trends in migrant and ethnic identity construction taking place in Spanish cinema. Films included in the content analysis film canon were analyzed in the following four categories: *Point of View*, *Inclusion and Character Level*, *Character Construction* and *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters*. The research analysis

scope for these categories is explained in more detail below and summarized in Table 5.6: *Content Analysis Categories of Analysis*. Each category was analyzed statistically for representation and followed by a discussion section.

Table 5.6: **Content Analysis Categories of Analysis**

Category	Analysis
Point of View	• Director heritage • Film funding source
Inclusion and Character Level	• Inclusion or absense • Character level
Character Construction	• Ethnicity • Gender • Age • Setting location • Employment Status • Speaking Treatment
Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters	• Mania, philia and phobia treatment • Spaniards and migrant-ethnic characters eating together or eating ethnic food • Spaniards and migrant-ethnic characters in romantic and sexual relationships

In chapter two, *Representing Ourselves, Representaing Others* as well as in chapter three, *Changing Perspective in European Film*, it was recognized that self-identity and alterity paradigms have an influence on the point of view of a discourse and that director and film team points of view have a strong influence on a film's ideology. The messages transmitted by a film in turn can influence the perspective and empathy an audience may be induced to feel through filmic treatment. In chapter four, *Changing Perspectives in Spanish Cinema*, it was recognized that Spanish film production is just now transitioning to contain filmmakers of migrant heritage. However, in the historical time period of this investigation beginning in 2004, national heritage directors make up the vast majority of films in this content analysis. The lack of distinct voices from migrant heritage and international directors included in the canon sample, led to the decision to focus on national director viewpoint in this thesis while including director viewpoints from international and migrant heritage directors in the statistics.

The 60 canon films were studied in relation to the analysis categories. In the subcategories *Director Heritage*, *Film Funding Source* and *Inclusion*, all 60 films were studied. In all other subcategories only films with migrant and ethnic characters were analyzed. In the category *Inclusion and Character Level*, films were studied to include information on director heritage and funding source.

In the categories *Character Construction of Migrant and Ethnic Representations* and *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters*, only the films with migrant or ethnic characters were studied. These categories also include an overview analysis of the films with principal or secondary characters in which information on director heritage is specified.

The *Content Analysis* section was influenced by Pilar Aguilar's chapter "La representación de las mujeres en las películas españolas: un análisis de contenido" in the 2010 collection *Cine y Género* by Fátima Arranz. Aguilar's study showed a decisive difference in representation of males and females depending on the gender of the director involved in the production.

The following questions were addressed in the Content Analysis based on the theories outlined in section 1.2.6 *Analyzing Representation of Otherness* in an attempt to further understand how the Spanish Film industry has represented migrant and ethnic identities in the canon of films studied here.

Point of View:

What percentages of films were directed by national heritage directors, migrant heritage directors and international directors? This question was based on the three categories of diretor heritage as outlined in section 2.4 *Directors and Heritage Based Point of View*. Heritage was determined by investigating the birth place of the director through movie databases such as IMDB, La Butaca, as well as through texts on directors of Spanish cinema and news articles related to the films.

What percentage of films were Spanish funded and what percentage were funded through co-productions? This information was gathered from the Spanish Government Ministry of Culture's Film and Audiovisual Database of Qualified Films (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura- Cine y audiovisuals, n.d.d: on line).

Inclusion and Character Level of Migrant and Ethnic Representations

What percentage of films included a migrant or ethnic character? As was discussed in the section 1.1 *The Social Construction of Identity: Self Identity, Otherness and Globalization*, the definition of a migrant used in this thesis is any individual who leaves their country to settle in a new one. This investigation analyzes both the representation of individuals from countries that are portrayed as having emigrated due to economic or political difficulties from less developed or third world countries, as well as those from Western Europe and the United States. Priority treatment was given to representations of migrants from less developed countries in the discussion commentaries due to the reality that they are more typically stereotyped by the media, face greater racism, and are less empowered to defend themselves against negative stereotypes. This investigation analyzes Spaniards of migrant or ethnic heritage, with the exception of Spanish Romani or "Gitanos", which were scarcely represented in the film canon, and treated as Spaniards of national heritage. Films were viewed to determine if they contained representations of migrant or ethnic characters. These were labeled with "Yes" for inclusion and "No" for omission. When the film in question showed an ethnic or character however it wasn't clear if they were a migrant, this was noted and discussed.

What percentage of films included migrant and ethnic characters in principal and secondary roles? And in third level and background roles? Character level of migrant and ethnic characters was divided into four categories: principal, secondary, third level and background characters. Principal characters are defined as protagonists, co-protagonists or supporting actors/actresses.

Secondary characters are part of protagonist's circle of friends, family, or enemies and may function as a contrast or mirror of the protagonist. They receive scenes and camera time dedicated to their character, however they are less important than principal characters. Third level characters are those who receive more screen time than a background character, possibly with limited dialogue and close up shots, yet are not central to the story or principal character plots. Background characters are used as background scenery only. They can be part of crowds, street scenes or setting. These are very limited characters with little or no involvement in the story.

Did director heritage have an influence on representation of migrant and ethnic character protagonism? If so how? Statistics were stated.

Did involvement in an international co-production have an influence on representation of migrant and ethnic character protagonism in films by national heritage directors? If so, how? Statistics were stated.

Character Construction of Migrant and Ethnic Representations

What percentage of films included more than one migrant or ethnic character? This question examined inclusion by looking at the unique number of migrant or ethnic characters in a film. These were divided into the categories: one character, two characters and three or more characters.

What ethnicities were represented and which ethnicities received the most representation? In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, which ethnicities received the most representation? Nationality or ethnicity was determined by specific references to characters made in the film. In the absence of these, characters are described with general qualifiers such as Asian, Latin-American, Black, etc.

What genders were represented? In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, what genders were these characters? These were listed as female, male or both in the case of two characters of different genders.

What age groups were represented? In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, in what age group were these characters? The age of migrant and ethnic characters was divided into the groups of senior, adult and children.

In what settings were characters located? In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, in what setting were these characters located? Location of migrant or ethnic character was limited to the descriptions as follows: urban, village, rural and mixed.

Were characters represented as employed? If so, in what occupations were they represented? In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, were characters represented working? If so, in what occupations?

Films were viewed to determine if they contained representations of migrant or ethnic characters employed. Occupation types were grouped into the categories: professional and management; unskilled labor; athletes and entertainers; and criminal activities and prostitution.

Were characters given speaking roles? If so, how were these represented? In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, how was character voice represented? Speaking roles were defined in the following categories: native Spanish speakers with no accent, native Spanish speakers with Latin accents, non-native Spanish with accent. Where non-Spanish native languages were spoken, these were documented for inclusion or ommision of subtitles: native language with subtitles and native language with no subtitles.

Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

What percentage of films included representation of mania, philia and phobia? In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, what percentage of films included representation of mania, philia and phobia? Films were viewed to determine if they contained representations of mania, philia and phobia categories as discussed in section 1.2.6 *Analyzing Representation of*

Otherness. These were labeled as mania (overestimation of a character), philia (viewing the foreign character as equal to oneself) and phobia (underestimation through racism and negative or distorted views). These were detailed where multiple treatments existed in the same film.

What percentage of films included representation of Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters eating together and Spaniards trying ethnic foods? In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, what percentage of films included representation of Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters eating together and Spaniards trying ethnic foods? These were detailed as: migrant and ethnic characters consuming food or drink with Spaniards, Spaniards consuming ethnic food or drink with and without migrant and ethnic characters and both Spaniards and migrant and ethnic characters consuming food or drink from the other's culture.

What percentage of films included representation of Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters in romantic or sexual relationships? In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, what percentage of films included representation of Spaniards with migrant or ethnic characters in romantic or sexual relationships? Films were viewed to determine if they contained representations of Spaniards and migrant and ethnic characters involved or not in romantic or sexual relationships. These were then divided into four categories: relationships between a Spaniard and a migrant character, relationships between two migrant characters, relationships between a Spaniard and a Spanish hybrid (also refered to as mixed heritage Spaniard or ethnic spaniard) and prostitution between a Spaniard and a migrant.

5.2 Content Analysis Results

This section provides the results of the study of the 60 content analysis films analysed for migrant and ethnic character identity construction based on *Point of View*, *Inclusion and Character Level*, *Character Construction* and *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters*. Each of the analysis areas is

followed by a *Discussion* section. A full table of the results is included in the Annexes C through F.

5.2.1 Point of View[13]

The 60 films of the film canon were first analyzed for the director heritage of the films and the national origin of the film funding sources.

Director Heritage

Percentage of films directed by national heritage directors, migrant heritage directors and international directors

Of the 60 films in the film canon, 52 films or 87% of the total, were directed by national heritage directors, seven films, 11% of the total, were directed by international directors and one film, representing 2% of the sample, was directed by a migrant heritage director.

Figure 5.1: **Director Heritage of the Film Canon**
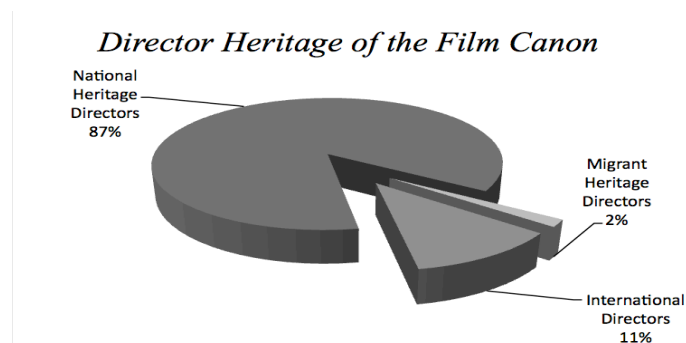
The following chart lists the films by national heritage directors, migrant heritage directors and international directors (Table 5.7: *Director Heritage of the Films*).

---

[13] A table of the results is available in Annex C: *Content Analysis Corpus: General Film Information and Point of View*.

Table 5.7: **Director Heritage of the Films**

Director Group	Film Title and Director
National Heritage[14]	*[Rec]* and *[Rec] 2* (Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró), *7 vírgenes* (Alberto Rodríguez), *Agallas* (Andrés Luque, Samuel Martín Mateos), *Atún y chocolate* (Pablo Carbonell), *Azul oscuro casi negro* (Daniel Sánchez Arévalo), *Bajo las estrellas* (Félix Viscarret), *Bienvenido a casa* (David Trueba), *Cabeza de perro* (Santi Amodeo), *Camino* (Javier Fesser), *Cándida* (Guillermo Fesser), *Celda 211* (Daniel Monzón), *Cobardes* (José Corbacho, Juan Cruz), *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* (Manuel Gómez Pereira), *Crimen ferpecto* (Alex de la Iglesia), *Días de fútbol* (David Serrano), *El orfanato* (Juan Antonio Bayona), *El penalti más largo del mundo* (Roberto Santiago), *El próximo oriente* (Fernando Colomo), *El refugio del mal* (Félix Cábez), *El séptimo día* (Carlos Saura), *En la ciudad* (Cesc Gay), *Fuera de carta* (Ignacio García Velilla), *Gordos* (Daniel Sánchez Arévalo), *Haz conmigo lo que quieras* (Ramón de España), *Héctor* (Gracia Querejeta), *Incautos* (Miguel Bardem), *Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia* (José María de la Peña), *La carta esférica,* (Imanol Uribe), *La educación de las hadas* (Jose Luis Cuerda), *La noche de los girasols* (Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo*), La soledad* (Jaime Rosales), *La torre de Suso* (Tom Fernández), *Los abrazos rotos* (Pedro Almodóvar), *Los ojos de Julia* (Guillem Morales), *Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad* (David Alonso), *Mataharis* (Icíar Bollaín), *Noviembre* (Achero Mañas), *Obaba* (Montxo Armendáriz), *Otros días vendrán* (Eduard Cortés), *Pagafantas* (Borja Cobeaga) *Planta 4ª* (Antonio Mercero), *Princesas* (Fernando León de Aranoa), *Siete mesas de billar francés* (Gracia Querejeta), *Sólo quiero caminar* (Agustín Díaz Yanes), *Spanish Movie* (Javier Ruiz Caldera), *Tapas* (Juan Cruz, Jose Corbacho), *Te doy mis ojos* (Icíar Bollaín), *Tres metros sobre el cielo* (Fernando González Molina), *Una palabra tuya* (Ángeles González-Sinde), *Volver* (Pedro Almodóvar), and *Yo soy la Juani* (Bigas Luna).
Migrant Heritage	*Mar adentro* (Alejandro Amenábar).
International	*Atraco a las 3... y media* (Raúl Marchand), *Biutiful* (Alejandro González

[14] Of these, eight films had directors with two films represented in the sample: Paco Plaza and Jaume Balagueró *([Rec] 2, [Rec]*), Pedro Almodóvar (*Los abrazos rotos, Volver*), Daniel Sánchez Arévalo (*Gordos, Azul oscuro casi negro*), José Corbacho and Juan Cruz (*Cobardes, Tapas*), Gracia Querejeta (*Siete mesas de billar francés, Héctor*), Icíar Bollaín (*Mataharis, Te doy mis ojos*).

	Iñárritu), *El método* (Marcelo Piñeyro), *Elsa & Fred* (Marcos Carnevale), *Roma* (Adolfo Aristarain), *Un rey en La Habana* (Alexis Valdés) and *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (Woody Allen).

Discussion:

As was expected, national heritage directors directed the majority of Spanish films in this analysis. Many of these directors are of established reputation. Examples include Carlos Saura, well-known for his Flamenco Trilogy *Bodas de sangre* (1981), *Carmen* (1983), and *El amor brujo* (1986) as well as later works such as *¡Ay, Carmela!* (1990) and *Fados* (2007). Bigas Luna is most famous for his trilogy *Jamón Jamón* (1992), *Huevos de oro* (1993) and *La teta y la luna* (1994). Fernando Colomo is also a prolific filmmaker with such works as *¿Qué hace una chica como tú en un sitio como éste?* (1978), *Bajarse al moro* (1988) and *El efecto mariposa* (1995). Alex de la Iglesia become famous for his dark comedy *Acción mutante* (1993), and later through such works as *El día de la bestia* (1995) and *La comunidad* (2000). Pedro Almodóvar has created and directed such films as *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* (1988), *Todo sobre mi madre* (1999) and *Hable con ella* (2002), as well as established his own production company El Deseo S.A..

In the category of international directors, Argentine directors had the largest majority with three directors represented: Adolfo Aristarain, Marcos Carnevale and Marcelo Piñeyro. Of these Adolfo Aristarain is the most well known in Spain for his films *Un lugar en el mundo* (1992) and *Martín (Hache)* (1997).

Two American directors were also represented: Woody Allen and Raúl Marchand. Woody Allen in recent years has turned to using Europe as his base of operations. After producing *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, he has since directed two additional American-Spanish productions: *You Will Meet a Tall Dark Stranger* (2010) and *Midnight in Paris* (2011). Raúl Marchand is a Puerto Rican director.

The remaining films were directed by the Mexican director Alejandro González Iñárritu and the Cuban director Alexis Valdés. Alejandro González Iñárritu is

known for *Amores perros* (2000), *21 gramos* (2003) and *Babel* (2006). Alexis Valdés is best known as a comedian and for performances in "El club de la comedia" in Madrid.

Only one film, *Mar adentro*, was directed by a migrant heritage director, Alejandro Amenábar, showing the scarce and almost inexistent presence of migrant and second-generation points of view. In this case the director does not categorize himself nor his filmmaking as of migrant heritage, and much of the general public does not know that he was born in Chile to a Chilean father and Spanish mother (Heredero, 1999: 31). Amenábar is noted for his work with the films *Los otros* (2001), *Mar adentro* (2004) and *Ágora* (2009).

The absence of a larger canon of migrant heritage directors is reflective of the general demographic age of the bulk of the migrant population in Spain. Additionally, the scarcity of filmmaking opportunities for filmmakers of this population and the lack of publicity and distribution of films by migrant heritage directors currently creating films in Spain, such as Santiago Zannou and Omer Oke, amongst others, are also contributing factors.

Film Funding Source

Percentage of films receiving entirely Spanish funding and percentage funded through international co-productions

Three-quarters of the films in the film canon, 45 in total, were entirely Spanish financed, and 25% of the films, 15 in total, were international co-productions.
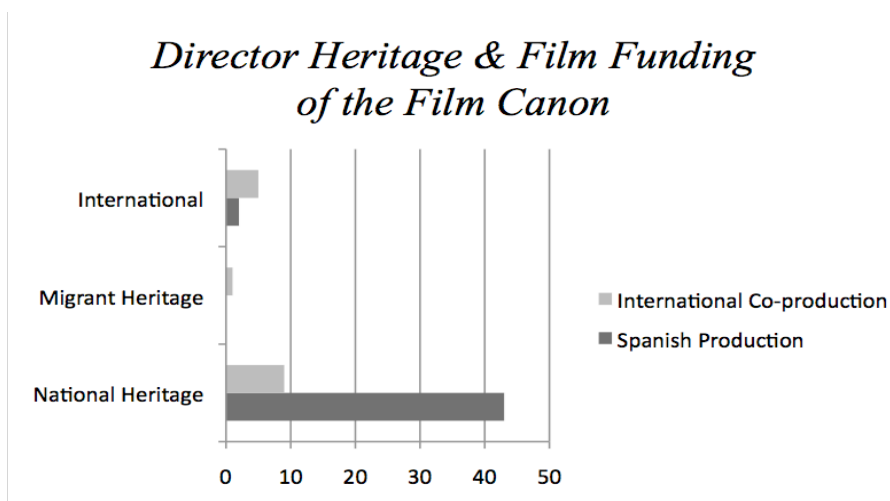
Figure 5.2**: Film Funding of the Film Canon**

Film Funding of the Film Canon

25%

75%

- Spanish Production
- International Coproduction
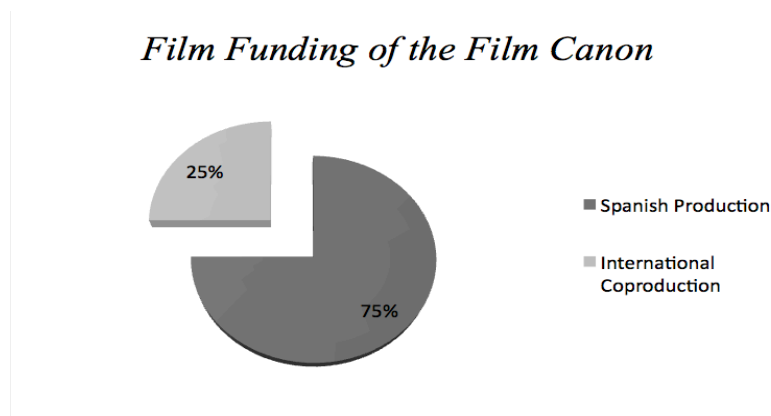
The majority of national heritage directors received entirely Spanish funding, totaling 43 films (78%), while nine films (6%) were international co-productions; the one migrant heritage directed film was an international co-production (2%); two films by international directors were entirely Spanish financed films (4%) and five films were international co-productions (9%).

Figure 5.3: **Director Heritage and Film Funding of the Film Canon**

Director Heritage & Film Funding of the Film Canon

International

Migrant Heritage

National Heritage

0   10   20   30   40   50

- International Co-production
- Spanish Production

Films with funding types are listed in Table 5.8: *Film Funding and Director Heritage*.

Table 5.8: **Film Funding and Director Heritage**

Director Group	Film Funding	Film Titles
National Heritage	Spanish Funding	*[Rec]*, *[Rec] 2*, *7 vírgenes*, *Agallas*, *Azul oscuro casi negro*, *Bajo las estrellas*, *Bienvenido a casa*, *Cabeza de perro*, *Camino*, *Cándida*, *Celda 211*, *Cobardes*, *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*, *Crimen ferpecto*, *Días de fútbol*, *El orfanato*, *El penalti más largo del mundo*, *El próximo oriente*, *El refugio del mal*, *En la ciudad*, *Fuera de carta*, *Gordos*, *Haz conmigo lo que quieras*, *Héctor*, *Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia*, *La carta esférica*, *La soledad*, *La torre de Suso*, *Los abrazos rotos*, *Los ojos de Julia*, *Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad*, *Mataharis*, *Noviembre*, *Obaba*, *Otros días vendrán*, *Pagafantas*, *Planta 4ª*, *Princesas*, *Siete mesas de billar francés*, *Spanish Movie*, *Te doy mis ojos*, *Tres metros sobre el cielo*, *Una palabra tuya*, *Volver*, and *Yo soy la Juani*.
National Heritage	Co-production	*Atún y chocolate* (Spain 90% / Italy 10%), *Celda 211* (Spain 90% / Francia 10%), *El séptimo día* (Spain 80% / France 20%), *Incautos* (Spain 75% / France 25%), *La educación de las hadas* (Spain 60% / France 20% / Argentina 10% / Portugal 10%), *La noche de los girasoles* (Spain 65% / Portugal 20% / France 15%), *Obaba* (80% / Germany 20%), *Sólo quiero caminar* (Spain 80% / Mexico 20%), *Tapas* (Spain 70% / Argentina 20% / Mexico 10%)
Migrant Heritage	Co-production	*Mar adentro* (Spain 70% / France 20% / Italy 10%)
International	Spanish Funding	*Atraco a las 3... y media*, *Un rey en La Habana*.
International	Co-production	*Biutiful* (Mexico 55% / Spain 45%), *El método* (Spain 70% / Argentina 20% / France 10%), *Elsa & Fred* (Spain 80% / Argentina 20%), *Roma* (Spain 80% / Argentina 20%), *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (Spain 50% / USA 50%)

Discussion:

The majority of national heritage director films were produced with Spanish funding. In films where international co-production funding was used, in almost half of the cases there is a recognizable influence that can be traced to the international funding source in the choice of film characters or setting used. This can be seen in the national heritage directed films *Sólo quiero caminar*, a Spanish-Mexican co-production, which set the film both in Spain and in Mexico, and in which both Spanish and Mexican characters received equal development. *La educación de las hadas*, deriving its funding from France, Argentina, and Portugal, eclectically mixed Spanish settings with French and Argentine actors, while using a Spanish actress, Bebe, to impersonate an Algerian student. *Incautos*, a Spanish-French co-production, involved a French actor. *Tapas*, a Spanish-Argentine co-production, included an Argentine character.

The majority of migrant heritage director and international director films were the fruits of international co-production funding. One film from this group received more foreign funding than Spanish funding: *Biutiful* (Mexico 55% / Spain 45%). *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* was the only film to receive equal funding (Spain 50% / USA 50%).

5.2.2 Inclusion and Character Level[15]

Next, the same canon of 60 films was analyzed for inclusion of migrant or ethnic characters. This was followed by an analysis of only the films that contained a migrant or ethnic character for the highest protaganist level represented.

---

[15] A table of the results is available in Annex D: *Content Analysis Corpus: Inclusion and Character Level of Migrant and Ethnic Characters*.

Inclusion

Percentage of films that included a migrant or ethnic character

The majority of films in the canon, 55 out of 60 (92%), included a migrant or ethnic character. These films are found in all three director groups and in both nationally funded and international co-production films.

Figure 5.4: **Inclusion of Migrant and Ethnic Characters in the Film Canon**

Inclusion of Migrant and Ethnic Characters in the Film Canon
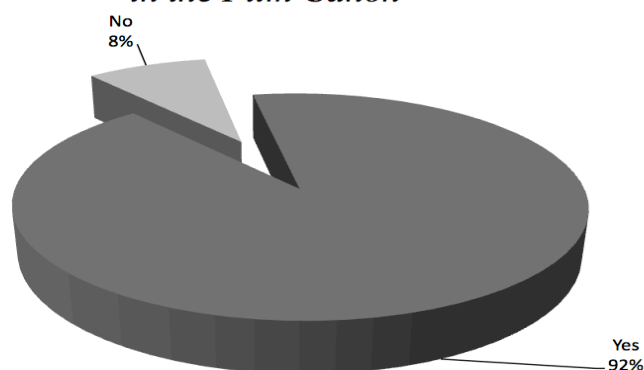
Of the 60 total films, 55 included migrant and ethnic characters, 92% of the canon, and five films, 8% of the canon, did not.

National heritage filmmakers are the primary creators of representations of migrant images in films distributed to national audiences in Spain. Of the 52 films they directed, 47 (90%) contained migrant or ethnic characters while 5 (10%) did not. Of the five films, four were entirely Spanish funded: *7 vírgenes, Bajo las estrellas*, *Días de fútbol* and *Los ojos de Julia*; and one film was an international co-production: *Obaba* .

All seven films by migrant and internacional directors included migrant or ethnic characters.

The 55 films that included migrant and ethnic characters were evaluated for their inlusion of multiple migrant and ethnic characters. The majority included multiple characters. Thirty-seven films of the 55 films, or 67% of this total, contained three or more migrant or ethnic characters. Eight films (15%) included two characters, while ten films (18%) included only one migrant or ethnic character.

Figure 5.5: **Quantity of Migrant and Ethnic Characters in Total Films**
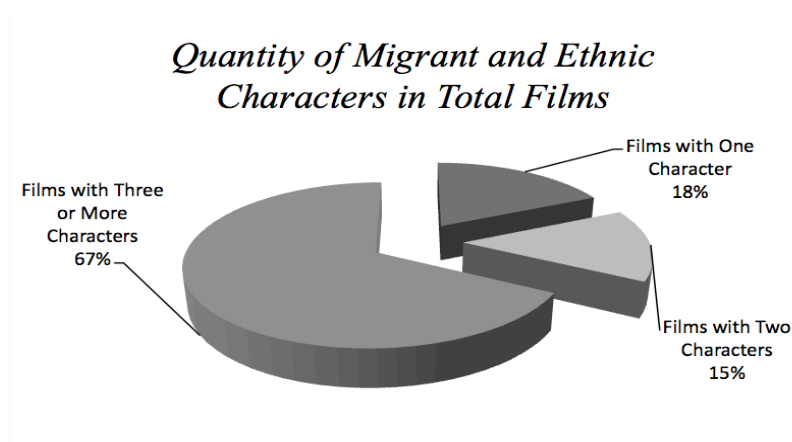
Discussion:

In light of the fact that 92% of the 60 films in the canon contained a migrant or ethnic character, and 67% of the films with migrant and ethnic characters contained three or more characters, what becomes immediately clear is the extent to which the changing demographics have influenced filmmakers to include representation of migrant and ethnic populations in film.

Interestingly enough, the quantity of migrant or ethnic characters in a film is not necessarily reflective of the importance of this character to the film narrative. To give an example, the films *El método*, *Roma*, *El refugio del mal*, and *La noche de los girasoles* all included only one ethnic or migrant character, but this character was prominant in protagonist or supporting character roles. Equally, films such as *Azul oscuro casi negro*, *Noviembre*, *[Rec] 2*, *Crimen ferpecto*, *Spanish Movie*, and *Haz conmigo lo que quieras* contained three or more representations of migrant or

ethnic characters yet showed these characters for brief seconds in perhaps only one scene.

As the majority of films included a migrant or ethnic character, it is interesting to note which films did not include these characters. In some cases there were inconsistencies with respect to the settings and the lack of inclusion. For example, *Los ojos de Julia*, *Bajo las estrellas* and *Obaba* were all set in rural areas where it is feasible that there might be no migrants. However, the films *7 vírgenes* and *Días de fútbol* were set in urban areas and in neighborhoods where we would expect to see diverse ethnic populations. The film, *7 vírgenes*, was set in the neighborhood of Poligon Sur of Seville where in reality immigrants live. While no migrant or ethnic characters appeared in the film, in one scene migration is alluded to in the advertisement on a telephone booth for inexpensive international calls to migrant originating countries. Even more surprising is that the director Alberto Rodríguez directed the film *El traje* (2002), focusing on the theme of migration. The second film, *Días de fútbol*, also took place in a marginal city neighborhood, this time in Madrid. Again, it is difficult to imagine that this neighborhood would be represented as devoid of migrant and ethnic residents.

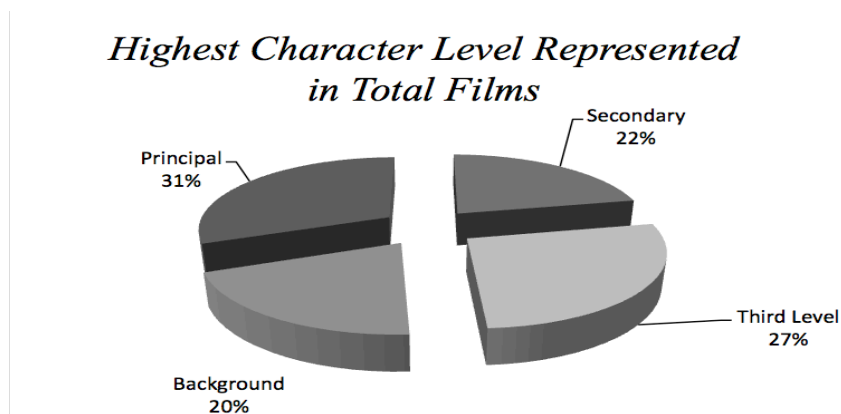*Migrant and Ethnic Character Level*

From this section forward in this chapter, only the 55 films of the canon that included migrant and ethnic characters were considered for analysis, referred to as "total films". Each of these films was evaluated for the character level of migrant and ethnic characters based on four category groupings. Principal characters are protagonists, co-protagonists or supporting actors/actresses. Secondary characters are part of protagonist's circle of friends, family or antagonist and may receive scenes and camera time dedicated to this character alone, however they are less important than principal characters. Third level characters receive more screen time than a background character but are not central to the story or principal character plots. Background characters are used as background scenery only, often used to establish setting in street scenes. In the case where multiple migrant or ethnic

characters were present, the film was attributed with the highest level of character portrayed and this character was used for the statistics in Principal and Secondary Character Analysis.

Percentage of films that included migrant and ethnic characters in principal and secondary roles or in third level and background roles

When all films from each of the three director groups were looked at together, the four character levels each represented roughly a quarter of the total, with 53% of the total films representing migrants or ethnic characters as principal or secondary characters and 47% as third level or background characters.

Figure 5.6: **Highest Character Level Represented in Total Films**

Migrant and ethnic characters were represented in a principal role in 17 films, making up 31% of the total. These include: *Biutiful*[16], *El método*, *El próximo oriente*, *El refugio del mal*, *Elsa & Fred*, *En la ciudad*, *Fuera de carta*, *Héctor*, *Incautos*, *La educación de las hadas*[17], *La noche de los girasoles*, *Pagafantas*,

---

[16] In the film *Biutiful*, the principal migrant character included in the statisc is an Argentine. However, three other characters, two Sub-Saharan black characters and one Chinese character are also present in secondary character roles.
[17] The film *La educación de las hadas* contained three principal characters that were migrant: an Algerian, an Argentine, and a French woman.

Princesas, *Roma*, *Sólo quiero caminar*, *Un rey en La Habana*, and *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*.

Twelve films included at least one migrant or ethnic character in a secondary role, totalling 22% of the 55 films. These include: *Atraco a las 3... y media*[18], *Atún y chocolate*, *Cabeza de perro*, *Cándida*, *Celda 211*, *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*, *El penalti más largo del mundo*, *Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia*, *La carta esférica*, *Siete mesas de billar francés*, *Tapas* and *Te doy mis ojos*.

Fifteen, or 27% of the total, included a migrant or ethnic character in a third level role. These include: *[Rec]*, *Agallas*, *Bienvenido a casa*, *Camino*, *Cobardes*, *El orfanato*, *El séptimo día*, *Gordos*, *La torre de Suso*, *Los abrazos rotos*, *Otros días vendrán*, *Planta 4ª*, *Tres metros sobre el cielo*, *Volver* and *Yo soy la Juani*.

The remaining eleven films, 20% of the total, included at least one migrant or ethnic character as background scenery. These include: *[Rec] 2*, *Azul oscuro casi negro*, *Crimen ferpecto*, *Haz conmigo lo que quieras*, *La soledad*, *Mar adentro*, *Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad*, *Mataharis*, *Noviembre*, *Spanish Movie* and *Una palabra tuya*.

Summing up these findings, of the 55 total films, 29 films (53%) included migrant and ethnic characters in principal and secondary roles while 26 films (47%) included these characters in third level and background scenery roles.

Influence of director heritage on representation of migrant and ethnic character protagonism

When each of the director heritage groups was looked at separately, it became evident that director heritage plays an important role in representation of migrant and ethnic characters. Migrant heritage and international directors, as a group, included migrants and ethnic characters as principal characters in 75% of their films (six films). They were included as secondary characters in 12.5% of their

---

[18] The film *Atraco a las 3... y media* contained two secondary characters who were migrants: a German and an Argentine.

films (one film), and as background characters in 12.5% of their films (one film). In total, migrant and ethnic characters were represented in principal and secondary roles in 87% of migrant heritage and international director films and in third level and background characters in 12.5% of their films. When films by migrant heritage and international directors were further studied, 100% of the films directed by international directors included migrant and ethnic characters in principal or secondary roles.

In films by national heritage directors, migrant and ethnic characters were represented as principal characters in 23% of their films (11 films); as secondary characters in 23% of their films (11 films), as third level characters in 32% of their films (15 films); and as background characters in 22% of their films (10 films). In total, migrant and ethnic characters were represented in principal and secondary roles in 47% of national hertitage director films and in third level and background characters in 53% of their films.

Figure 5.7: **Percentage of Highest Character Level Represented in Total Films According to Director Heritage**
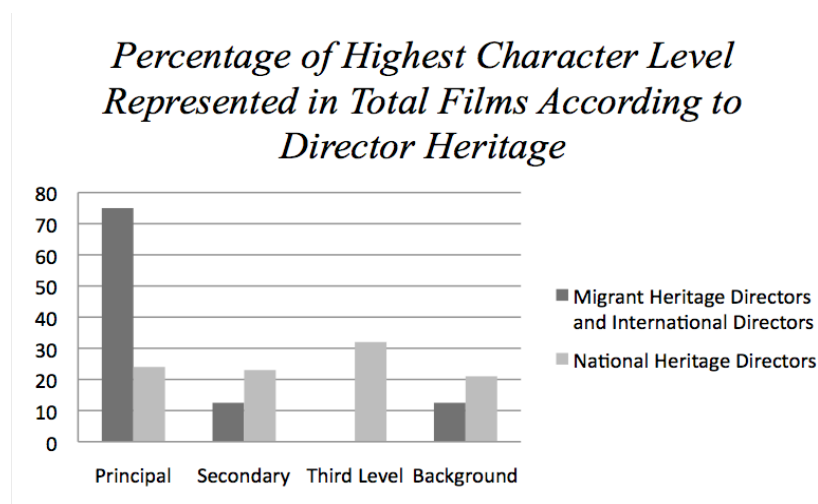
**Influence of funding source on representation of migrant and ethnic
character protagonism in films by national heritage directors**

When only national heritage directed films were examined for character level
based on funding conditions, it was revealed that the use of migrant and ethic
characters in principal and secondary roles is significantly more prevalent if the
film received international co-production funding, regardless of the countries
involved. Films created by national heritage directors that received international
co-production funding included migrant and ethnic characters as principal and
secondary roles in 87% of their films (principal characters in four films at 50% and
secondary characters in three films at 37%) and as third level characters in 13%
(one film at 13%).

National heritage directors that received only national funding included migrant
or ethnic characters in principal or secondary roles only 38% of the time (principal
characters in seven films at 18% and secondary characters in eight films at 20%)
while 62% were third level (14 films at 36%) or background characters (10 films at
26%).

Figure 5.8: **Percentage of Highest Character Level Represented in National Heritage Films
According to Funding**
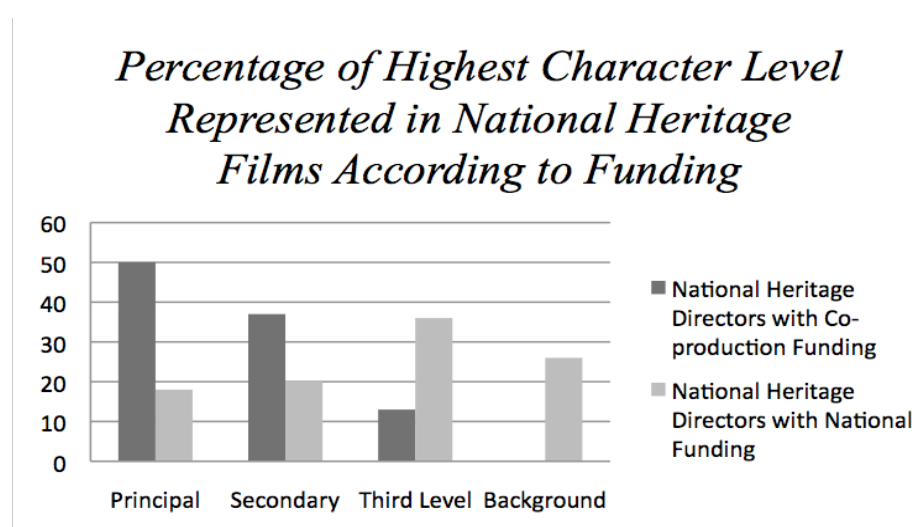
Summing up these conclusions, films created by international and migrant heritage directors and national heritage directors with films that were funded through international co-productions were most likely to include migrant and ethnic characters as principal and secondary characters. This was the case in 88% of their films (14 films). Third level and background characters were only present in 12.5% of their films (2 films). On the other hand, national heritage directors with national funding were more likely to portray characters in third level or background roles (62% of the time, in 24 films). They used migrant and ethnic principal and secondary characters in only 38% of their films (15 films).

Figure 5.9: **Percentages of Highest Character Level Representation According to Director Heritage and Funding**
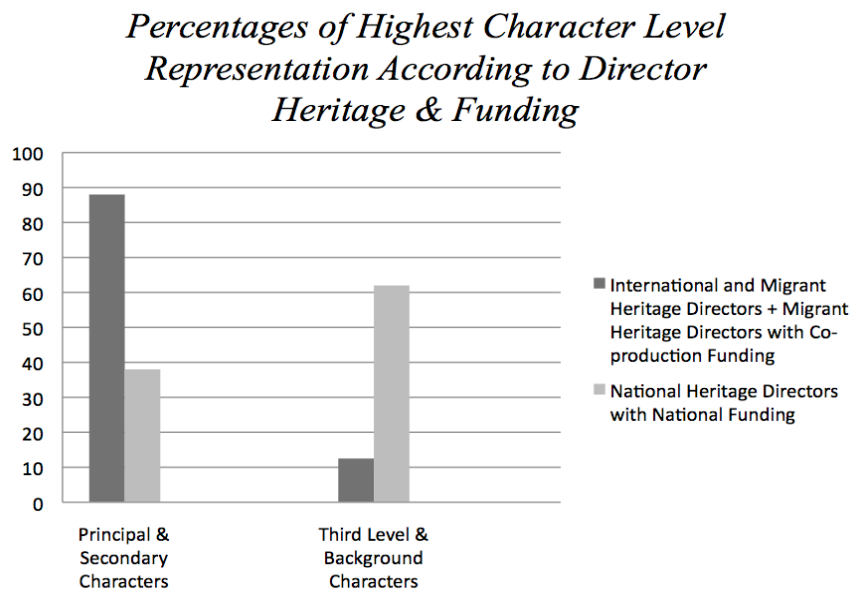
Discussion:

This data led to the conclusion that if a film was directed by an international director or by a national heritage director involved in an international co-production, there was a high probability that a principal or secondary character would be of migrant or ethnic origin. Whereas if the director was of national

heritage and used only national funding, an ethnic or migrant character was most likely to be used as a third level character or as a background character.

In the case of films directed by an international director, principal and secondary characters often had the same nationality as the director or writer. This was the case in the films of the international directors of Argentine origin Adolfo Aristarain, Marcos Carnevale and Marcelo Piñeyro, whose films each contained Argentine protagonists. While Alejandro González Iñárritu's *Biutiful* did not contain a Mexican character, it did contain an Argentine protagonist. González Iñárritu cowrote this film with the Argentine writers Armando Bo and Nicolás Biacobone.

Woody Allen's film *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* centered on Americans in Spain. It included the American protagonists played by Scarlett Johansson and Rebecca Hall. The Cuban Alexis Valdés set *Un rey en La Habana* half in Cuba and half in Spain and himself interpreted the Cuban protagonist of the film. In the case of *Atraco a las 3... y media*, the Puerto Rican Raúl Marchand did not include characters of his same ethnicity, instead his secondary characters hailed from Germany and Argentina with third level characters from Cuba.

The only film by a migrant heritage director in this sample, Alejandro Amenábar's *Mar adentro*, used a migrant or ethnic character in a background role. This film contained one brief background scene that included a black woman who works at a fish cannery. What is curious about Amenábar's work on the whole is the lack of any references to his Chilean or Latin American roots. Nevertheless his films often tend to center on characters who are Others in society, for example, in *Ágora* (2009), Hypatia is a philosopher and mathematician in an otherwise male-centered environment. In *Mar adentro*, Ramon Sampedro fights for his right to suicide in a world dominated by able-bodies, and even César in *Abre los ojos* (1997) navigates his way through truth and nightmare in the aftermath of a disfiguring car accident in which he feels he is different.
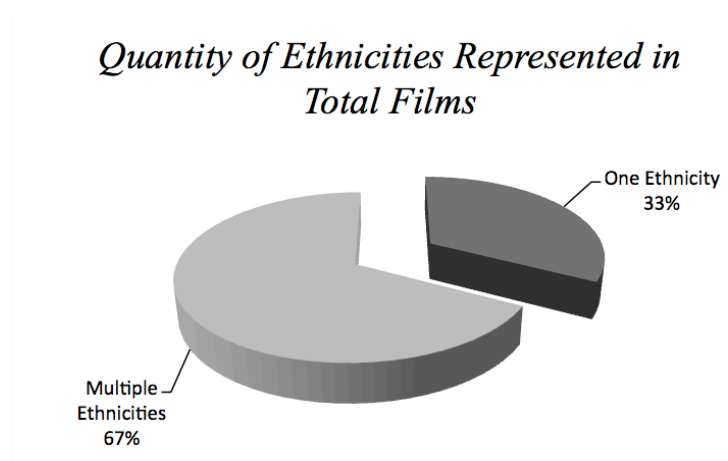
5.2.3 Character Construction[19]

Total films that included migrant and ethnic characters were next evaluated for their migrant and ethnic character construction. The variables analysed included demographic information on ethnicity, gender, age, setting location, employment status and if the characters were given a speaking role. Each category was studied for representation in two film sets: the first set was made up of the 55 total films while the second set was made up of the 29 films which included migrant and ethnic characters in principal and secondary roles.

Ethnicity of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

Percentage of films that included more than one migrant or ethnic character

Of the 55 films studied, 18 (33%) included one ethnicity while 37 films (67%) included multiple ethnicities. These totals documented each different ethnicity represented in a given film, however they did not record numbers for multiple characters of the same ethnicity in the same film.

Figure 5.10: **Quantity of Ethnicities Represented in Total Films**

Quantity of Ethnicities Represented in Total Films

One Ethnicity 33%

Multiple Ethnicities 67%

---

[19] A table of the results is available in Annex E: *Content Analysis Corpus: Character Construction*.

Ethnicities represented and frequency of representation

The most represented ethnicity or nationality groups were those from Latin America and the Caribbean. These nationalities showed up in 38 films, 69% of the total 55 films. Characters from Sub-Saharan Africa and those with black skin (not identifiable as pertaining to a specific country) were represented in 27 films, 49% of the total. Asians were represented in 14 films, 25% of the total. Western Europeans were present in 11 films, 20% of the total. Other characters from North Africa; Eastern Europe and Russia; Spanish hybrid characters; North Americans; and South Asians in smaller numbers made up the remaining total of characters represented.

Figure 5.11: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Ethnicity in Total Films**
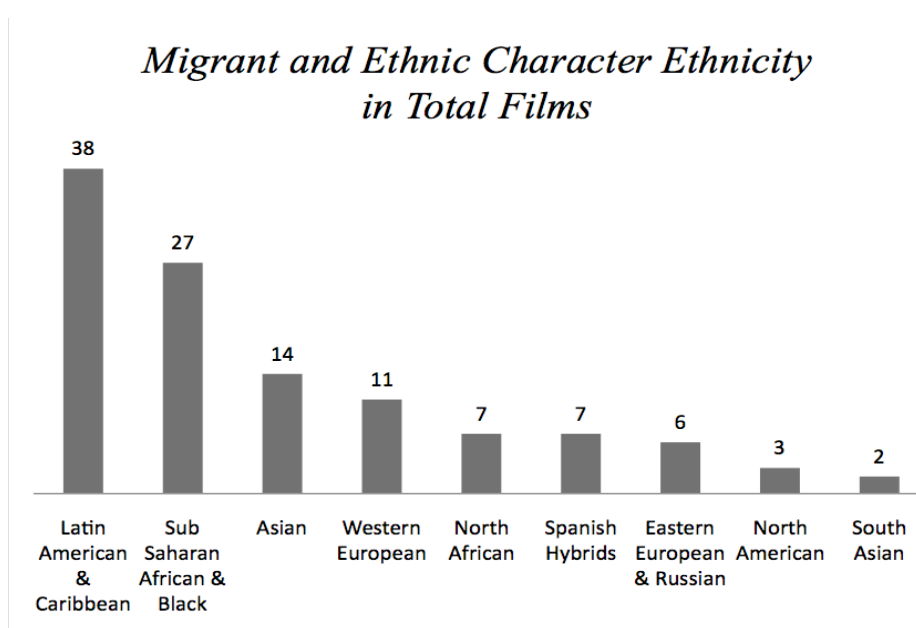
The most represented regional ethnic groups were characters from Latin America represented by nationalities such as Argentines, Brasilians, Columbians, Cubans, Dominicans, Hondurans, Mexicans, blacks who spoke with an identifiable Latin accent and unidentified nationalities with marked latin facial features or speech patterns. These included films such as *Celda 211*, *El método*, *Héctor*, *Pagafantas*

and *Siete mesas de billar francés*. Of the films in this group, 15 films portrayed an Argentine character, the most frequently represented nationality in this study.

Twenty-seven films included Sub-Saharan Africans and other characters with black skin. These included Senagalese and unidentified black characters that may be classifiable as Latin American, Caribbean, or Spanish blacks yet in the films did not provide any clues to their ethnic origens. These included films such as *Biutiful*, *Cabeza de perro*, *Cándida*, *Gordos* and *Princesas*.

Fourteen films portrayed Asian characters. These included Chinese and Japanese characters as well as unidentified nationalities with Asian facial features. These were found in films such as *Tapas*, *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*, *Otros días vendrán*, *[Rec]* and *Spanish Movie*.

Western Europeans made up the next largest group, represented in eleven films. These characters were identified in the films as British, French, German, Italian, Scotish, and unidentified northerners who spoke English with a European accent. These included films such as *Atraco a las 3... y media*, *El orfanato*, *Incautos*, *Los abrazos rotos* and *Te doy mis ojos*.

North African characters were represented in seven films. These included the nationalities of Argelia, Morocco, and Muslim women wearing headscarves with North African facial features. These included films such as *Atún y chocolate*, *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*, *El penalti más largo del mundo*, *La educación de las hadas*, and *Mataharis*.

Seven films also contained Spanish hybrids, charcters of mixed Spanish heritage. These included a Mexican-Spanish child, a Bangladeshi-Spanish child and Argentine-Spanish children. The other three characters were of mixed black skin tones and spoke Spanish with no accent. These included *El próximo oriente*, *En la ciudad*, *Héctor* and *La noche de los girasoles*.

Eastern Europeans and Russians made up the next group with six characters hailing from Bulgaria, Romania, Russia and one film representing Eastern European gypsies. The Bulgarian, Romanian, and Russian characters were defined in the film. The Eastern European gypsies were identified by their wardrobe. These

included films such as *Bienvenido a casa, Incautos, Noviembre, Sólo quiero caminar* and *Un rey en La Habana*.

Three films included North American characters. These were defined in the film and include *Cándida, Los abrazos rotos* and *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*.

Two films represented South Asian characters. These included *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* and *El próximo oriente*.

Frequency of representation of principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters

When these ethnicites and nationalities were narrowed down to focus only on the 29 films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, the most represented ethnicity or nationality groups were those from Latin America and the Caribbean, present in 17 films, 59% of the 29 films. Western Europeans appear in four films, 14% of the total. Similarly, Spanish hybrids and North Africans were each represented in 3 films, 10% of the total respectively.

Figure 5.12: **Character Ethnicity in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**
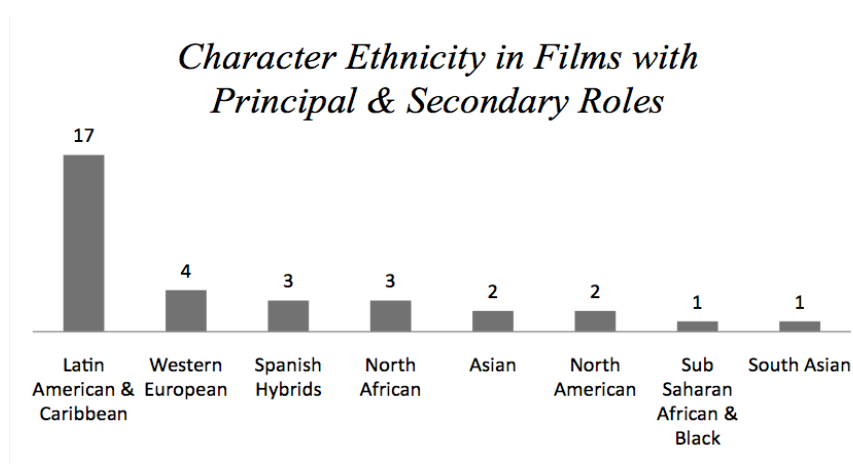
Looking at this information in detail, Argentines received the most representation, appearing in 11 films, or 40% of the total films. These were almost equally represented by both international directors (five films) and national heritage Directors (six films). Spanish hybrid characters appeared in three films all by national heritage directors, 10% of the total. Other ethnicities were represented in one or two films as detailed in the chart below.

Figure 5.13: **Character Ethnicity in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles: Detailed**
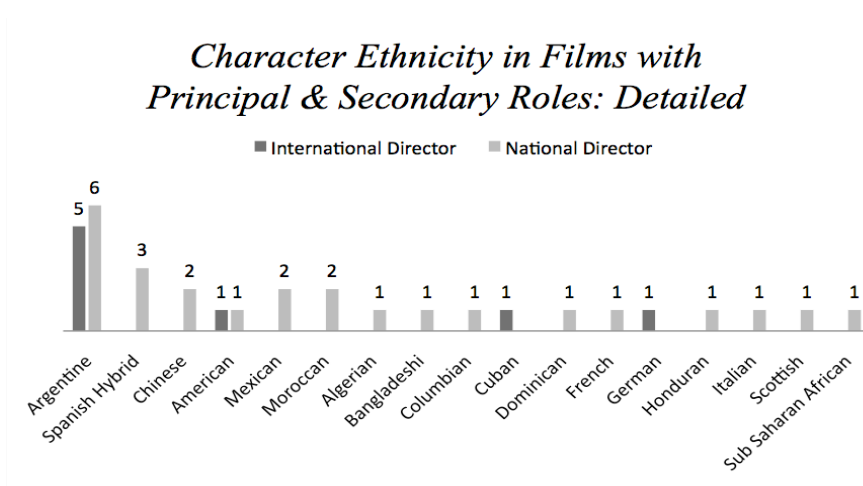
Discussion:

What was most interesting from these results was the filmic interest shown towards representing certain ethnicites and nationalities and the almost exclusion of others. Additionally, striking were the differences that appeared between ethnicity representations in the 55 total films as compared with the 29 films with principal and secondary characters.

Latin American and Caribbean characters were favored above all groups with inclusion in 69% of the total films and 59% of the films with principal and secondary characters. Of these, Argentines stood out for their numbers. In the total films category, 27% included Argentines while in the category of principal and secondary character roles, Argentines were present in 40% of the total.

The elevated number of Argentines can be directly linked to the presence of films created by Argentine directors or writers included in this study. Three of the films were directed by Argentines and one film was written by Argentines. As was previously mentioned, these cases reflected a tendency to use their own nationalities more frequently in these films (*Biutiful*, *El método*, *Elsa and Fred*, *Roma*). Possibly, due to the frequency and tradition of Argentine colaborations in co-productions or the affinity many Spaniards feel towards Argentines, this was also the case in the Spanish-Argentine co-productions, for example in *Tapas*. However this trend also continued in films by national heritage directors with national funding such as *El refugio del mal*, *Fuera de carta*, *Incautos*, *La carta esférica*, *La educación de las hadas*, *Pagafantas* and *Yo soy la Juani*.

Sub-Saharan Africans and other representations of black characters were the second most common ethnicities represented after Latin American and Caribbean characters. They represented 49% of the migrant and ethnic roles present in the total films. Despite the high representation given to this group in the total films category, this frequency did not translate into the development of memorable characters presented on equal terms with Spaniards. Sub-Saharan Africans were only represented in two films with characters in more central roles, 4% of the total films (*Cabeza de perro* and *Biutiful*[20]). The majority of the other films used black characters as visual shorthand to provide migrant presence in films. This is interesting given the fact that in the first wave of "immigrant" films in the 1990s and early 2000s, Sub-Saharan African characters were among the first ethnic characters to receive primary roles such as in *Las cartas de Alou* (Montxo Armendáriz, 1990), *Bwana* (Imanol Uribe, 1996) and *El traje* (Alberto Rodríguez, 2002).

In this sample, only two films provided deeper character development involving Sub-Saharan African characters in secondary character roles. *Cabeza de perro*, was directed by the national heritage director Alberto Rodríguez. In this film, the character Moobi was portrayed as a good friend to the protagonist of the film. The

---

[20] This data includes the two Sub-Saharan black characters in secondary character roles not accounted for in the principal and secondary character statistics.

second film, *Biutiful*, was directed by an international director, Alejandro González Iñárritu. This film developed the secondary character roles of Ekweme and Ige in a well-rounded and uplifting manner, showing them make decisions on an equal hierarchical footing with the Spanish protagonists.

Similarly, Asian characters, represented in 25% of total films and 7% of principal and secondary character films, received few primary representations in equal hierarchy with Spaniards. While *Tapas* most successfully illustrated the transformation of the Spanish character Lolo for the better after the Chinese migrant Mao comes into his life, the film capitalized from beginning to end on the exoticness of Mao. Other films such as *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*, *[Rec]* and *Spanish Movie* all showed Asian characters in a marginal or negatively comical light.

Nonetheless, the most striking statistics from this data were the absences. Keeping in mind the Spanish demographic statistics discussed in the subsection 4.1.1.3 *Immigration*, that the top five countries of origin for migrants in Spain in the 2011 INE Census were Romanians (864,278), Moroccans (769,920), the British (390,880), Ecuadorians (359,076) and Colombians (271,773), the most obvious question is why weren't these represented in greater numbers in Spanish films? Moroccans and Romanians were represented in extremely low numbers in this study. Moroccan characters were limited to three films. *Atún y chocolate* provided a very pessemistic and comically inferior representation. *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* included only a limited scene showing a frustrated character at the unemployment office unable to communicate in Spanish. *El penalti más largo del mundo* made large inroads from previous representations yet followed many of the same stereotypes attached to North African immigration.

Bienvenido a casa was the only film in the entire sample of 55 films that identified a character as Romanian. Sadly, this character, a champion of matial arts, is last seen destroying the house of the immature casanova type Spaniard she had been dating. The only other film with possible Romanian representation showed Eastern European gypsies in *Noviembre*. Ecuadorians were not identifiably present in any film, and Colombians were only identified in *Celda 211*. On the other hand,

270

Asians and black characters received overrepresentation in film in terms of their population numbers in Spain.

One other area of interest was the choice of actors and actresses to interpret migrant and ethnic characters. Most films tended to use actors of the same origin as the characters they interpreted. An example is the Cuban character Regina in *Volver* interpreted by the Cuban María Isabel Díaz. Two films by national heritage directors stood out for their novelty in portraying Spanish multiracial ethnicity while not transforming these characters into migrant personalities, *La noche de los girasoles* and *En la ciudad.* Both characters were played by mixed heritage (half Spanish – half Black) Spanish actresses: Judith Diakhate, born in Madrid, as Gabi in *La noche de los girasoles* and Vicenta N'Dongo, born in Barcelona, as Sara in *En la ciudad*. These films presented a multiracial Spanish society with ethnic heritage Spaniards in dignified roles. These characters were treated on par with other white Spanish characters in the films with no differences in hierarchy. In fact there was no mention of their race or ethnicty made in the film. This treatment stands out from previous roles by Vicenta N'Dongo who in *Ilegal* (Ignacio Vilar, 2003) interpreted a Moroccan character and other films in this sample such as *Cabeza de perro* which used the black Spanish actor Jimmy Roca, born in Badajoz, to play a Sub-Saharan migrant Moobi. Jimmy Roca did play a Spanish character in the film *Atún y chocolate*, however this film did not stand out for its representation of an integrating society. Instead Roca played a comic role as an unintelligent police officer treated inferiorly by his coworker.

A few films used Spanish actors or actressess to portray migrant characters. One curious example was the film *Roma* in which two actors interpreted the same character, an Argentine exile Joaquín Góñez, at different stages of his life. The Spanish actor José Sacristán played the older Joaquín while the Argentine Juan Diego Botto interpreted the youthful Joaquín. In *La educación de las hadas*, Bebe, a famous Spanish singer, interpreted the Argelian character Kesar. In a third film, *El próximo oriente,* Nur Al Levi, born in Spain and daughter of the Argentine Cristina Rota, interpreted the Bangladeshi character Aisha.

Gender of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

Gender represented

Thirty-four films (62%) depicted both male and female migrant and ethnic characters. Fourteen films (25%) represented only male ethnic or migrant characters while seven films (13%) represented only female characters.

Figure 5.14: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Gender in Total Films**
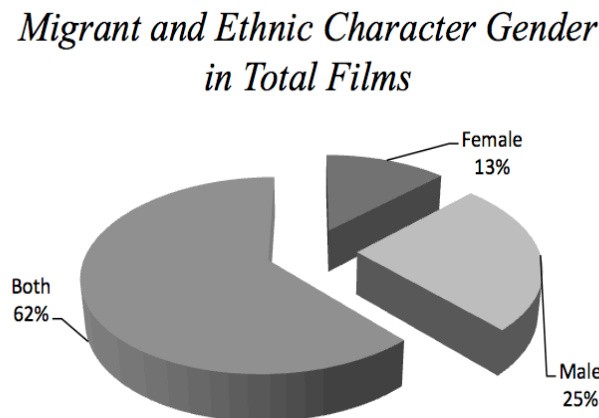
Gender of principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters

The statistical findings were different when focusing on only the 29 films containing migrant and ethnic characters in principal and secondary roles. In this case 17 films (59% of the films with principal and secondary migrants) centered on male characters, while 11 films (40%) focused on female characters. One film had both genders represented in principal roles, 3% of the total. Both national heritage and international directors used males more frequently in principal and secondary roles.

Figure 5.15: **Character Gender in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**
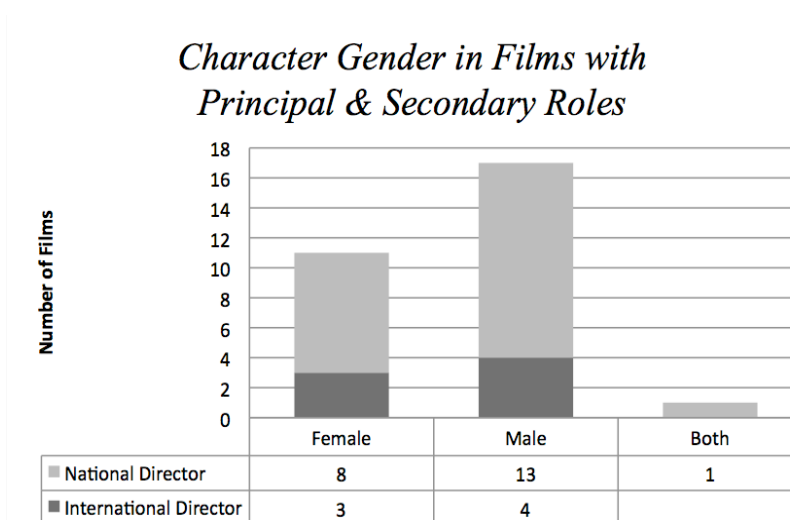
Discussion:

In total films with migrant and ethnic characters, the majority (62%) included both male and female migrant and ethnic characters. However in films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, male representation was predominant (59%). This difference in representation is not surprising. In a study by Pilar Aguilar in 2010, she detailed the tendency of directors to use protagonists of the same gender as themselves more frequently. Of the 55 films in this investigation, 50 were directed by males and five by females. Of the 29 films that included principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, 26 were directed by men and three by women.

When looking at films with principal or secondary migrant and ethnic characters, only one film gave equal treatment to both genders: *La educación de las hadas*. This film followed the story of the Argentine Nicolás, the Argelian Sezar and the Frenchwoman Ingrid.

The role of gender in this analysis is better understood when comparing character differences using multiple contexts, for example occupation and gender or relationships and gender. Many times, multiple categories must be looked at in

combination to reveal surprising pattern developments across the film body. Looking at gender alone merely provided information on the fact that more films present male migrant and ethnic characters then females. However when the category of gender was combined with ethnicity and occupation, the findings show that the majority of Latin American and Caribbean females were represented either as prostitutes, cleaning staff or restaurant/bar staff, while female American and Spanish hybrid characters were represented as actors, artists and book store owners. These combinations are discussed in the relevant categories of this analysis on character construction and more thoroughly in section 7.2 *Trends in Levels of Mania, Philia and Phobia as Measured in Romantic and Sexual Relationships*.

Age of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

Age groups represented

The majority of migrant and ethnic characters represented were adults. Adult characters were present in 54 of the 55 films, 98% of the total films. Children appeared in thirteen films[21] (24%), and seniors appeared in five films (9%).

---

[21] Children here refers to a character below the age of 18. Adult children of migrant or ethnic characters, as defined by being the sons or daughter, were present in three films. In all but one of these films, mixed heritage minors are also portrayed. Therefore this statistic should be interpreted as either 12 films with children below age 18 or 13 films portraying children of varying ages.

Figure 5.16: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Age in Total Films**
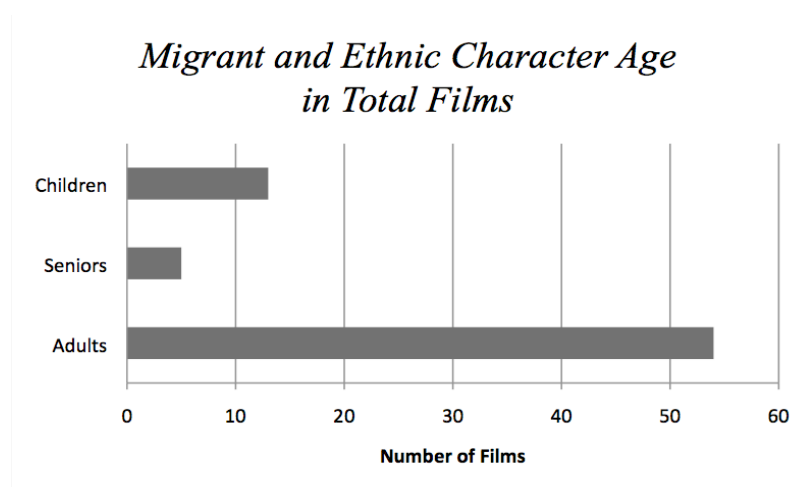
In 41 films (75%), adults were the only age group represented. Examples include *El método*, *El refugio del mal*, *La noche de los girasoles* and *Pagafantas*. Eight films showed only adults and children (*Bienvenido a casa*, *Biutiful*, *Cobardes*, *El penalti más largo del mundo*, *Héctor*, *Princesas*, *[Rec]* and *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*); two films showed only adults and seniors (*Otros días vendrán* and *Incautos*); three films portrayed adults, seniors and children together (*El próximo oriente*, *Elsa & Fred* and *En la ciudad*); and only one film represented ethnic or migrant children with no adults (*Camino*).

Age groups of principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters

Examining films with ethnic or migrant characters represented in principal and secondary roles, 27 out of the 29 films (93%) included an adult. Only one film included a senior principal character, *Elsa y Fred* and one film contained a child principal character, *Héctor*, each totaling 3% of the sample.

Figure 5.17: **Character Age in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**
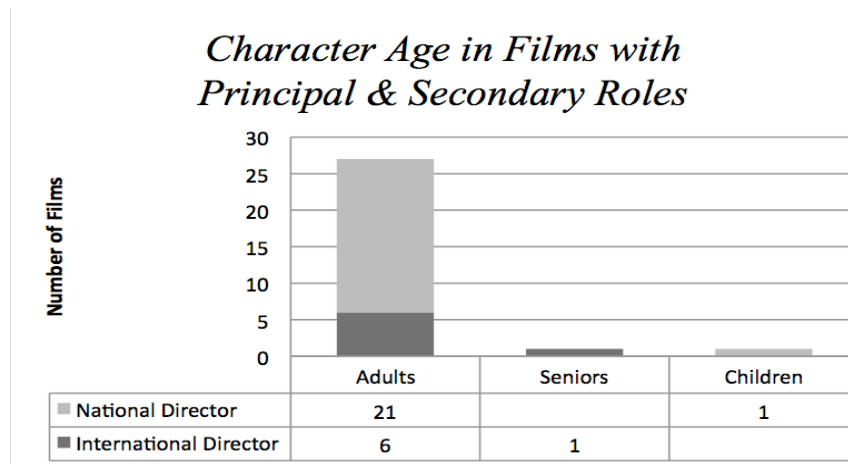
Discussion:

Both national heritage and international directors used adults almost exclusively in principal and secondary roles. As most films not aimed at child audiences center on adult characters, the overwhelming representaion of migrant and ethnic characters of adult age is to be expected.

Five films depicted senior characters. Four of these films focused on migrant communities that included seniors, adults and children: Argentines in *Elsa & Fred* and *Incautos*, Africans in *En la ciudad*, Asians in *Otros días vendrán* and South Asians in *El próximo oriente*. One migrant demographic noticibly absent in these films was that of the largest senior migrant popululation currently residing in Spain, Western Europeans and in particular the British. As of 2011, Europeans from the European Community made up 257,000 out of the 328,500 migrants in Spain aged 65 or over (INE 2011c).[22] This absence can in part be attributed to the almost complete lack of films set in coastal locations or rural areas where Western Europeans tend to concentrate in Spain.

---

[22] The British topped the list (109,000 residents aged 65 or older), followed by the Germans (57,900) and the French (16,000) (INE 2011c).

The most noticeable and exciting changes taking place in Spanish films were in the representation of children. Even though migrant heritage children have been present in Spanish films since the 1990s, their representation has remained scarce[23]. The representation of children is often used as a symbol of the future. Per the depictions seen in the canon of this study, Spain's projected future includes a migrant and hybrid presence in easily containable and assimilable quantities.

Of the thirteen films in this study representing migrant and ethnic children, three contained representations of adult children and their parents (*El próximo oriente, Elsa & Fred* and *En la ciudad),* nine films represented school age children (*[Rec], Biutiful, Camino, Cobardes*, *Elsa & Fred*, *Héctor*, *La educación de las hadas, Princesas* and *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*) and four films represented infants (*Bienvenido a casa*, *Biutiful, El penalti más largo del mundo* and *El próximo oriente*).

Five of these films included representation of children who were the product of couples of two different ethncities[24], one of which was a Spaniard and the other a migrant or ethnic heritage character: *Biutiful, El próximo oriente, Elsa & Fred*, *En la ciudad* and *Héctor*.

The most surprising and incongruent result of this set of data concerning children is the almost absence of siblings of migrant and ethnic heritage children. In only three films were sibling relationships between migrant and ethnic children depicted. Examples include Elsa's adult children in *Elsa & Fred*, Aisha and her sisters in *El próximo oriente*, and the two mixed children in *Biutiful* and *Bienvenido a casa*. This last film presents a dark skinned baby girl adopted on the black market raised with her Spanish national heritage brother.

---

[23] Films outside of the canon of this study which represented migrant heritage children included *Las cartas de Alou* (Montxo Armendáriz, 1990), *Flores de otro mundo* (Icíar Bollaín, 1999), *La fuente amarilla* (Miguel Santesmases, 1999), and *I love you Baby* (Alfonso Albacete, David Menkes, 2001), amongst others.

[24] The film *La educación de las hadas* did not specify if the represented was of mixed French and Italian heritage or mixed French and Spanish heritage and was therefore not included in this total.

While the lack of adult sibling relationships may be attributed to the fact that many migrants are first generation immigrants that have come alone, the large number of family repatriation visas extended in Spain and the statistically higher rates of fertility among immigrant families leads to the question of why siblings in migrant families are practically invisible in film? This is expecially relevant when compared with the number of films in this study that show sibling relationships in Spanish famillies: *Azul oscuro casi negro, Spanish Movie, Haz conmigo lo que quieras, Cándida, Fuera de carta, Sólo quiero caminar, Te doy mis ojos, El penalti más largo del mundo, El séptimo día, Tres metros sobre el cielo, El orfanato, Gordos, Biutiful, En la ciudad, Camino, Bajo las estrellas* and *7 vírgenes*.

Location of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

Setting locations

The majority of films that included migrant and ethnic characters were located in urban settings, 45 films (82%)[25]. Examples include *Cándida, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena, Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia, Tapas* and *Los abrazos rotos*. Villages were used in six films (11%). These include *Agallas, Atún y chocolate, El séptimo día, La noche de los girasoles, La torre de Suso* and *Mar adentro*. Rural settings were used in two films: *El refugio del mal* and *El orfanato*; and mixed rural-urban or village-urban in two films: *La educación de las hadas* and *Spanish Movie*, each representing 3.6% of the total films.

---

[25] Three films were set in both urban and village settings however were classified as urban due to all migrant or ethnic characters being located in the urban settings: *Haz conmigo lo que quieras, Fuera de carta* and *Volver*.

Figure 5.18: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Setting in Total Films**

Migrant and Ethnic Character Setting in Total Films
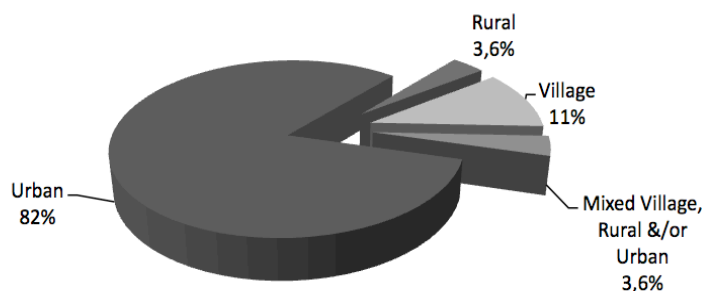
Setting locations for principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters

Similarly, looking at films with migrant and ethnic characters in principal and secondary character roles, the majority of films were set in urban locations totaling 25 films or 86% of the sample. Two films (7%) were set in a village, one film (3.4%) was set in a rural mountain environment and one film (3.4%) was set in a mixed rural-urban environment.

Figure 5.19: **Character Setting in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**

Character Setting in Films with Principal & Secondary Roles
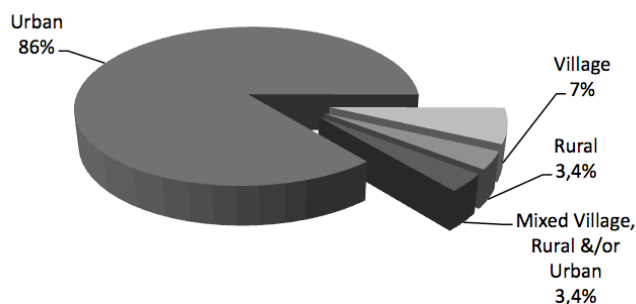
Discussion:

Again, there is nothing surprising about the fact that 82% of these films were set in cities. Apart from the occasional film dealing with migration in rural settings such as *Flores de otro mundo* (Icíar Bollaín, 1999), most films in general, and those on migration in particular, are set in urban locations. What is interesting is that the combined total of films set in villages, rural setting and films that mix these areas with urban scenes reached 18% of the total.

Additionally, two films by international directors took their films beyond the confines of Spanish soil and to give the viewer an image of the lands of the migrants. *Roma* visited Argentina in flash backs while *Un rey en La Habana*, began and ended in Cuba. Additionally, a co-production film by a national heritage director, *Sólo quiero caminar*, alternated the setting between Spain and Mexico. From the middle of the film and onward, the narration took place primarily in Mexico with a side narration taking place in Spain as it followed the story of a Spanish character. These films provide an equal hierarchical treatment of two cultures, from two dominant points of view, as they are asked to identify with the norms of each culture in their natural settings.

Occupation of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

Employment and occupations represented

The majority of films represented migrant and ethnic characters as employed, 43 films (78% of the total), while twelve films (22%) did not.[26]

---

[26] In this total, if any migrant or ethnic character in the film worked this was marked as showing working. This means that in a film such as *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*, even though one character was shown as unemployed and one was undefined, this film was documented as showing migrant characters working due to the presence of three other characters working in the restaurant industry.

Figure 5.20: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Employment in Total Films**

Migrant and Ethnic Character
Employment in Total Films

Not working
22%

Working
78%
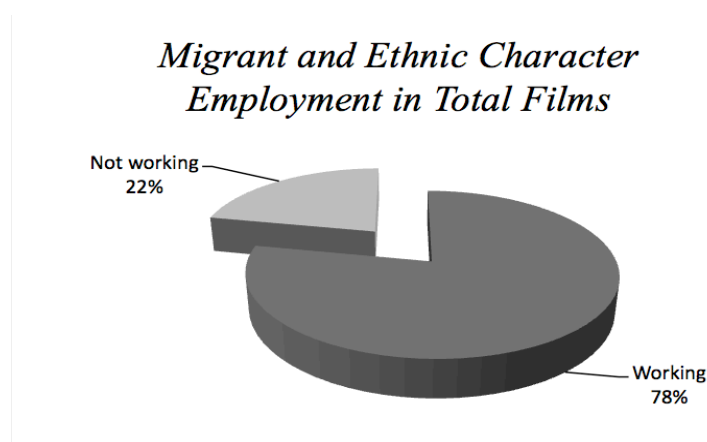
Inside the 43 films that showed characters employed, a variety of occupations were depicted. These were divided into categories based on the professional level of the position: professional and management; unskilled laborers; criminal activities and prostitution; and athletes and entertainers.

The majority of representations were of unskilled laborers, represented in 22 films, 51% of the films in this category. Almost equal with this total was that of professional and management workers, represented in 21 films, 49% of the total. Ten films showed migrant and ethnic characters occupied in criminal activities and prostitution, 23% of the representations and eight films showed characers represented as athletes and entertainers, 19% of the total.

Figure 5.21: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Occupation in Total Films**
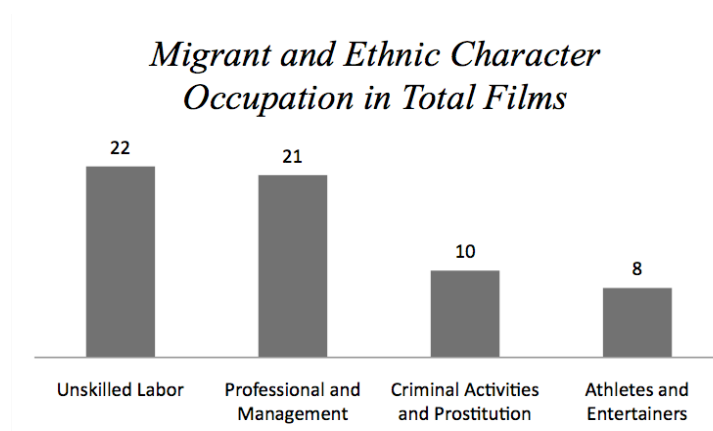
Unskilled labor positions included housekeepers, company cleaning staff, sanitary workers, elderly care, seamstresses, waitresses, cooks, bartenders, "venta ambulante" - peddling of cds and other goods, factory workers, construction workers, grocery store stockers, deli clerks, store cashiers, fish cannery workers, hospital maintenance workers, and warehouse workers. Example films include *Biutiful, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena, El penalti más largo del mundo, Siete mesas de billar francés* and *Tapas*.

Professional and management positions consisted of restaurant management, movie executives, guesthouse owners, toy makers, ornithologists, sculptors, bank managers, book shop owners, paranormal experts, mediums, professional cooks, police officers, treasure seekers, business men, computer engineers, writers, acting coaches and astronomers. Example films include *El método, La educación de las hadas, Los abrazos rotos, Pagafantas* and *Roma*.

Criminal activities and prostitution included money launderers, drug dealers, sweat shop owners, mafia related activity, hit men and prostitutes. Example films include *Biutiful, La torre de Suso, Princesas, Sólo quiero caminar* and *Un rey en La Habana.*

Athletes and entertainers included martial arts champions, professional soccer players, salsa teachers, street performers, and theater actresses. Example films

include *Atraco a las 3... y media, Bienvenido a casa, Cándida, El próximo oriente* and *Fuera de carta*.

Of the 12 films that did not show characters working: two films depicted migrant and ethnic characters in prison (*Azul oscuro casi negro, Celda 211*), one film presented a retired character (*Elsa & Fred*), two films dealt with students (*Camino, Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia*) and seven films did not specify if the migrant and ethnic characters worked *([Rec], [Rec] 2, Agallas, Gordos, La soledad, Noviembre, Te doy mis ojos*).

Employment and occupations of principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters

Of the 29 films that showed principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, 21 films (72%), showed these as employed, and eight films (28%), did not.

Figure 5.22: **Character Employment in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**
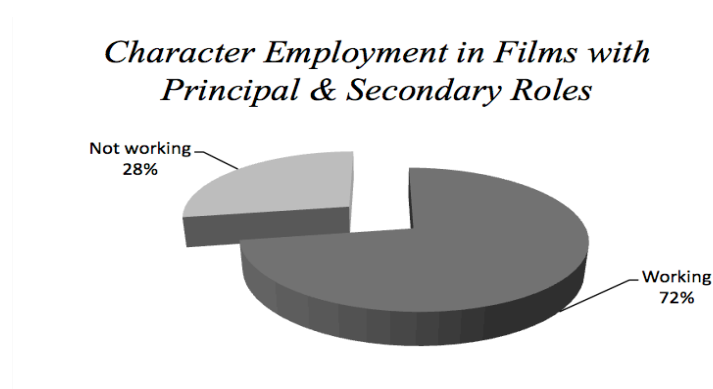
The category of professional and management workers was the most numerous with 12 films, 57% of the 21 films. Unskilled laborers were represented in 6 films, 29% of the total, criminal activities and prostitution in four films, 19%, and athletes and entertainers in two films, 10% of the total.

Figure 5.23: **Character Occupation in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**
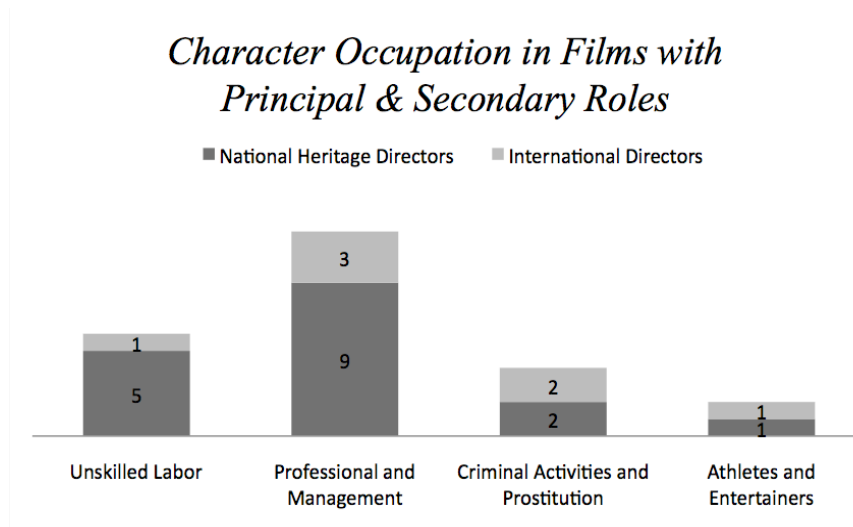
Both national heritage directors and international directors tended to portray principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters in professional and management occupations. Both represented this level in 50% or more of the films. National heritage directors tended were second most likely to represent these characters in unskilled labor positions, five of the 17 films or 29%, while international directors represented this category in one of the eight films or 13%.

Discussion:

Representations of employment reveal surprising results in terms of what occupations were presented and which were assigned to the different character ethnicities. Unskilled laborers were represented in 51% of the total films depicting employment while professional and management workers were present in 49%. In films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, professional and management workers represented 62% of the total, greatly outnumbering unskilled laborers, 29% of the total. However, there was a disproportional distribution of these roles to select ethnicity groups. The majority of professional and management positions were filled by three nationalities: Argentines (eight characters),

Europeans (three) and Americans (three). As anomalies, a Bangladeshi family and two Chinese men (one of which heads an illegal sweatshop) were also depicted in professional and management positions. In summary, non-European and non-American migrants are typically excluded from professional and management positions in films, with the exception of the Argentines.

Unskilled laborers, on the other hand, were most often represented by Latin American and Caribbean characters (10 films), Sub-Saharan Africans and other characters with black skin (7 films), Asians (5 films), and North Africans (2 films).

The category of prostitution involving migrant and ethnic characters was exclusively represented by Latin Amercian and Caribbean female characters (*Atraco a las 3... y media, Bienvenido a casa, Biutiful, El séptimo día, Princesas, La torre de Suso, Un rey en La Habana, Volver*). In a number of these films characters spoke about their work as a means of survival. In *Volver*, the Cuban Regina says of having to work as a prostitute, "Mi vida es bastante complicada. No tengo trabajo, no tengo papeles, tengo que hacer la calle para poder sobrevivir". The only other occupations available to Latin Amercian and Caribbean female characters were those of cleaning or restaurant/bar work. Criminal activity was divided among Northern Africans, Argentines, Bulgarians, Chinese, and Mexicans (*Atraco a las 3... y media, Biutiful, La educación de las hadas, Sólo quiero caminar, Un rey en La Habana*).

Treatment of the same occupation sectors varied depending on the genre of the film and the protagonism level of the characters shown providing the service. One example is that of street peddling as shown in *Spanish Movie* and *Biutiful*. In the comedy *Spanish Movie*, street peddling was shown as part of a delinquent lifestyle, demonstrated through the demise of Maligna, a former actress for a children's television program. She turns from children's programming, to street peddling with other black migrants and finally to prostitution before she ends up living under a bridge and involved in a bank robbery. The insinuation is that street peddling, prostitution and robbery are all part of the same negative trajectory.

Biutiful on the other hand, presented a larger more complex picture of the street peddling industry. This drama showed the chain of events that lead to street sales. This included scenes showing who produces the goods and their living conditions, the involvement of middlemen to negotiate with corrupt police, police roundups and violence, as well as the difficulties encountered when the goods produced were faulty. This film used the occupation of street peddling to produce a social commentary and to broaden understanding on the working and living conditions of a marginalized segment of the population who many come into contact with on a daily basis when walking through the center of their city.

While most films depicted migrant characters as employed, only a few films dedicated dialogues referencing migrants and employment. This was the case in two films directed by Pedro Almodóvar. In *Los abrazos rotos*, the Spanish characters Harry Caine and Diego discuss a script Diego has written about vampires. The text is called "Doña Sangre", and plays on the double meaning of the title, which can be interpreted as "donate blood" or "Mrs. Blood". Diego says, "Los vampiros viven como los chinos, integrados en la sociedad española pero sin llamar la atención […] Y como los chinos tambien controlan varias industrias". In *Volver*, the Spaniard Irene, who is believed to be dead, impersonates a Russian assistant to hide her real identity. This nationality is chosen by her daughter Sole, who believes that Russians are like Spaniards, that Irene won't pass as a Dominican as there are many in the neighborhood and she doesn't look Chinese.

Migrant and Ethnic Characters Given Speaking Roles

Speaking roles represented

Migrant and ethnic characters spoke in the majority of films. In 45 of the 55 (82%) films they were given speaking roles, and in 10 films (18%) they were not.

Figure 5.24: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Given a Voice in Total Films**
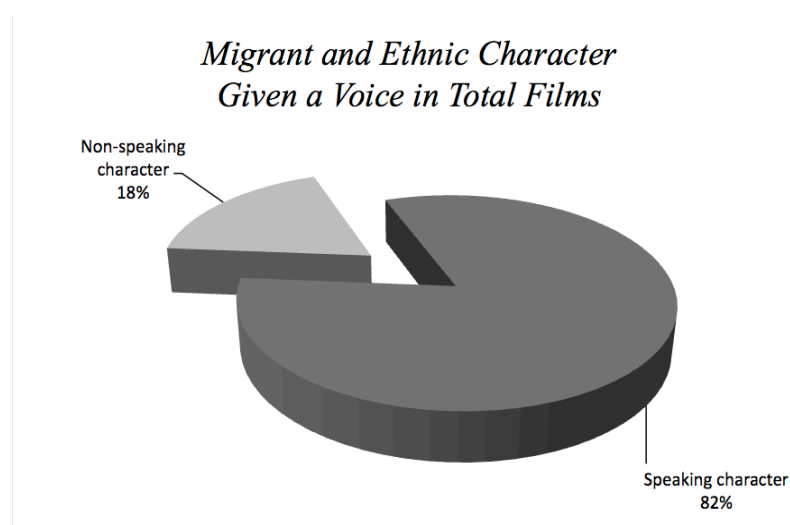
Of the 10 films with non-speaking migrant or ethnic characters, one film (*Camino*) contained a third level character, while nine contained background roles (*[Rec] 2, Azul oscuro casi negro, Crimen ferpecto, Haz conmigo lo que quieras, La soledad, Mar adentro, Mataharis, Noviembre, Una palabra tuya*).

There were multiple forms in which migrant and ethnic characters were shown speaking in the 45 films. Of these, 30 of the films (67% of this total), showed migrant and ethnic characters speaking native Spanish with Latin American and Caribbean accents. Examples include *Princesas*, *Elsa & Fred*, *La torre de Suso* and *Los abrazos rotos*. Twenty-five films (56%) included migrants speaking non-native Spanish with accents. Examples include *El orfanato*, *El penalti más largo del mundo*, *El próximo oriente* and *Tapas*. Seven films (16%) included ethnic characters speaking native Spanish with a Castilian accent (this was recorded as 'no accent' in the graph). These include *El próximo oriente*, *En la ciudad*, *La noche de los girasoles*, and *Roma*.

A small number of films also recorded migrant and ethnic characters speaking in languages other than Spanish. These included seven films (15.5%) spoken in a native language other than Spanish with no subtitles provided by the film: *[Rec]*, *Bienvenido a casa*, *Biutiful*, *Cándida*, *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*

and *Volver*. Six films (13%) showed characters speaking in a native language other than Spanish with subtitles provided: *Biutiful, El próximo oriente, Otros días vendrán, Sólo quiero caminar, Vicky Cristina Barcelona* and *Volver*.

Figure 5.25: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Given a Voice in Total Films: Detailed**
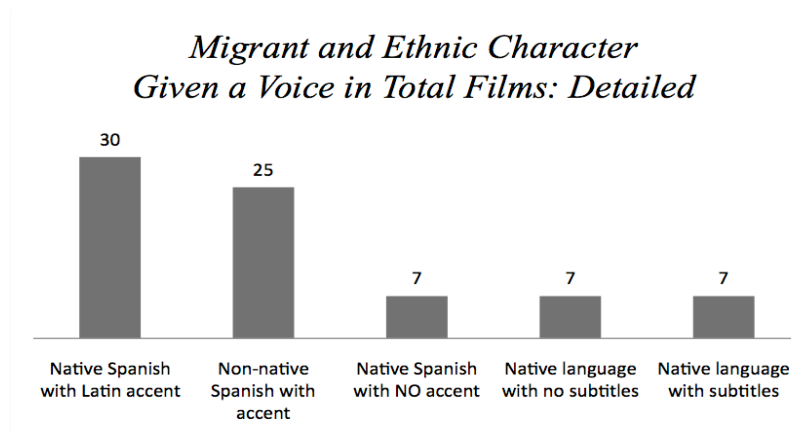
Speaking roles represented for principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters

All films with principal and secondary characters gave these characters speaking roles.

Figure 5.26: **Character Given a Voice in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**
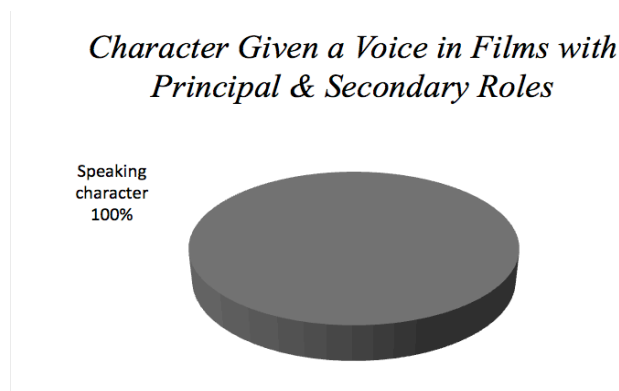
Looking at these 29 films with principal and secondary characters in detail, native Spanish spoken with Latin American and Caribbean accents remained the most represented, 16 films at 55% of the total. Migrants speaking non-native Spanish spoken with accents were present in 10 films with 34% of the total. Ethnic characters speaking native Spanish with a Castilian accent was represented in five films, at 17% of the sample. Non Spanish languages were present in one film with subtitles, 3%, and in one film without subtitles, 3%.

Figure 5.27: **Character Given a Voice in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles: Detailed**
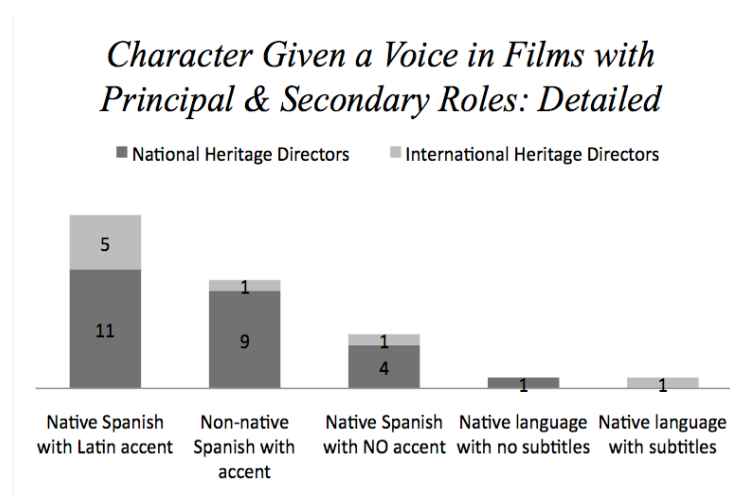
Discussion:

What is interesting in this data is that so many films included speaking roles for migrant and ethnic characters, 82% of the total films. This equated to 100% in films with principal and secondary charcters and 61% of films with third level and background characters. The quantity of different accents represented reflects the large number of ethnicies being represented in Spanish films.

The majority of films that included speaking roles by both national heritage directors (44%) and international directors (62%) included Native Spanish with

Latin accents. As Latin American and Caribbean characters made up the most characters represented, this was only natural. Apart from the different Latin American and Carribean lilts in intonation used by many of the characters, dialogues are peppered with non-peninsular vocubulary such as "papi" in *Princesas*, "boludo" in *Fuera de carta*, "vos" in *Yo soy la Juani*, "ahorita" in *Cobardes*, "Mi amor" in *El séptimo día*, or in the flirting of the Latin American barmaid in *Tres metros sobre el cielo* when she offers a client a choice between "aceitunas" or "panchitos". *Panchitos* are salted peanuts but the term is also used in slang to mean Latin Americans.

In films where the characters are non-native Spanish speakers who speak with an accent, accents and grammar mistakes were commonly used for comic effect. Examples with North African characters include films like *Atún y chocolate*, where the main migrant character spoke in broken Spanish omitting verbs, for example "yo suelo, hueso mucho duro" or *El penalti más largo del mundo* where Khaled confused the gender of Spanish nouns such as "el mango" with "La Manga", and "planos" with "planes".

Asian actors were particularly targeted for comic treatments. Mao in *Tapas* refered to himself in the third person when introducing himself: "Mao cocinero de restaurante de lujo en Hong Kong". Even more common in Asian character representation was a focus on the inability to pronounce certain sounds, such as "r". In *Spanish Movie* a Chinese woman says, "una pelicula tles euros", and in *[Rec]* a Japanese woman says "aliba" for "arriba" and "craro" for "claro". While accents and grammar mistakes were often used for comic efffect, the presence of an accent was also used to highlight levels of xenophobic discord. In *[Rec]* a Spanish woman agressively interupted the Japanese woman to tell her she didn't understand her, while making a hand symbol of talking with her hand as she turned her head away and stoped listening.

One film in particular that stood out for the inclusion of a variety of accents is *La educación de las hadas*. In this film almost everyone had an accent. The lead characters, the Argentine Nicolás, the Argelian Sezar and a Frenchwoman, Ingrid

all had accents. Two North African men spoke with Arabic tinged accents. The only central character without an accent was Ingrid's son.

Various other films included characters creating music or singing in their native languages. In *La educación de las hadas* Sezar meets a black man who becomes her lover as he busks for money in a plaza singing songs in an African language. In the film *4ª Planta*, the Cuban character Alfredo is able to become a human sound machine, skatting and making drum beats with his mouth. Under his knit beanie cap his head is completely shaved, reminiscent of the shaved heads of the chemotherapy patients of the hospital, and protagonists of the film, who come to visit him and hear him sing in the hospital maintenance department where he works. He is also a friend of the band Estopa, whom he invites to give a concert in the hospital.

In the film *Gordos,* in a supernatural Spanish wedding scene of a man who has just died, a Senegalese character sings with an African choir playing traditional instruments in a Spanish church. This song continues as a backdrop while various story narratives are summed up in visual flashes. The film *El proximo oriente* also incorporates multiple musical scenes. These include a Latin American group that plays guitars and windpipes as well as the Bangladeshi characters that sing and dance both at a wedding and in a restaurant bar.

In various films there were migrant and ethnic characters that spoke with no accent. Three of these *La noche de los girasoles, El próximo oriente*[27] and *En la ciudad* were all interpreted by the previously mentioned Spanish actresses Judith Diakhate, Vicenta N'Dongo and Nur Al Levi Rota. As was also previously mentioned, the Spanish actor Jimmy Roca is present in two different films in this sample. In *Cabeza de perro* he interpreted a Sub-saharan African with accent, and in *Atún y chocolate* he interpreted an Andalusian policman with no accent, speaking in Andalusian dialect.

---

[27] It is unclear if the character Aisha in *El próximo Oriente* was born in Spain or emigrated to Spain with her parents.

One additional case that stands out for the use of no accent was that of the Argentine Joaquín in *Roma* during a conversation with a young writer, Manuel, sent to help him publish his book. The conversation took on a new level of complexity due to the fact that Joaquín was interpreted by José Sacristán, a Spanish actor, while Manuel was played by the Argentine born actor resident in Spain Juan Diego Botto.

> Manuel: "Curioso que no tengas accento porteño."
> Joaquín: "Piensa que desde el 77, son 37 años que hace que estoy aquí."
> Manuel: "Es igual, que hay gente que no lo pierde nunca."
> Joaquín: "Cuestion de supervivencia. Perder el acento era fundamental para ser admitido, para conseguir trabajo…"

5.2.4 Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters[28]

The next three categories analyzed look at the rhetorical treatment of migrant and ethnic characters. These were: levels of mania, philia and phobia; migrant and ethnic characters eating with Spaniards and depictions of ethnic foods; and representations of romantic or sexual relationships.

These categories were chosen for their ability to show interpersonal dynamics that transcend the demographic statistics provided in 5.2.3 *Character Construction*. The first area, mania, philia and phobia, was chosen to recognize hierarchy treatments and structural equality occurring in filmic relationships. The categories of migrant and ethnic characters eating with Spaniards and representations of romantic or sexual relationships were chosen due to their prevalence in the films and for their recognized importance in reflecting dominant ideological positions in relationship to migrant and ethnic populations (Hooks 1992, Flesler 2004, Santaolalla 2005). These three categories are developed more thoroughly in the following analyses in chapters 6. *Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Four Case Study Films* and 7. *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters Associated with Digestion and Relationships*.

---

[28] A table of the results is available in Annex F: *Content Analysis Corpus: Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters*.

Representations of Mania, Philia and Phobia

The concepts of mania, philia and phobia were used in this section to assess relationships of structural hierarchy present in the film corpus. As was discussed in the subsection *1.2.6 Analyzing Representation of Otherness*, mania is the overestimation of a character, phobia is the underestimation through racism and negative or distorted views, and philia is viewing the Other as equal to oneself.

Representation of mania, philia and phobia

Of the 55 films with migrant and ethnic character representations, 45 contained sufficient screen time to evaluate signs of mania, philia and phobia. Thirty-eight films of the 45 (84%) contained representation of philial relationships. Twenty-three films (51%) contained demonstrations of phobia and eight films (18%) contained representations of mania.

Figure 5.29: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Mania-Philia-Phobia Treatment in Total Films**
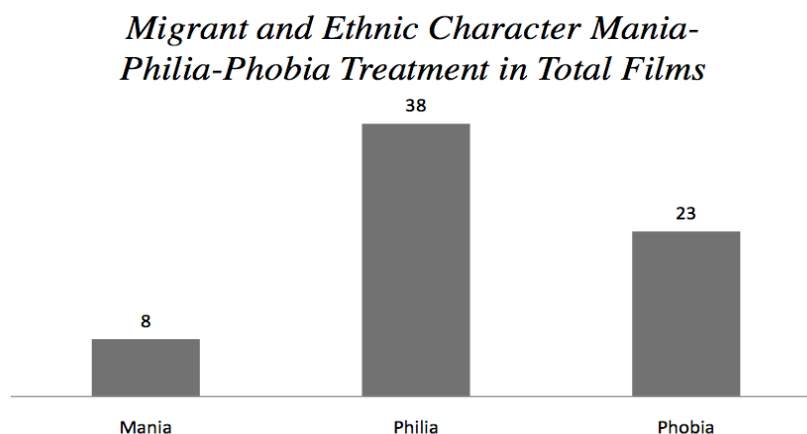
A little over half of the 45 films contained a single and constant treatment of the migrant and ethnic characters inside of the same film. Of these, 18 films included only representations of philia. Example films include *Cabeza de perro, El refugio*

del mal, *En la ciudad*, *Incautos*, *Mataharis* and *Sólo quiero caminar*. Five films contained only phobia representations: *Atraco a las 3... y media*, *Atún y chocolate*, *Bienvenido a casa*, *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*, *Spanish Movie*. One film included only mania representation: *Te doy mis ojos*.

The other half of films contained multiple treatments of different characters or of the same character inside of the same film. These included 14 films with philia-phobia representation: *Agallas*, *Cobardes*, *La carta esférica*, *La educación de las hadas* and *Yo soy la Juani*. Three films included mania-philia representation: *Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia, Fuera de* carta and Vicky *Cristina Barcelona*. One film included mania-phobia representation: *Tapas*. Three films included all three mania-philia-phobia representations: *Cándida, Pagafantas* and Un *rey en La Habana*.

Figure 5.30: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Mania-Philia-Phobia Treatement in Total Films: Detailed**

Migrant and Ethnic Character Mania-Philia-Phobia Treatment in Total Films: Detailed
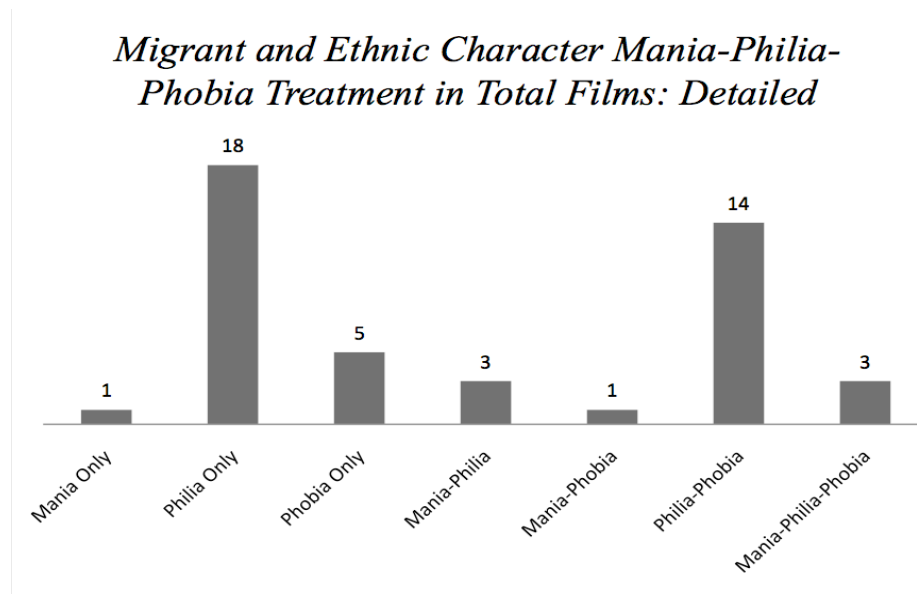
Representation of mania, philia and phobia with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters

Narrowing down the study to look at only the 29 films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters, 23 films (79% of this total), contained philia relationships; 12 films (41%) contained demonstrations of phobia and eight films (28%) contained representations of mania.

Figure 5.31: **Character Mania-Philia-Phobia Treatment in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**
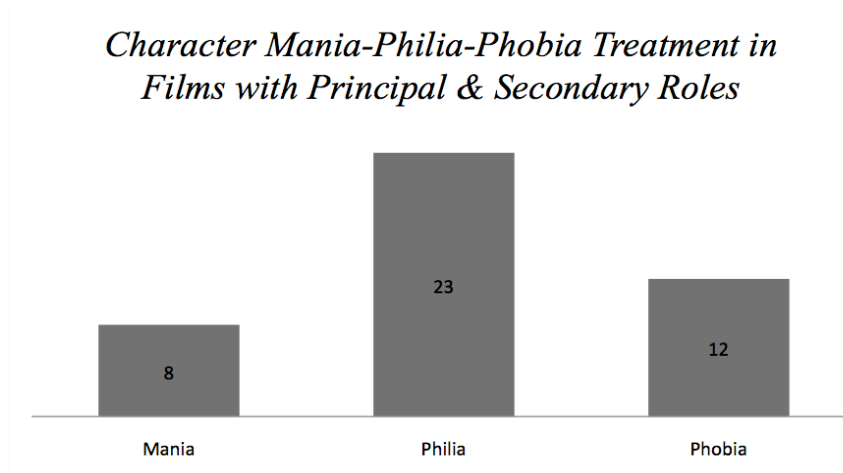
Inside of these representations, 17 films contained a single treatment of the principal and secondary characters inside of the same film: 12 films had only philia references; three films contained only phobia representations; and two films included only mania references. The remaining 12 films contained multiple treatments of the same characters inside of the same film. These included six films with philia-phobia representation, three films with mania-philia representation, one film with mania-phobia representation and two films with all three mania-philia-phobia representations.

Figure 5.32: **Character Mania-Philia-Phobia Treatment in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles: Detailed**

Character Mania-Philia-Phobia Treatment in Films with Principal & Secondary Roles: Detailed
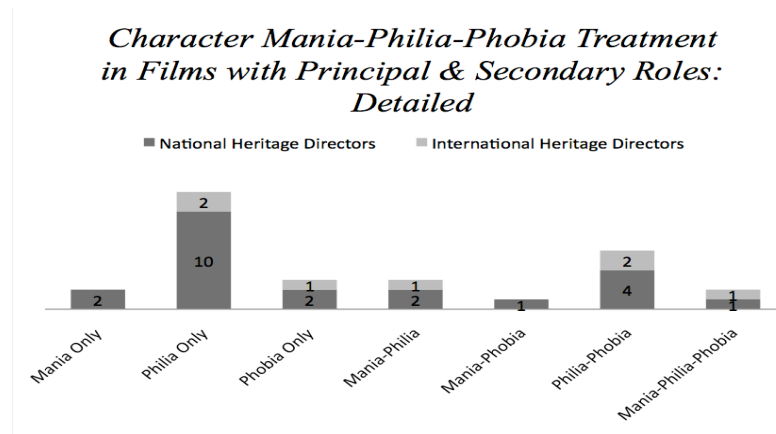
Discusion:

Philia relationships were the most represented in the canon of total films with migrant and ethnic characters. They were present in 84% of the 45 films with sufficient screen time to evaluate, and 79% of the films with principal and secondary characters. Although not necessarily correlative, many films with philia relationships also presented plots that gave structural equality to the migrant and ethnic characters in the film. Examples include *En la ciudad* and *Pagafantas*. As was discussed by Shohat and Stam in subsection *1.2.6 Analyzing Representation of Otherness*, when looking at the hierarchy of dominance inside of standardized representations of minority populations, equal hierarchy treatment is more important than if the character is represented as a good person. These statistics and films are testimony to the intent by most filmmakers to represent migrant and ethnic characters in humane roles as Spain explores its changing demographics.

However it should also be noted that while many films included philia treatments, structural equality was not extended to all ethnicities. One example of this is the treatment of Moroccan characters. Khaled in *El penalti más largo del mundo* was treated as an equal by most characters in this film. He is a working class character shown as equal to other working class Spaniards. However, this is the highest social level the male Moroccan migrant character attains in this canon of Spanish films. In the wider Spanish film history, there are few, if any, Spanish

films with representations of a Moroccan man or Spanish man with Moroccan heritage in management positions, writers or leaders. This does not reflect reality nor does it reflect the fictional reality of other ethnic characters such as the Argentine business executive Ricardo depicted in *El método* shown holding an interview with Spanish applicants to work at his firm.

Phobia representations were present in 51% of the total films and in 41% of the films with principal and secondary characters. In films that represented characters in phobia or mixed phobia relationships, there was a tendency to structurally favor the Spaniard. All five films that presented phobia-only relationships depicted a hierarchy order that favors Spaniards (*Atraco a las 3... y media, Atún y chocolate, Bienvenido a casa, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena, Spanish Movie*). In these films migrants are repeatedly presented as either unintelligent or weak characters. In films that represent philia-phobia relationships, migrants are again placed in structurally inferior positions. Examples include *El próximo oriente*, which shows the bumbling Spaniard able to win the beautiful migrant or ethnic character; *Princesas* which ends by returning the migrant back to her country of origin based on the belief that Princesses cannot live outside of their kingdoms; and *Hector*, in which the father who has come to Spain to claim his son after the death of his ex-Spanish wife must return home alone because his son has chosen to stay in Spain. A final example is that of *[Rec]* in which, despite revealations of the xenophobic sentiments of many of the apartment home association members towards their Japanese neighbors, the female Japanese character leaves the viewer negatively influenced by her hysterical reactions.

On the other side of the spectrum, mania relations were present in 18% of the total films and in 28% of films with principal and secondary characters. It should be remembered that while phobia is clearly a hierarchy inferiorization, mania can also be used as a form of xenophobic rejection in that it renders the Other exotic, thereby creating a distance. Three of the eight films representing mania based relationships presented structural inequality in favor of the migrant characters. In the films *Pagafantas, Un rey en La Habana,* and *Te doy mis ojos*, treatment favors the ethnic or migrant character. As an example, in *Te doy mis ojos*, the Scottish

character John is held up as a model of male goodness in contrast to the domestic abuse of the protagonist's Spanish husband and father. John is praised for his equal involvement in the home, shown washing up the dishes, his ability to integrate jovially with the children of the family, and celebrates ethnic pride at his wedding to the Spanish sister of the protagonist through Scottish songs and kilts. Each of his scenes show a one-dimensional presentation of goodness contrasted against the three-dimensional humanized portrayal of the internal conflict experienced by the abusive Spanish husband, Antonio.

An additional point of interest was the frequency of counterbalancing a migrant character with a racist Spanish character in many of the films. This occurred in *[Rec], Atún y chocolate, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena, El método, El penalti más largo del mundo, Elsa & Fred, La torre de Suso, Princesas, Siete mesas de billar francés, Tapas, Un rey en La Habana, Volver*. Often this situation was used as a way of distancing the racist actions of other characters from the grander scale of an extreme character in a framework suggesting, "I'm not racist, he is". As an example, in *Atún y chocolate*, the overtly racist el Cherif kidnaps and physically tortures the migrant character Omar. El Cherif is chastised by his friends el Perra and Manuel for this treatment. However they too participate in a form of bland racism towards Omar in the very scene in which they rescue him with el Perra proclaiming, "Esta gente viene aquí por nuestra libertad, para nuestra cervecita, para nuestra cachondeo".

In a number of these films the racist character underwent a transformation in their acceptance of the Other during the course of the film. Such was the case of Lolo in *Tapas* who initially rejects the migrant figure but later comes to appreciate the help of Mao in his bar. In *La torre de Susa,* Mote angrily criticizes two Latin American coworkers at the construction company where he works each time he sees them. After a work accident that leaves one dead, he adopts the remaining Latin American as his new best friend including teaching him how to pour Austurian cider.

As a last point of interest, the film *Volver* was special in its treatment of the theme of migration. This is done not through the use of a migrant character but

through a Spaniard impersonating a migrant character. Irene, the mother of Raimunda and Sole, impersonates a Russian migrant at Sole's home-based hair salon. Sole's clients treat the "Russian" patronizingly, speaking loudly to her and miming their needs to her, while they warn Sole of the dangers of trusting these kinds of people taken in off the street.

Also noteworthy was the slowly growing trend to include Spanish hybrid characters. The previously discussed *En la ciudad* and *La noche de los girasoles* were the most interesting in their equal hierarchy level treatment by the other characters and the absolute lack of references to their ethnicity.

Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters eating together and Spaniards trying ethnic foods

Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters eating together and Spaniards trying ethnic foods

In the total of 55 films in this sample, 35 films (64%) included scenes involving Spaniards and migrant and ethnic characters eating together and the depiction of ethnic foods being tried by Spaniards, while 20 films (36%) did not.

Figure 5.33: **Migrant and Ethnic Characters Eating with Spaniards and Depictions of Ethnic Foods in Total Films**
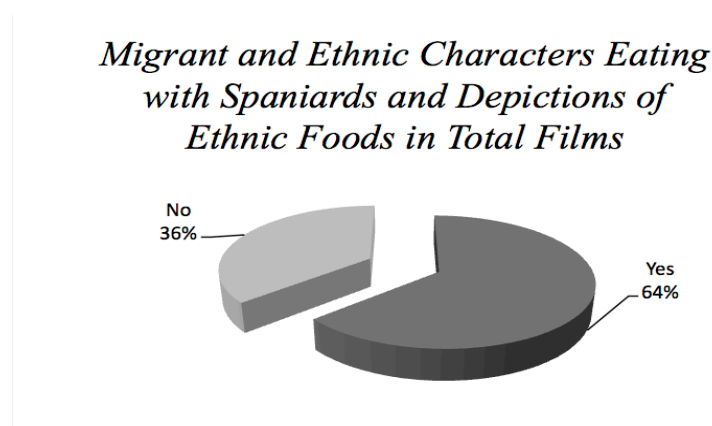
Of the 35 films showing Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters eating together and Spaniards trying ethnic foods, 22 films (63%) showed migrant and ethnic characters consuming food or drink with Spaniards. Amongst others these include *Atraco a las 3... y media, Biutiful, Cabeza de perro, El penalti más largo del mundo, Elsa & Fred, En la ciudad, Fuera de carta, La torre de Suso, Princesas,* and *Te doy mis ojos*.

Eight films, 23%, showed Spaniards consuming ethnic food or drink with and without migrant and ethnic characters; these include *Cándida, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena, El método, El próximo oriente, Otros días vendrán, Sólo quiero caminar, Tapas* and *Volver*.

Five films, 14% of the total, showed both Spaniards and Migrant and Ethnic Characters consuming food or drink from the other's culture as seen in the films *Biutiful, Elsa & Fred, La educación de las hadas, Princesas*, and *Siete mesas de billar francés*.

Figure 5.34: **Migrant and Ethnic Characters Eating with Spaniards and Depictions of Ethnic Foods in Total Films: Detailed**
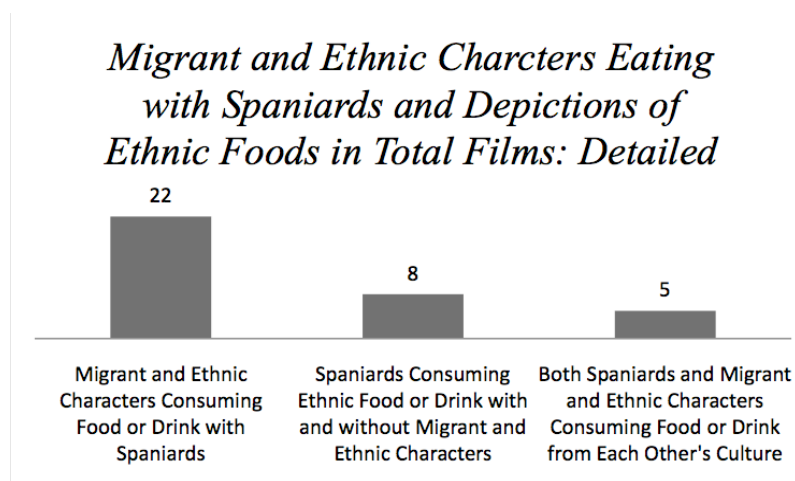
Principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters eating together and Spaniards trying ethnic foods

Narrowing to focus on films with principal and secondary characters, 100% of the 29 films included scenes with Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters eating together or the depiction of ethnic foods being tried by Spaniards.

Figure 5.35: **Characters Eating with Spaniards and Depictions of Ethnic Foods in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**
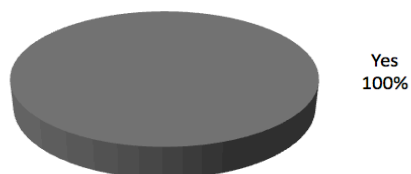
Of these, 18 films (62%) contained scenes of migrant and ethnic characters consuming food or drink with Spaniards, six films (21%) contained scenes of Spaniards consuming ethnic food or drink with and without migrant and ethnic characters and five films (17%) showed both Spaniards and migrant and ethnic characters consuming food or drink from each other's culture.

Figure 5.36: **Characters Eating with Spaniards and Depictions of Ethnic Foods in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles: Detailed**

Characters Eating with Spaniards and Depictions of Ethnic Foods in Films with Principal & Secondary Roles: Detailed

■ National Heritage Directors   ■ International Heritage Directors

Migrant and Ethnic Characters Consuming Food or Drink with Spaniards	Spaniards Consuming Ethnic Food or Drink with and without Migrant and Ethnic Characters	Both Spaniards and Migrant and Ethnic Characters Consuming Food or Drink from Each Other's Culture
4	1	2
14	5	3
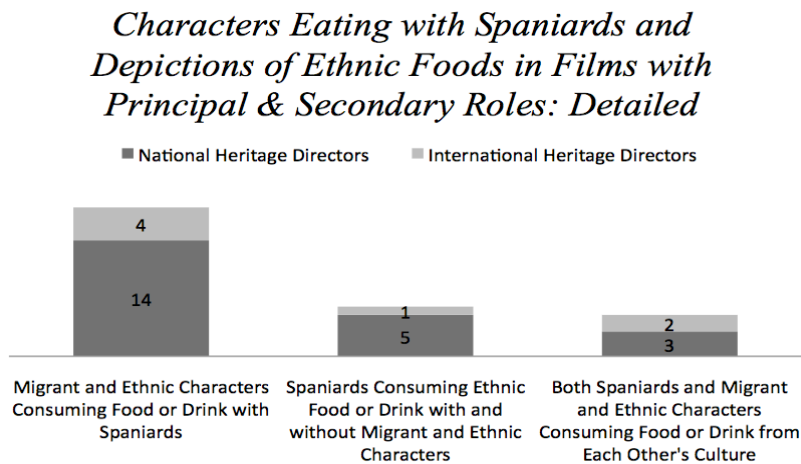
Discussion:

In both total films (22 films at 63%) and films with principal and secondary character representations (18 films at 62%), over 60% of the depictions showed migrant and ethnic characters consuming food or drinks with Spaniards.

Food and eating habits are commonly found represented in worldwide films. In Spanish films, scenes with food are often linked to family and friend relationships. The most mutually involved and empathetic relations in this film canon showed Spaniards or migrant and ethnic characters inviting each other into their homes for meals.

Representations of Spaniards inviting migrant and ethnic characters to eat or drink with them include *Cabeza de perro* where Spanish Samuel invites Sub-Saharan Moobi to have tea with him when Moobi comes to Samuel's house to check up on him; *Atraco a las 3... y media* where the Spanish branch manager Delgado and his wife invite the German bank director Otto and his wife to dinner and *Te doy mis ojos* in which Scottish John is shown washing up dishes and sharing in birthday celebrations with his Spanish partner Ana's family.

Most interesting were the representations of migrant and ethnic characters inviting Spaniards to eat or drink with them. The film *Biutiful* showed Spanish Uxbal eating with Senagalese Ekweme. They ate traditional food prepared by Ekweme's wife Ige in their home. Uxbal ate a rice dish with his right hand in the same style as Ekweme and drank beer with the other hand. The absolute normality in which this scene was treated and Uxbal's acceptance of the food he ate implies that it is not the first time that Uxbal and Ekweme have eaten there together. In *El próximo oriente*, Cain also was shown eating with Aisha's family.

The acceptance of the food culture in these films contrasted with the rejection of ethnic food in the film *Princesas*. In this film, Spanish Caye sampled a banana leaf wrapped tamale in the street markets of Madrid with the Dominican Zulema. Her interest in sharing Zulema's culture was evident by her willingness to try the food but the grimace she made as she ate it spoke of her reluctance or inability to assimilate new tastes and metaphorically cultures different than her own.

Various films also included the production of ethnic food or drinks and fusions of these in which the migrant and ethnic character made the food but was not shown partaking in the food. Examples include *Tapas* in which Mao made tapas with both Spanish and Asian ingredients but was not shown eating or drinking in the film, or in the film *Volver* in which the Cuban Regina made *mojitos* for her Spanish friend Raimunda during a party for a film crew, however was not seen enjoying one with Raimunda.

Just as *Volver* uses the Cuban drink of *mojitos* to accentuate the inclusion of the Cuban character, two other films focused on national drinks to further echo the nationality of the migrant characters. These include *Sólo quiero caminar* in which the Mexican Félix drank tequila with a Spaniard while initiating a shady business deal; or the film *La educación de las hadas* in which French Ingrid drank champagne with the Argelian Kesar.

Additionally philia relationships were present in various films showing migrant and ethnic characters having drinks at bars or dinner at restaurants with Spaniards. These include *En la ciudad* where Sara, a mixed heritage Spaniard (half Spanish –

half Black) eats out with Spanish friends and attends a family wedding dinner with her Spanish partner. In *Roma,* the Argentine Joaquín and Spanish Manuel eat lunch together while discussing their work plan, and in *Pagafantas*, Argentine Claudia and Spanish Chema go out for drinks together at the bars.

A few films showed Spaniards consuming ethnic food or drink in public places unaccompanied by a migrant or ethnic character. In *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* and *Otros días vendrán*, Spaniards ate at Chinese restaurants served by migrant and ethnic staff.

On the other end of the spectrum, one film depicted a phobia treatment involving food and drink and a migrant character. In *Atún y chocolate*, the Spaniard el Cherif imagines, correctly, that Moroccan Omar has smuggled hashish inside of himself. To obtain this, el Cherif force-feeds Omar a laxative from a baby bottle, both animalizing and infantilizing Omar in this scene.

A more extensive coverage of this topic set in the wider Spanish cinema context is provided in the analysis 7.1 *Assimilation as Represented through Digesting Immigration*.

Romantic and Sexual Relationships

Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters in romantic or sexual relationships

Romantic and sexual relationships involving migrant and ethnic characters were found in just over half of the films analyzed. Out of the 55 total films, 29 films (53%) depicted migrant and ethnic characters in relationships. This total included relationships shown onscreen, as well as off-screen relationships that existed or had ended and were referenced by the characters. In the remaining 26 films (47% of the total), there was no representation of romantic or sexual relationships.

Figure 5.37: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Romantic and Sexual Relationships in Total Films**
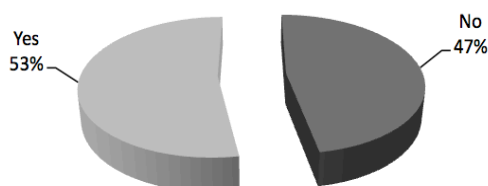
Of the 29 films containing representation of relationships, 22 (76%) showed relationships between a Spaniard and a migrant character. These included films such as *El próximo oriente, Elsa & Fred, Fuera de carta* and *La torre de Suso*. Ten films (34%) showed relationships between migrant characters. These included *[Rec], Biutiful, El próximo oriente, La educación de las hadas, Pagafantas, Tapas,* and *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*. Eight films (28%) showed relations involving prostitution: *Atraco a las 3... y media, Bienvenido a casa, El séptimo día, La torre de Suso, Princesas, Sólo quiero caminar, Un rey en La Habana* and *Volver*. Two films showed a relationship between a Spaniard and a mixed heritage Spaniard (this is referred to as Ethnic Spaniard in the figure below), 7%: *En la ciudad* and *La noche de los girasoles*.

Figure 5.38: **Migrant and Ethnic Character Romantic and Sexual Relationships in Total Films: Detailed**
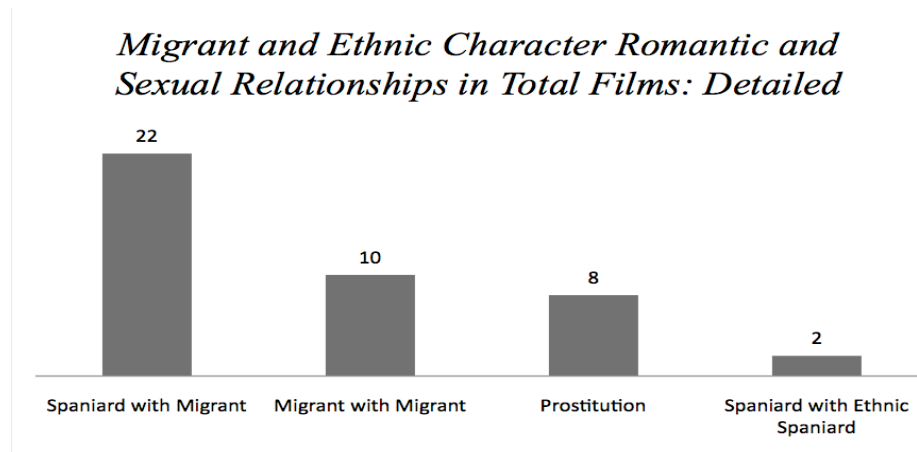
Principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters in romantic or sexual relationships with Spaniards, migrants or ethnic characters

Of the 29 films with principal and secondary ethnic or migrant characters and their involvement in romantic or sexual relationships, 24 films (83%) represented characters in a relationship, while five films (17%) did not.

Figure 5.39: **Character Romantic and Sexual Relationships in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles**
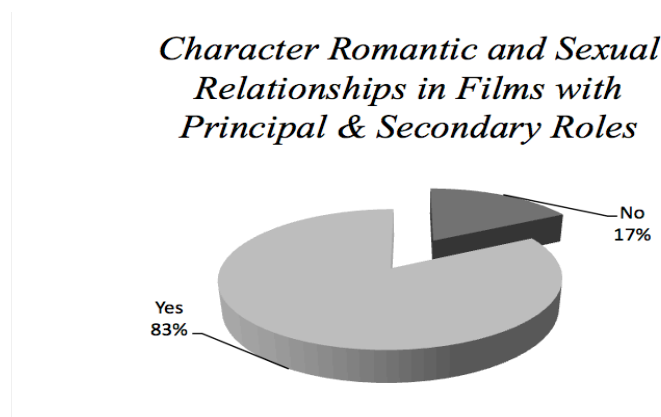
Of the 24 films containing relationships, 18 (75%) contained representation of relationships between a Spaniard and a migrant character, five films (23%) detailed

relationships between two migrant characters, two films (8%) dealt with relations involving prostitution, and two films (8%) showed a relationship between a Spaniard and a mixed heritage Spaniard (this is referred to as Ethnic Spaniard in the figure below).

Figure 5.40: **Character Romantic and Sexual Relationships in Films with Principal and Secondary Roles: Detailed**
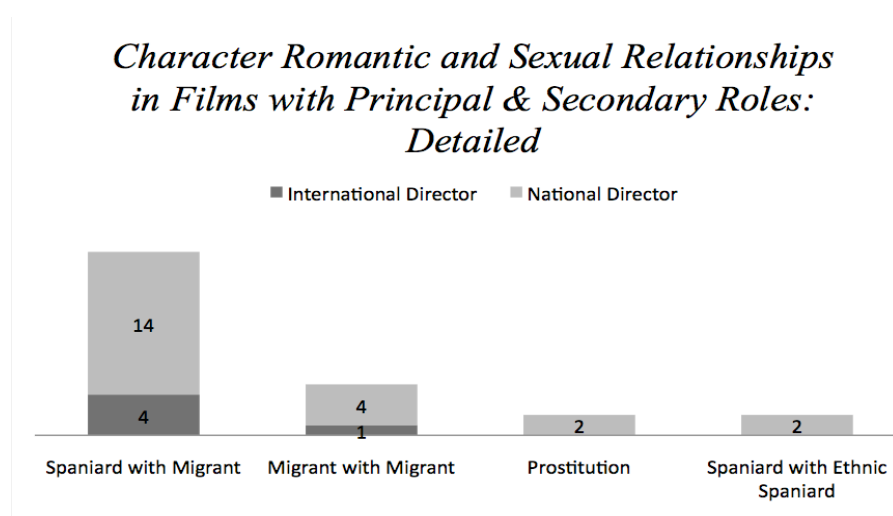
Discussion:

Of the total films representing a migrant and ethnic character 53% showed these in relationships. Of these 83% of films with principal and secondary ethnic or migrant characters contained relationships. The large difference between these two groups was in part due to the scarcity of couples shown in third level and background characters. This highlights the importance of romance narratives as a plot function in films with principal and secondary characters. It may also be the case that in multi-dimensional character roles, a larger display of their private lives is provided.

This set of data was next looked at from the angles of film genre and gender. In the case of genre, if the film was a comedy it had a greater chance of containing a romantic or sexual relationship than if it was a drama. Of the 17 comedies in the

total 55 films, 12 included representations of migrant and ethnic characters in romantic or sexual relationships (71% of comedies) while five (29%) did not. Of the 22 dramas present, eight included representations of relationships (36% of dramas) and 14 (64%) did not. This highlights a link between the comedy genre and representation of migrant and ethnic characters in romantic and sexual relationships.

Next, focusing on the 22 films that included romantic and sexual relationships between a Spaniard and a migrant or ethnic character, it emerged that the same number of films centered on relationships between male Spaniards as with female Spaniards, 11 films (50%) each. Many of these pairings broke with previous treatments in Spanish film, such as the changing acceptation of the Moroccan male as a love partner as seen in *El penalti más largo del mundo* and the new rejection of awkward and nerdy Spanish males by foreign beauties such as in *Pagafantas* and *Isi/Disi: Amor a lo bestia*.

For films with principal and secondary migrant and ethnic characters there was an almost even split between male and female characters in relationships. Even so, the two genders received different treatments. The most startling is that 100% of films with female migrant and ethnic characters referenced relationships, including *Biutiuful, Cándida, El próximo oriente, Elsa & Fred,* while 65% of those with males did the same. Roles for male characters in principal and secondary positions can be split into two groups: those focusing on a relationship, for example: *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena, El penalti más largo del mundo, Fuera de carta* and Te *doy mis ojos,*; and those with males exploring other areas of their lives unrelated to romances, for example: *Atún y chocolate, Cabeza de perro, Celda 211, El método, Héctor, La carta esférica, Roma* and *Tapas*.

In the 29 films representing a migrant and ethnic character in relationships, 28% of these showed relations involving prostitution. In principal and secondary roles this number drops to 9%. The film *Princesas* chose prostitution as its central theme as it followed the Domincan Zulema in the world of sex workers. *Sólo quiero caminar* and *Un Rey en la Habana* were unique amongst these films in that they showed Spanish prostitutes with foreign clients.

An encounter in Spain between the Mexican mafia leader Felix and the Spanish prostitute Ana leads Felix to offer her the chance to be his "Pretty Woman" in Mexico. In Mexico, in a strange twist of equality, Ana's sister Aurora meets and falls in love with the Mexican Gabriel who has posed as a male prostitute. Both of these pairings lead to dire consequences echoing the film industry's subliminal mantra that different cultures shouldn't mix.

The film *Un rey en la Habana* explored through comedy the theme of mafia kidnapping for prostitution. When Cuban Yoli is unable to marry Don Arturo due to his sudden death, it is revealed that he has a wife and had only planned to marry her in order to bring her to Spain to work in a brothel. Her boyfriend Papito and his sidekick Yuri go to Spain to investigate. While there, Yuri has relations at the brothel.

More egalitarian love pairings were represented in same ethnicity couples such as the Senagalese couple Ekweme and Ige in *Biutiful* and Mao and his Chinese girlfriend in *Tapas*. Additionally, Spaniard and migrant pairings with Argentine, European or American partners such as those seen in *Elsa & Fred, Cándida*, and *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* also often led to equal hierarchy treatments. However equal pairings were also present in films such as *Siete mesas de billar francés*, in which Honduran Evelin, who is married to a man in her home country, goes out with Spanish Fele. They are both presented as young and immature characters and therefore as hierarchy equals.

Two films of the canon depicted homosexual relationships between males. These were *Fuera de carta*, in which the Spaniard Maxi falls in love with Argentine Horacio, and *Biutiful* in which Chinese Hai and his Chinese lover Liwei experience a tormentous relationship that ends in homicide.

A more extensive coverage of the themes outlined in this discussion topic set in the wider Spanish cinema context is provided in the second analysis in subsection 7.2 *Trends in Levels of Mania, Philia and Phobia as Measured in Romantic and Sexual Relationships*

5.3 Summary

The Content Analysis measured the quantity and type of migrant and ethnic depictions in 60 full-length Spanish national films nominated for a Goya Award that took place in the contemporary era, were set in Spain and had more than 100,000 spectators. Films were analyzed in the areas of *Point of View*; *Inclusion and Character Level of Migrant and Ethnic Representations*; *Character Construction of Migrant and Ethnic Representations* and *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters*. Each area was discussed in detail in the analysis and followed by a discussion looking at the significance of these findings inside of the study as related to trends in identity construction.

The first section analyzed *Point of View* looking at director heritage and sources of film funding. The majority of films in the film canon were directed by national heritage directors, 87%, while migrant and international directors directed 13%. There was only one film by a migrant heritage director. In terms of funding, 75% of the films received national funding and 25% of the films were international co-productions.

The second section analyzed *Inclusion and Character Level* by looking at the quantity of films that included migrant and ethnic characters and at the highest character level roles these were assigned in the films. The grand majority of films, 92%, included representation of migrant and ethnic characters; 69% of these films contained multiple migrant and ethnic characters. Just over half of total films, 53%, represented migrant and ethnic characters in principal or secondary roles while 47% did so as third level or background characters. International Directors created principal or secondary character roles in 100% of their films while national heritage directors did so in 47% of their films. However, inside of the 47% of films created by national heritage directors, those that received co-production funding included migrant and ethnic characters in principal or secondary roles in 87% of the cases.

The third section analyzed *Character Construction* through demographic data in the categories of ethnicity, gender, age, setting, occupation and if characters were

310

given a speaking role. The majority of films, 67%, represented multiple ethnicities. The most represented ethnicities were Latin American and Caribbean characters, present in 69% of the films. Inside of these, Argentines were the most visible, present in 24% of the total films and 31% of films in principal and secondary roles. The second most represented ethnicities were Sub-Saharan Africans and blacks from unidentifed countries, present in 49% of the films. However despite the higher representation given to this group in total film representation, only two films used Sub-Saharan Africans in principal or secondary character roles. Equally unsettling was the scarce presence of three of the largest migrant groups in Spain: Ecuadorians, Romanians and the Brittish. On the other hand, the existence in various films of mixed heritage Spanish characters was a gratifying new development in Spanish film.

Gender was represented roughly equally in migrant and ethnic character representations with both male and female characters appearing in 62% of the films, 25% with only males and 13% with only females. In films containing migrant and ethnic characters in principal and secondary roles, 59% centered on male characters, while 40% focused on female characters.

The majority of migrant and ethnic characters represented in films were adults. They were present in 98% of the total films. In 75% of the total films, adults were the only age group represented. Nevertheless, a growing representation of mixed heritage and migrant heritage children are beginning to show up in films. However, there were few migrant or ethnic character sibling relationships displayed.

The majority of films that included migrant and ethnic characters were located in urban settings, 82%, and represented characters as employed, 78% of the total. The majority of these were employed as unskilled laborers, 51%, and in professional and management positions, 49%. In films with principal and secondary character roles, professional and management workers represented 57% of the total and unskilled laborers were represented in 29%. However, the most surprising discovery in this area was the disproportional distribution of these roles given to select ethnicity groups. The majority of professional and management positions were filled by three groups: Argentines, Europeans and Americans while unskilled

labor occupations were filled by Latin Americans, Asians, Moroccans, and Sub-Saharan Africans and unidentified Black characters.

The majority of films, 82% of total films, included speaking roles for migrant and ethnic characters: 100% of films with principal and secondary characters and 61% of the films with third level and background characters. Due to the fact that Latin American and Caribbean characters make up the most character ethnicities represented, native Spanish spoken with latin accents was the most represented voice characteristic, used in 67% of these films. This was followed by migrants speaking non-native Spanish with accents, 56% of the total; and 16% of films in which ethnic characters spoke native Spanish with no accent.

The fourth section analyzed the *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters* inside of three parameters: mania, philia and phobia; migrant and ethnic characters eating with Spaniards and depictions of ethnic foods; and representations of romantic or sexual relationships.

Philia relationships were the most represented in total films, included in 84% of the 45 films that contained sufficient screen time for evaluation, and in 79% of the films with principal and secondary characters. In a number of mixed philia-phobia films, the racist character underwent a transformation in acceptance of the Other during the course of the film. Phobia representations were present in 51% of the total films and in 41% of the films with principal and secondary characters. In films that represented characters in phobia or mixed phobia relationships, there was a tendency to structurally favor the Spaniard.

In 64% of total films, Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters were represented eating together or eating ethnic foods. In films with principal and secondary character representations this total rose to 100%. The most integrated and empathetic relationships showed Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters inviting one another to their homes for meals.

Romantic and sexual relationships were present in 53% of the total films and in 83% of films with principal and secondary ethnic or migrant characters. Comedies were more likely to show relationships (76%) than dramas (36%). The

relationships were equally split between male Spaniards with female migrant and ethnic characters and female Spaniards with male migrant and ethnic characters. Female characters in principal and secondary roles were always linked to romantic and sexual relationships while roles for male characters were not bound to this pattern. Prostitution was primarily limited to Latin American women.

<div align="center">

CHAPTER 6

6. ANALYSIS OF MIGRANT AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

CONSTRUCTION IN FOUR CASE STUDY FILMS

</div>

6.0 Introduction

The quantitative analysis performed in the previous chapter, *Content Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Spanish Goya Nominated Films 2004-2011*, provided the means to examine the frequency of individual variables in a wide corpus of films. This type of analysis is important for its ability to signal general tendencies in representation. Keeping in line with the desired goal of triangulation, the current chapter, *Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Four Case Study Films*, aims to provide a holistic understanding of the analysis variables studied in the Content Analysis through a critical analysis.

In this chapter, a critical analysis is provided on four case study films examining their representation and construction of migrant and ethnic identities. The four films analyzed are *Tapas*, *Atún y chocolate*, *El penalti más largo del mundo* and *Princesas*, all directed by national heritage directors[29]. They were drawn from the film canon of 60 Goya nominated films described in the section *5.1.1 Film Analysis Canon*. These films were chosen for their representation of emerging trends in the construction of migrant and ethnic character both inside of the Goya nominated canon as well as in the broader Spanish society. The majority of the films, with the exception of *Princesas* have been minimally analyzed by other academics.

---

[29] The decision to limit the case study films to national heritage directed films was due to the low number of migrant heritage directors and international directors in the film sample. Therefore, this analysis was designed to aid in defining the characteristics of migrant representation in Spanish films during the first phase of representation as described in chapter four, *Changing Perspective in European Cinema*, as Spain transitions into the next phase with the advent of migrant heritage film directors.

Two of the films, *Atún y chocolate* and *El penalti más largo del mundo*, were chosen due to their distinct representation of Moroccan migrants. As was documented in the section 4.1.1.3 *Immigration*, Moroccans are one of the largest migrant groups in Spain with the lowest levels of population acceptance (Cea D'Ancona and Valles Martínez 2010).

Tapas and *Princesas* were chosen due to their being representative of a synthesis of highly represented statistical results in the section 5.2 *Content Analysis Results*. In the case of *Tapas* this includes migrant employment, phobia-philia relationships, and ethnic food. Additionally, the actor in this film, Alberto Jo Lee, is one of the few recognizable ethnic actors known to the Spanish public due to his past participation in the weekly televison drama *Pelotas*. As for *Princesas*, the migrant character fits the prototype of the female migrant represented in Spanish films: Latin American, female, and working in the sex industry.

The chapter is divided into four sections, each devoted to a film. Each section is subdivided into two subsections: *Introduction to the Film: Production, Reviews and Synopsis*, and *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Character*. The first subsection provides information on the director and writers, production and funding information, reviews and awards won as well as a synopsis of the film. This is followed by a second subsection detailing rhetorical treatment of the ethnic or migrant characters in the film. This includes an introduction to the character including physical description and language style, character level and hierarchy considerations, film aspects such as camera angle and music applied, the main story line of the character and his or her importance to the main story, the film message if it is linked to migration, other immigrants represented and information on the first and last scene with this character. Information is provided on mania, philia and phobia treatment, Spaniards and migrant-ethnic characters eating together or eating ethnic food and characters involved in romantic and sexual relationship. These analyses provide a detailed look at areas of integration represented through the symbolic digestion of immigrants in society and the incorporation or exclusion of immigrants in love relationships that will be

discussed in the next chapter. Additionally, each film receives a visual documentation of the principal migrant character discussed.

6.1 Tapas

6.1.1 Tapas: Production, Reviews and Synopsis

Written and directed by two national heritage directors from Barcelona, José Corbacho and Juan Cruz, *Tapas,* is a dramatic comedy set in the Barcelona neighborhood of Santa Eulalia de L'Hospitalet. The film follows the intertwining lives of the people who live and work in this neighborhood in their efforts to understand and triumph in life. The film was released on May 13, 2005 and had box office returns of 737,935 spectators and 3,782,331€ in earnings (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura − cine y audiovisuals, n.d.d.: on line). It was an international co-production between Spain (70%), Argentina (20%) and Mexico (10%). It was produced by Tusitala P.C, Castelao Productions (Filmax), Mónica Roza and Moro Films S.A. de CV with the participation of Canal + España and Televisió de Catalunya.

In the 2006 Goya Awards, it won in the categories of Best New Director for José Corbacho and Juan Cruz, and Best Supporting Actress for Elvira Mínguez. In addition, at the 8th Edition of the Festival de Cine de Malaga it won the Biznaga de Oro for Best Film, the Biznaga de Plata for Best Actress (Elvira Mínguez), and received the People's Choice - Premio del público "Diario Sur".

José Corbacho Nieto is a comedian, actor, writer, director, and producer who has worked in theater, film and television. He worked ten years with the theater group *La Cubana* and has been involved with the television program *Homo Zapping* and collaborations with the *Buenafuente Show* with El Terrat (La higuera, n.d.: on line). Juan Cruz is a writer, producer and director for film and television who also collaborates with the *Buenafuente Show* and El Terrat. *Tapas* is the first full-length feature film for both Corbacho and Cruz. They have subsequently worked together on the film *Cobardes* (2008) and the television series *Pelotas* (2009-2010).

When Corbacho and Cruz decided to write a film script, they began with only the title "Tapas" and they recount that the ideas for the film flowed from this (Commisso, 2006: on line). Corbacho describes the result as neither a comedy nor a drama, but a sweet and sour mixture of flavors and textures that tell the stories of people in a neighborhood (Corbacho, 2008: on line). The neighborhood they chose to narrate these stories was their own, where both Cruz and Corbacho grew up. For Corbacho the idea was to show small slices of life that exist everywhere.

> La película es de personas antes que de personajes. Ellos marcan el ritmo. Son gente que conocemos, es nuestro barrio. De hecho, salvo la cocina del bar, que es un decorado, el resto está rodado en nuestro barrio, aunque podría ser el de cualquier ciudad del mundo. Queríamos un equilibrio entre humor, costumbrismo y drama, no cargar las tintas en ninguno de esos aspectos (*ibid*.).

The "tapas" referred to in the title of the film, refer not only to the small dishes served at Lolo's bar but also to "la actitud de los personajes que intentan tapar parte de sus vidas. O sea, mostramos pequeñas raciones de la vida de esta gente" (Commisso, 2006: on line).

It took them five years to achieve financing:

> Tusitala era una productora pequeña, al final nos tuvimos que aliar con Filmax, con TVE, etc. Cinco años en la vida puede que no sea mucho tiempo, pero para un proyecto de cine si lo es, es muchísimo tiempo. Pero bueno al final todo salió bien" (Pérez Marqués, n.d.: on line).

Tapas received favorable reviews from the critics. Fausto Fernández from *Fotogramas* gave it four out of five stars, describing the film as, up to that moment the best Spanish film of the year. He noted the sincere and sensitive depiction of the alternating focus on three different stages of life, adolescence, maturity and old age, through humor and melodrama (Fernández, n.d.: on line). Other critics such as Miguel Refoyo focued on the simple yet effective manner in which Cruz and Corbacho achieved a connection between the audience and the characters.

> La gran virtud de esta opera prima reside así en la facilidad de empatía que se establece entre caracteres y público, por encima de cualquier grandilocuencia, de la sencillez de la propuesta sin más pretensión que la de narrar con una equilibrada armonía una historia que sabe fusionar los códigos del drama y la comedia, amparados ambos géneros en un entorno de melancolía, extensivo a su logrado espíritu de fábula agridulce y suburbana (Refoyo, 2005: on line).

The narrative focuses on the connected lives of multiple neighborhood characters woven together through their connection to a tapas bar. Amongst these are the retired couple Conchi (María Galiana), and Maríano (Alberto de Mendoza) facing a terminal illness, Raquel (Elvira Mínguez), who seeks love again, two teenage youths Cesar and Opo (Rubén Ochandiano and Darío Paso), and Lolo (Ángel de Andrés) the desperate owner of a tapas bar in need of a cook since his wife has left him. The narrative connected to Lolo tackles the growing presence of immigration in Spain.

6.1.2 Tapas: Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

In one of the four principal narratives, Lolo hires Mao (Alberto Jo Lee), a Chinese cook, to fill a short-term vacancy in his Barcelona neighborhood bar. Mao has short dark hair and light brown skin. He is very physically fit and a martial arts expert in his thirties. Mao wears three types of outfits: collared button up shirts, a cooking apron, and a white tank top with black pants and Chinese slipper shoes. He is of impeccable appearance; this is reinforced by his always bringing a change of clothes with him to work. He is associated with the bar and almost all of his scenes

take place there. His only dialogues during the film take place with Lolo and the teenager Opo.

While Mao never directly talks about China, his Chinese culture of origin is continually present through his martial arts movements. This is accentuated in various scenes by Mao integrating karate moves in the kitchen while he cleans and cooks and through a Bruce Lee tattoo he has on his chest. Often his clean appearance is alternated with images of him sweating profusely while cooking or doing martial arts exercises. Mao is often shown without any emotion on his face. His downcast eyes and short conversations give him a subservient aspect that hides his picaresque spirit. He has come to Spain for love and has a Chinese wife or girlfriend who waits for him after work dressed in Chinese style clothing. While he understands Spanish perfectly, his oral production is less developed. This is marked by an Asian accent, the dropping of words and referring to himself in the third person, for example: "Me llamo Mao. Mao cocinero de restaurante de lujo en Hong Kong". Despite the transformations that Mao goes through in the film, his Chinese marked Spanish accent does not change (Martínez Sierra, et al., 2010: 21).

Mao is a secondary character; he is part of the narrative story of the primary character Lolo. He is the only secondary character in the film. He receives opposing hierarchy treatments from two characters: Lolo and Epo. Lolo treats Mao, and all migrants, in a phobic manner. Conversely, Opo idolizes all things foreign especially martial arts, Bruce Lee and foreign women. He treats Mao with mania and exoticizes his Asianness.

Mao, in function with his role as a secondary character receives limited camera attention. However, this treatment is at equal level with the camera. Often he is filmed at eye-line match with Lolo's viewpoint. He receives a number of close ups and solo scenes. The majority of these are in the kitchen of the bar while he is cooking, cleaning or performing martial arts. In only one scene is he shown outside of the bar, practicing martial arts at sunrise in a park.

The film uses a recurring instrumental score to aurally connect the main stories throughout the film. The majority of scenes with Mao are connected with this

score. However, distinct from all other character treatments, scenes with Mao
incorporate an Asian flute played wispily that mixes into the theme song. Use of
the flute begins with the first fleeting image of Mao on a train and is further
stressed during his interactions with Lolo.

The opening scene of the film hints at the pressure cooker of tensions building up
in the city, exacerbated by the heat, monotony and the unsustainable resistance to
change in the characters' relationships. With the screen in black as the opening
credits are projected, the film opens with the sound of heavy breathing. Next a
panning sweep crosses from the hanging beaded doorway curtain into Raquel's
sweltering studio apartment. Raquel is sitting in front of her computer masturbating
while her long-distance on-line Argentine boyfriend wonders where she has gone.
The instrumental film score begins and the viewer sees a sunrise view of an urban
city and that the temperature is 32º Celsius at this early hour. A montage of brief
scenes then introduces the principal characters.

The film's major themes focus on societal issues encountered by protagonists of
different generations. Conchi and Maríano are an older retired couple coming to
terms with Maríano's pending death from cancer while they face the difficulties of
surviving on a pension. Middle-aged Lolo and Rosalía have hit a crisis in their
marriage and business partnership due to Lolo's insensitivity and greed. Raquel is
in the process of recreating her life and reencountering love two years after her
husband has left her. Cesar and Opo are transitioning from late adolescence to
adulthood and are each embarking on life and following new dreams. Apart from
the peripheral story dealing with Mao and immigration, another peripheral story
follows the trajectory of a dog that Conchi has "rescued" from an enclosed car and
parallels her struggle to accept Maríano's pending death.

Mao is introduced twenty minutes into the film in a brief sequence with no
dialogue. While the theme music of the film plays, an establishing shot follows a
local train moving along the tracks and arriving in the city, serving as an allegory
for the arrival of migration to Spain. The viewer sees Maríano from inside the train
through two sets of windows as he waits on the platform. Next, Maríano receives a
medium close-up shot from the chest up as he stares with a neutral blank

expression through blue piercing eyes into the train. The shot reverse shows that he is looking at and being looked at by Mao, shown in a three-quarters body shot. As the doors of the train open and then shut, Mao lowers his eyes then looks up again at Maríano. During this scene Asian flute music accompanies the soundtrack.

Through Mao, the directors introduce the concept of migration into the film narrative. Corbacho says, "Nosotros queríamos plasmar el tema de la inmigración en *Tapas* y juntamos a los primeros inmigrantes españoles con los inmigrantes que están viniendo hoy en día de más lejos" (Corbacho, 2006: on line). For this role, the directors chose Alberto Jo Lee, a Spanish martial arts instructor and actor of Korean heritage born in Barcelona in 1979. Maríano, played by the Spanish-Argentine actor Alberto de Mendoza, is the first character in the film that sees Mao. If the viewer is familiar with de Mendoza, this encounter resonates with the directors' intention to show the encounter of an earlier generation of emigrants and immigrants with the new era of immigration represented by Mao. De Mendoza's family emigrated to Argentina when he was young and he lived and acted in both Spain and Argentina during his lifetime. However due to Maríano's use of peninsular Spanish and the lack of any identifying information about his heritage in the film, this scene can also be interpreted by the viewer as representative of the population transformation taking place in Spain as the older Spanish generation is replaced by migrant workers.

The filmic treatment in this first scene places Mao at a distance from the viewer. He is shown at three quarters length and accompanied by Othering music, while Maríano is shown in close up and with no associated music. This hints at the reticence to accept Mao's presence, and subsequently the new generation of migrants in Spanish society. Mao initially looks downward in a subservient posture diffusing this threat, however just as the train doors close, he looks into Maríano's face, perhaps as a demand to see and be seen, and to be treated as an equal.

In the next scene, Mao enters into Lolo's story. Similar to other films such as *El penalti más largo del mundo* and *Princesas*, the migrant character is paired and used as a counterpoint to a racist character. Whereas Lolo is xenophobic, money hungry and continually chastised in the film for only looking after himself, Mao is

322

an intelligent talented cook and dedicated to his sentimental partner. The chemistry between the Mao and Lolo led the directors' to comment that, "para nosotros fue una de las cosas más bonitas de la película, la relación entre Ángel de Andrés y Alberto Jo Lee" (Corbacho, 2006: on line). Due to the success of this relationship, Corbacho and Cruz again cast both Lee and de Andrés in their subsequent television series *Pelotas* in 2009. In this, Lee and de Andrés repeat the encounter between immigrant and racist, this time in the roles of a Korean businessman who is an avid soccer player and the xenophobic owner of a soccer club in need of a star player.

In *Tapas*, Lolo is facing a crisis. Rosalía, his wife and cook, has just left him. Her anger and frustration at Lolo's lack of interpersonal skills and his inability to think outside of his personal interests, pushes her to her limit. She packs her suitcase and leaves Lolo in chaos echoed in the kitchen scene as coffee brims over and food bubbles on the stove. This leads Lolo to discreetly but desperately ask around for help and subsequently to hire Mao.

Similar to the introduction scene with Maríano, a play on viewpoints takes place when Mao enters Lolo's bar for the first time. Behind a darkened countertop of a typical Spanish neighborhood bar, Lolo says to an unseen listener, "¿Pero qué me ha enviado el hijoputa éste del Eloy? Menos mal que no te ha visto venir nadie, chaval. Porque si no se creen que estoy gilipollas". The camera then revolves slowly around the bar to reveal Mao listening with an emotionless face.

The presence of an immigrant in Lolo's typical Spanish neighborhood bar compounds Lolo's already uncomfortable predicament. Lolo now must hide that his wife has left him and that he has hired a foreigner, which grates against his xenophobic impulses. Lolo adopts the position that *he* isn't racist but that *others* are. To further ratify his position he says "En este país la gente dice que no es racista, pero cuando esto se ha llenado de moros, de negros o de sudacas, a todo el mundo le ha dado por culo, o sea que mejor que no se enteren que tengo un chino en la cocina."

Lolo solves this by insisting that Mao stay out of public view and respond to the name "Rosalía". He then tests Mao, shouting out Rosalía's name. Mao turns suddenly with hands held high like striking snakes while the flute music plays eerily and turns into an Asian melody. This music is repeated in various scenes other scenes connected to Mao.

At first Lolo associates Mao's name with the Spanish beer *Mahou* in an attempt to make palatable his foreign name. As enforcer of Spanish tradition, Lolo limits as much as he is able the introduction of foreign ways in his kitchen. He rigidly draws divisions between 'our food' and other foods and prohibits the use of soy sauce in the kitchen, saying "aquí se cocina todo con aceite de oliva, si veo por aquí un puto bote de la soja esa, te vas a tu casa como que hay dios".

Lolo's only concerns are that Mao brings in money and that he takes up the work he can't handle, similar to the demands society places on immigrants. To the delight of his boss, Mao is a good and loyal worker. He submits to all of Lolo's odd demands and converts the disorganized and dirty kitchen of Lolo into a well ordered and compliment receiving establishment, making the Spanish tapas taste even better. When Mao brings about improvements in the quality of food and the bar earnings, Lolo begins to let go of the fears he holds towards immigration.

Lolo makes clumsy attempts to find points of connection with Mao. The first of these is to associate Mao's name with communism. Lolo says, "Mao, como Mao Tse Tung. Pues no te creas, ¿eh? que yo también soy un poco comunista". To which Mao just shakes his head. Next he shares with Mao that he too migrated abroad for work. However, he ascribes himself a higher hierarchy level as he erroneously assumes that Mao is an unskilled laborer without studies while he worked abroad in Switzerland as "mano de obra cualificada". Through this scene, Cruz and Corbacho link the previous migratory impulse of the Spanish people in the 1960s travelling to other countries as economic migrants to current day Spanish immigration. The scenario hints at the hypocritical fallacy that Spanish emigrants were any different than immigrants to Spain today.

Lolo himself is not seen as a flattering character thereby allowing the audience to distance themselves from his blatantly racist words and actions. While Lolo treats Mao in an inferior manner, the film gives Mao the ability to express his opinion. Initially he reacts subordinately towards Lolo. As time passes, he loses his shy attitude and in repeated occasions shows his intellectual superiority and expresses his annoyance at Lolo's bumbling racism through eye rolls, headshakes and finishing Lolo's sentences for him.

However in no scene is Mao seen to challenge Lolo nor is he ever perceived as a threat. While Mao may be more intelligent than Lolo, this intelligence is harnessed to increase the value and productivity of Lolo's tapas bar. In this sense the migrant worker is converted into a non-threatening benefit to the Spanish economy, passively patient in the face of xenophobic treatment.

By the end of the film, Mao has gone from being embarrassedly tolerated by Lolo to becoming indispensable. In fact he is offered a six-month contract with double pay in August when he will work alone at the bar. He is allowed to deal directly with clients in the public sphere. Even Lolo's barriers towards foreign influences are seen to fall as Mao has introduced new fusions to the menu, combining Spanish and Asian ingredients to make hybrid tapas. Mao also helps orient Lolo with insight on how to have a successful sentimental relationship. Mao says, "Amor es como plantas, si no riegas cada día, se muere". Lolo accepts his Confucius style advice and decides to go after his wife.

In contrast to the racism of Lolo, the character Opo feels very positively towards cultural differences and desires to consume these differences. Opo in every scene talks about Bruce Lee or martial arts or refers to women from other countries and his sexual interest in them. This fascination is continued throughout the film by his wearing of Bruce Lee t-shirts, doing karate moves in his sleep, and interest in talking with Mao. Opo's other interest is towards foreign women shown by his flirting with the Argentine shopper and his desire to meet European women during summer break because of their sexual availability.

By the film's end, both Mao and Lolo have exerted a hybridizing effect on each other and each character has transformed. Lolo transforms both emotionally, as seen in his decision to let go of his pride and go after his wife, and also interpersonally as he undergoes a shift in the way he treats others. He begins to view Mao as a person and lets go of his fears to have the bar associated with an immigrant. Of course, as Lolo has been denounced as a bloodsucker in an earlier scene by one of the clients of the bar, it is debatable if his attitude towards Mao is for economic reasons or if he really begins to value him as a person. Independent of the source of his motivation, by the end of the film Lolo has successively incremented the value of incentives he offers to Mao to keep him working at the bar. These grow in value from a Mahao beer keychain in their first encounters, to an extra payment in gratitude at the financial success of a dinner party, to a contract for six months working directly with the public.

Mao is also transformed as he assimilates towards Spanish culture. While he does not undergo the same type of personal growth as that experienced by Lolo, he transitions from outsider to integrated community member. Mao becomes more Spanish in both style and appearance. This is represented by his increased confidence in holding the gaze of others and more visually by changes in his wardrobe.

The collared shirts Mao wears undergo a transition from completely buttoned up at the start of the film to a gradual loosening up and more relaxed look by the end of the film (6.1 Graphic: *Transformation of Mao*).

6.1 Graphic: Transformation of Mao

Mao's First Appearance

Mao's Later Look that resembles Lolo

This transition brings his style closer to that of Lolo. As an example, in the second kitchen sequence, both Mao and Lolo wear light yellow button up shirts with a collar. However, Mao wears his buttoned up to almost the top, and his shirt is neat and ironed. Lolo wears his half ironed, half disheveled with the buttons undone to mid chest revealing a large mass of hair. By the end of the film, Mao finishes wearing a lilac colored collared shirt wrinkled and open to mid-chest. His style has assimilated to that of Lolo, to a relaxed Spanish style.

Not only do Mao and Lolo transform, but also the food in the bar changes. From the beginning of the film food is given a prominent and expressive role in the film. In one of the first scenes, the tensions between Rosalia and Lolo are made evident in her handling of food. Rosalia, angry at the continual demands Lolo's place on her, displays this anger to the viewer through the violent manner she smashes an octopus in the kitchen to tenderize it.

While Lolo attempts to hide Rosalia's absences, there are some things he cannot hide. In a scene after Rosalia's departure, a client in the bar asks, "Qué tienes de tapas?" to which Lolo replies, "Pues, lo que ve usted alli". As he points to a display case with the octopus and other tapas on offer, the client responds, "Ya, una bolsa de patatas". Lolo insists, "El pulpo esta viva", but the client insists back, "Tomaré patatas".

After Mao's arrival, the kitchen is put in order and the quality of the food improves. Subsequent customers note this change commenting, "Mmm, está buenísma la tortilla de hoy, eh!".

After Mao has demonstrated his abilities with Spanish foods, he is given more liberties with non-Spanish ingredients. Lolo's bar, where once soy sauce was prohibited, is shown in the final scene serving improvised fusion tapas, made with occidental and oriental food, to excellent reviews. Through food, the two cultures are combined and later digested by the Spanish clients. Opo, the character most interested in other cultures, enthusiastically expresses his delight in the new tapas. Mao informs Opo that the tapa he is enjoying, "foie al oporto reducido con sake", is cooked with a Japanese drink, and associates the food with Oriental medicine –

that certain tapas are good for cleaning the liver. Food then is used as a vehicle to reveal changes from cultural unease to future possibilities of coexistence and hybrid cultures. However Mao himself is never shown eating. He prepares Spanish food at the bar and he prepares Spanish-Asian fusion food. These are eaten by the Spaniards. In one scene Lolo asks Mao to prepare them both a Spanish omellette for dinner after the day's work is done. This is not shown on-screen but alludes to Lolo's sense of lonliness and willingness to accept Mao's company as a surrogate for his missing wife's company.

Alongside the continual interest in food and martial arts displayed in the film is the influence of drugs on the youth culture. While Mao is not linked with drugs directly, in one scene there is an interlacing of footage of drug sales and the cooking of Asian food. In this scene, Mao cooks an Asian recipe as demonstrated on television by the chef Ferrán Adria, while Conchi sells drugs to youth at the bar. The juxtaposing of these scenes fosters an association between drugs and migration.

In addition to Mao there are three other migrants depicted in the film. Mao's girlfriend or wife is one. She meets him in two scenes where she waits for him after work. She wears a traditional Chinese dress and has short black bangs and bright red lipstick. There are also two cameo appearances by famous Argentines, one is a middle aged Argentine woman shopping in the supermarket with which Opo flirts with (Cecilia Rossetto) and Raquel's long distance Argentine boyfriend Edgardo (Eduardo Blanco).

By the film's end, the tension in the city is relieved as the temperatures drop to 27° Celsius. The city garbage collectors clean the streets and spray down the pavement with refreshing water. The other story narratives also relieve their tensions: Conchi comes to terms with Maríano's death, Raquel decides to commit herself to the new relationship with the Argentine man, and Opo and Cesar are on their way to summer adventures.

Lolo, through the influence of Mao and others, decides to reconquer his wife. He has come to trust Mao's competence in the kitchen and is willing to let him directly

serve the public, meaning Lolo allows his bar to be represented by the face of immigration. The quality of food and standard of cleanliness of the bar have improved dramatically. Not only has Mao helped Lolo to make more money, but he has also introduced innovative tapas fusing their two cultures.

In *Tapas*, the Spanish society represented by Lolo experiences a change in its ideas, leading to acceptance of the immigrant, as well as the introduction of economic increases in the bar through the fusion of Spanish and Asian cooking. Mao gives a face to Spanish immigration, showing the positive influence and mutual benefits migration brings. Mao teaches Lolo, and the public, that an immigrant isn't necessarily ignorant and in need of charity.

The film however continues to mark the Spanish character as very different from the Other migrant. These differences are accentuated through Mao's speech patterns, his wearing of a karate robe while he cooks, the differences of Asian food and music associated with his character. The film ends with a positive note towards integration in the relationships of Mao and Edgardo. In the case of the Asian immigrant, he is accepted due to his ability to work hard, earn money for the Spaniard and to not challenge the hierarchy establishment. The Argentine immigrant continues to be the migrant of choice for equality in intercultural romance.

6.2 Atún y chocolate
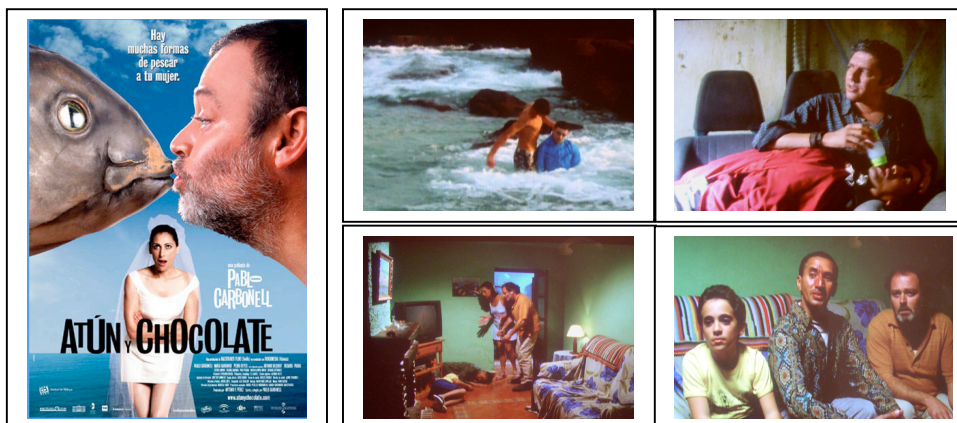
6.2.1 Atún y chocolate: Production, Reviews and Synopsis

Atún y chocolate, is a comedy written and directed by the national heritage director from Cadiz, Pablo Carbonell. It takes place in the fishing village of Barbate. The narrative revolves around the decision of a couple in a common-law matrimony to officially marry. This is proposed at the impetus of their son who wants to attend his first communion and feels his parents must be married to do so. The film was released on April 30, 2004 and had box office returns of 174,154 spectators and 788,026€ in earnings (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura – cine y audiovisuals, n.d.d.: on line). The film was an international co-production between Spain (90%) and Italy (10%). It was produced by Maestranza Films with the participation of Canal+ España, TVE and in association with Indigomedia. It received a Goya nomination in the 2005 Goya Awards for Best Original Song, for "Atún es en el paraíso" by Javier Ruiba. At the 7th Edition of the Festival de Cine de Málaga, the film won a Silver Biznaga for Best Actor for Pablo Carbonell.

The director, Pablo Carbonell, is known for his comedic characters and as a singer and actor. He has acted extensively in television and was a long standing reporter for the program *Caiga quien caiga* from 1996-2002. He was involved in the rock group, *Los Toreros Muertos* and has acted in diverse films such as *Lo mejor que le puede pasar a un cruasán* (Paco Mir, 2003) and *Obra maestra* (David

Trueba, 2000) for which he was nominated for a Goya for Best New Actor. *Atún y Chocolate* was his debut as a film director and scriptwriter.

Carbonell states that the original idea for the film was inspired by the song, "Atún y chocolate" by Nono Garcia and his desire to create a film set in Cadiz. Reflecting on his early ideas for the film Carbonell says,

> Observo a las mujeres jugando al bingo en la calle…, oigo historias de pescadores…, historias tristes de desguaces de barcos…, de incautación de botes de pesca…, de la necesidad de algunos de abandonar su tierra…, de pateras cuajadas de inmigrantes…, de cadáveres entre rocas…, de narcotráfico… Pero yo no quiero una película triste porque la gente de aquí no lo es (Carbonell, n.d.: on line).

For Carbonell, it was important that his film focus on the region of Cadiz. "Siempre he llevado el orgullo de ser gaditano y creo que puedo presumir de haber rodado la película más gaditana que se ha hecho hasta la fecha, 'Atún y chocolate', mezcla de poesía, romanticismo y poca vergüenza" (Sancho, 2009: on line). Of the final results he proudly claims, "Las creaciones tiene que tener todas un fallo para que necesites hacer más. 'Atún y chocolate' me salió demasiado bien, quizás por eso no he vuelto a rodar" (*ibid.*).

The narrative centers on the couple María (María Barranco) y Manuel (Pablo Carbonell) who have been together for 10 years in a stable relationship. When their son Manolín (Andrés Rivera) decides he wants to have his first communion like the other children at school, this sets in motion a series of prerequisites, such as his needing to have been baptized and the need for his parents to have been married first. Side stories develop the friendship between Manuel and his fisherman buddies: el Perra (Pedro Reyes) and el Cherif (Antonio Dechent). El Perra is linked to the dying fishing industry and the tenacity of the community to survive nobly nonetheless, while el Cherif's story connects to the presence of undocumented immigrants and drug trafficking.

6.2.2 Atún y chocolate: Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

In the side story connected to el Cherif, the viewer is introduced to Omar ("Biri" Mohamed Adbilatin), an adult Moroccan migrant recently arrived on the Cadiz coast. Omar has short-cropped dark hair, light brown skin, and is clean-shaven. He wears a mismatch of clothes: a red jacket, a paisley collared shirt of faded colors and gray pants. It is presumed that Omar has arrived on a *patera*, or small boat*,* and that he is on his way to France. In his duffle bag he carries a French translation of the ironically titled book *Exodus* and his diploma in French shows he holds a degree in Philosophy and Letters from the University of Morocco. Nevertheless, instead of these qualifications and documents demonstrating his intelligence, he is never shown to act intellectually at the same level as the Spaniards he comes in contact with. There is no mention in the film of his having an occupation or searching for employment. He lacks ability in the Spanish language. When he speaks, it is in broken Spanish with a heavy Arabic accent and numerous comedy based grammatical errors.

Omar is a third level character, belonging to the stories associated with Manuel and el Cherif. His character is one-dimensional and presented to the audience in a stereotypical manner that accents his difference from the fishing town and also from the spectator. Omar is presented as a likeable, if pathetic, character. He is presented at a level lower like a child or animal. He receives phobic treatment from the other Spanish characters and maintains a structurally inferior position to them. He is shown in an asexual manner with no references to having a partner.

Through camara angles and the soundtrack, the spectator is not encouraged to identify with Omar. He is initially filmed from a distance with a camera angle that focuses downwards at him. Occasionally, Omar receives both close-ups and shared shots with other principal characters. In the scenes with el Cherif, the camara uses shot reverse shots that contrast Omar's fear with el Cherif's madness. These shots are often from unequal points of view with Omar filmed at a downward angle. In scenes with Manuel, Omar receives shared planes and equal level camara angles.

Carbonell begins the film with nostalgic beautiful memories of a bygone Barbate brimming with life and fish, then contrasts this with scenes of current day Barbate. The film opens with a wistful montage of black and white images showing the olden days of Barbate while the opening credits appear. This is accompanied by a soft female voice gently singing Nono Garcia's song *Barbate*. A series of cut shots show barefoot fisherman catching tuna between nets in old-time boats, the port, children playing, and above all numerous fish jumping in the water. These images of Barbate give an air to the historical myth of times of abundance.

The film then shows current day Barbate, a coastal village confronting challenges to the traditional way of life. The film highlights the depressed fishing industry, the turn from fishing to drug smuggling, and the use of Cadiz's coastline as an unofficial immigration entry point. At the time of production of this film, Spain was faced with the challenges of an agricultural and construction industry increasingly dependent on migrant labour and news on the arrival of migrants landing on the coast was highly reported on by the media.

Often the film allies the fault of this downfall on Morocco and on globalization. El Cherif, el Perra and Manuel blame the Moroccans for limiting fishing access through territorial rights and Japan for buying up all the local tuna and making it prohibitively expensive for the locals. In the first fifteen minutes of the film, the viewer learns from el Cherif about the continuous waves of immigrants that arrive in Almeria and the frequency of packets of drugs washing up on the shore. The youth of the town, such as el Perra's son, dedicate their time to collecting and using these packets. Immigration and drugs are connected immediately. El Cherif comments about an arrival that afternoon of a *patera* loaded with immigrants whom el Cherif saw escape to the hills with bags he believed were carrying hashish. Subsequent scenes show that it is just as likely that a packet of drugs will wash up on the shore as a dead migrant who had hoped to reach Spain.

The inclusion of Omar, a Moroccan migrant character, both draws attention to the challenges Spain faces with Morocco and migrants from Morocco and provides an opportunity to fictionally neutralize Morocco as a threat. Even the choice of

actors to play Omar appears to be related with the neutralization and domination of the Moroccan threat. Carbonell says of his choice of actors:

> Biri, el actor árabe que interpreta a OMAR, lo encontré en Sevilla después de numerosas pruebas. Yo buscaba un tipo que transmitiera dulzura, que pareciera un marroquí de los que se conocen allí, en Marruecos, no de los que puteamos aquí. Necesitaba alguien que no mirase de manera resabiada e incitase a la hospitalidad. Creo que di con él. Biri en realidad es vendedor callejero de flores y le gusta disfrazarse de torero o de romano o de flamenco, según estemos en Semana Santa, Feria o Carnaval. Él dice que es ingeniero eléctrico, pero lo que le gusta es ir por ahí vendiendo flores o regalándolas, a ver si así, tirándose el folio, se enrolla con la que sea o por lo menos le dan de beber gratis (Carbonell, n.d.: on line).

Omar's arrival in the film is accompanied by the use of exotic eastern music. This music is used specifically to mark Omar as someone different and exotic, out of place in the Barbate coastal village landscape. His Otherness is highlighted by dramaticly sandwiching this music between two very Spanish musical styles in the scenes preceding and following his arrival, which envelop and neutralize its sound. In the scene just prior to Omar's arrival, Manuel and la Perra are talking at a noisy crowded bar where a live flamenco performance occurs. A non-synchronous soundtrack aurally transitions to eastern tinged music played on a lute and flute before the scene then changes to a quiet Andalusian street at night.

While this music plays, a long dark shadow appears moving ominously along the white walls of the village street in the darkness. The silhouette of a man is seen coming from a distance, and even as he nears, his figure and face remain obscured by shadow. Omar then comes into view. He walks quickly and jerkily with trembling hands towards the camera. All mystery and menace, however, are quickly defused as a slow cruising Guardia Civil car passes by with the radio playing a happy Spanish balad that ironically sings out "Libertad, --para ti" interfering with and then overwhelming the sound of Omar's Arabic music. The soundtrack then reverts to crickets chirping at night while el Cherif approaches Omar, who has ducked into an alley.

As a non-gaditano and non-Spaniard, Omar doesn't fit into the social hegemony of the town and is treated as a second-class person. There are two models of non-

acceptance towards Omar: the first is his father/son relationship with el Cherif, his kidnapper; the second his relationship with Manuel, his rescuer, as a faithful and thankful pet.

Naively, Omar trusts the first person who approaches him, el Cherif, which leads to disastrous effect. El Cherif, a strange man, ignorant and self-interested, takes advantage of Omar. Through comical effect, el Cherif is highlighted as the "racist Spaniard" of the film. He wants to prosper economically from the drugs he imagines all immigrants from Morocco carry. "Mohamee", he asks "¿llevaste una bolsa en la playa?". As he is led away by el Cherif, Omar laughs nervously and later makes scared whimpering noises as el Cherif kidnaps him and brings him to his deteriorating apartment.

In the following scenes, el Cherif displays phobic treatment towards Omar. He believes in the superiority of the Spanish population over the migrant population. He infantalizes Omar and enters a dynamic of abuse and humiliation. As Omar is interrogated by el Cherif, the angle of the camera highlights the inequality of the relationship. El Cherif, tall and almost elegant in a suit, is shown leaning against a wall on which he has drawn in childlike stick figures an equation of: Omar plus a bag is equal to hashish. El Cherif violently agitates a toilet bowl brush to point at the cartoon drawing of Omar, berating "Mohamee" to tell him where the bag is. The camera angle, which has been focusing on el Cherif for the duration of this speech turns suddenly to focus distantly across the room in a downward inferior camera angle at Omar, gagged and tied to a broken chair. Omar is shown sweating and whimpering. In a rage to locate his bag, el Cherif throws the toilet bowl brush violently at the head of Omar, and later electrocutes him with wires from a broken lamp. This humiliating treatment is presented in a comic manner.

When el Cherif finally locates Omar's bag and finds that it doesn't contain any drugs, his rage takes a comically paternal turn. He treats Omar as a disobedient child, presuming, correctly, that Omar carries hashish inside of him. In no scene is el Cherif shown to give Omar food. However he force-feeds Omar a bottle filled with laxatives. El Cherif tenderly lays Omar's head on his lap and aggressively feeds him while making cooing baby noises at him. The laxative does its work and

335

el Cherif places Omar on a bottomless chair. The camera, angled from below, shows Omar sitting above with his pants and underwear down to his ankles. As he expulses with comic gas noises and round popping eyes all he has inside of him, el Cherif cannot contain his happiness at the appearance of a *familia numerosa* of bags of hashish. This abusive-humiliating relationship with el Cherif ends abruptly with the liberating arrival of Manuel and his friend el Perra. El Cherif is left alone in his apartment, sad and lamenting the loss of his prisoner who he says was like a son to him.

The storyline of el Cherif and Omar plays off of and supports the common stereotype that immigrants, and especially Moroccan immigrants are connected to illegal drugs. With the transfer of Omar from el Cherif to Manuel and el Perra, the narrative leaves off the association of immigrants and drugs and tackles the issues of auxiliary, expulsion and integration of migrants. However, neither el Cherif nor Manuel and his family treat Omar on an equal to equal level.

In Omar's second narrative phase, references are made to differences between the Spanish and Moroccan religious and cultural practices. As el Perra has it, "Esta gente viene aquí por nuestra libertad, para nuestra cervecita, para nuestra cachondeo", because supposedly they don't have that in their country of origin. Manuel and María take in Omar treating him with a mixture of patronizing kindness and uncertainty as to what to do with him. This treatment maintains the phobia treatment of Omar, although devoid of the violence used by el Cherif. María treats the wounds on Omar's face while talking to him with an extra loud voice. Manuel explains to his family that these people don't believe in weddings or baptisms. Omar, for his part, takes advantage of the hospitality of Manuel and María even as these treat him condescendingly.

Omar deteriorates from being infantilized by el Cherif to animalized by the family of Manuel. After curing Omar, Manuel tries to kick Omar out of his house, "Usted es ilegal, tiene que salir de la casa", he says loudly to him. Omar though, decides he will stay as outside the house he faces the problems of "no dinero, no papeles". He prefers to sleep on the floor instead of on the empty couch, doesn't want to be out on the street with the "bad people", and is willing to do what is

336

necessary to stay with them including helping them in a crazy project to steal a tuna. He goes over to a corner of the room, bypassing the vacant sofa, and he curls up in a ball on the floor like a dog. "No problema para mí", he says, "yo suelo, hueso mucho duro". After trying to get him up María says, "la gente qué rara que es, en vez del sofa" and puts a blanket over Omar.

Faithful to his new "friends", Omar is willingly incorporated into the master narrative of Manuel's odyssey to steal a tuna for his wedding feast. Omar is used to provide metaphorical restitution for Manuel's, and Barbate's, perceived loss of fishing privelidges, willing to risk his life and possible detention to collaborate in Manuel's scheme. He helps Manuel by pretending to be an immigrant "without papers" washed up in the sea in order to distract the attention of the boat guards while Manuel steals the fish.

There is a continued reference to Omar as immigrant and Other. Numerous jokes are made about his name. He is called "Al mar" instead of Omar, associating him with *pateras*. El Cherif constantly calls him "Mohamee", ridiculing the religious cultural origins of his name, and the other characters in the film refer to him with the derogative terms "moro" and "morito". There is also a repetition of the theme of migrant arrivals repeated throughout the film. The first is the announcent by el Cherif of a *patera* arrival. Next is the arrival in the narrative of Omar found by el Cherif wandering the streets. Third, Omar impersonates a recently arrived immigrant by splashing around in the water to distract the boat guards during the robbing of the tuna. This is doubly ironic as Omar is an illegal immigrant impersonating an illegal immigrant. Finally, at the wedding of María and Manuel, Omar is shown with a blanket wrapped around his shoulders. This is presumeably due to his having been in the water serving as a distraction, however other characters also in the water during the theft have had time to shower and change. Omar continues with this blanket during the scenes outside the church, inside the church and at the wedding party of Manuel and María. His image mirrors television news images of recently rescued migrants helped by the Red Cross.

In addition to Omar, there are other images of migrants and ethnic characters in the film. The first is the discovery of a dead migrant floating in the sea found by el

Perra's son while out looking for washed up drug packages. The dead man is treated in a dehumanizing manner. When the supposed bag of drugs turns out to be the floating body of a dead man with dark features, the boy shouts up to his friends, "Es un moro!...Otro moro muerto!", and drops the body back in the water, as if the life of a human has less importance than the value of a bag of drugs.

The other representation is that of a black Guardia Civil policeman of the village. The Spanish actor Jimmy Roca, speaking with an Andalusian accent, plays this role. While he is presented in a position of authority, his behavior is comically ignorant. He overreacts in all areas of his job, while his coworker, a Spanish policeman, is much calmer and treats him as less intelligent. When the drug detection dog signals that el Cherif is suspicious, the black policeman begins to demand "los papeles" as a parody of the typical scenes showing immigrants being demanded the same by white policemen.

The film ends with an uncertain future for Omar. While Manuel has accepted him in a limited capacity, he has very slight possibilities to ever be accepted as a member of the community. At the end of the film, the images mirror the treatment of the opening credits at the start of the film. These glorify the old village life and the belief in its survival despite the challenges. The sequences at the wedding party of Manuel and María convert to black and white. They are dancing and happy. The film then reveals the artiface, the reality that this story is just a fictional narrative. The camera pulls back, revealing the members of the film crew and the backdrop scenery is exposed. The camera continues backing up, showing the cameramen, microphones and director chairs. While all characters are revealed to be actors, two personalities maintain their character roles. These are Omar, who continues playing the part of a marginalized immigrant with his blanket wrapped around his shoulders, and el Cherif. The lasting resonation left by the film is that of migrants such as Omar incapable of finding their space in a mythic world, and Spaniards such as el Cherif maintaining hierarchy differences just as if in "real life".

6.3 El penalti más largo del mundo

6.3.1 El penalti más largo del mundo: Production, Reviews and Synopsis

Screening in 2005, *El penalti más largo del mundo* was written and directed by
the national heritage director Roberto Santiago. It is a comedy centered on
friendship, love and the love of soccer in a local neighborhood of Madrid. The film
opened in 200 theaters across Spain on March 9, 2005 and surpassed the million
mark at the box office with 1,054,907 spectators and 5,138,329€ in earnings
(Cerviño, 2005: on line, Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura – cine y
audiovisuals, n.d.d.: on line). It was a Spanish funded film produced by the
companies Tornasol Films and Ensueño Films with the participation of Antena
3TV, Canal+España and Forta. The script was based on the story "El penal más
largo del mundo", by the Argentine Osvaldo Soriano, and adapted by Santiago.
Santiago received a Goya nomination in the 2006 Goya Awards for Best Adapted
Screenplay.

The Madrid born director first became famous for his short film *Ruleta* (1999), a
black comedy, which was nominated for a Palme d'Or - Best Short Film at Cannes
in 1999. *El penalti* was his second full-length feature film after *Hombres felices*
(2001). Santiago has gone on to create three more comedies since this time, *El club
de los suicidas* (2007), *Al final del camino* (2009) and *¿Estás ahí?* (2010). In many
of these films, a migrant or ethnic character has been included in the cast.

Examples include the two Asian men taking part in the suicide group in *El club de los suicidas* and the Korean couple involved in couples therapy in *Al final del camino*.[30]

At the time of its screening, *El penalti* received much comparison with the film, *Días de fútbol* (David Serrano, 2003). The two films share the similar theme of a comedy based on soccer and the use of the actor Fernando Tejero as part of the team. Santiago made repeated attempts to distance his film from *Días de fútbol*. In interview, he commented that while both films use soccer as part of its setting, *El penalti* really has much more to do with the story that surrounds the relationships of the characters than the soccer itself (Cerviño, 2005: on line). Santiago explains,

> El humor ha sido esencial en esta historia que aborda problemas sociales, económicos y laborales, de gente cercana, de carne y hueso a la que le cuesta llegar a fin de mes…del tratamiento del éxito, de qué hace un individuo cuando consigue el éxito (*ibid.*).

Various critics have commented on the satirical costumbrismo reflected in the film and its attempt to represent a moment of every day life in a marginal Madrid suburb. Critics such as Antonio Trashorras have praised the comedy for its incorporation of the imperfections of the society as background material and for not avoiding the gritty realities of life. He says,

> A dicha estirpe pertenece El penalti más largo del mundo, una comedia asainetada de fondo moral y forma asumidamente naïf, que esgrime la ternura y el patetismo como llamadas de atención sobre las imperfecciones del tejido social…Y es que nos hallamos ante una película social disfrazada de humorada, que, a diferencia de tantas comedias recientes, no se muestra desprovista ni de tripas ni amargura, volando demasiado a ras de las frustraciones de la clase media-baja como para resultar tan solo un instrumento de evasión (Trashorras, n.d.: on line).

However, other critics have commented on the inability of the film to further develop the dialogue on the social inequalities it portrays.

> Superficial y costumbrista, no logra ahondar en ninguno de los retos que se plantea como temas a tratar: la exclusión social, la inestabilidad laboral, la

---

[30] Both of these films used the Barcelona actor of Korean heritage, Alberto Jo Lee.

desigualdad entre ricos y pobres. Así-, el reflejo de la sociedad española que pretende ser se queda en agua de borrajas. Los personajes de extrarradio del film son arquetípicos y se recrean en su vulgaridad de manera constante (Ribé, 2010: on line).

The narrative follows the story of Fernando (Fernando Tejero), a backup goalie of the Estrella Polar Supermarket soccer team, who must stop a deciding penalty kick that will determine if his third division team will move up to the next category in the league. During the long week leading up to this kick, Fernando pursues his dream to find love with Cecilia (Marta Larralde), the daughter of the team coach Santos (Carlos Kaniowsky). The humor of this film rests on the irony of Fernando, a non-athletic, self-pitying and vice-ridden substitute player, being called upon to save his team as he tries to win the girl currently dating the star goalie of the team.

Fernando's friends and family are included in tangential stories in secondary narratives. Amongst these are his sister Ana (María Botto) and her boyfriend Khaled (Luis Callejo), his friend Bilbao (Fernando Cayo) with his wife Julia (Cristina Alcázar) and Rafa (Javier Gutiérrez). These stories revolve around and complement different angles of relationships and soccer as related to the story line of Fernando and his attempts to win Cecilia while stopping the penalty kick.

6.3.2 El penalti más largo del mundo: Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

One of the two side stories involves the relationship of Ana and her Moroccan boyfriend Khaled. Khaled is in his mid thirties. He works alongside Fernando in the deli section of a supermarket in Madrid, the Estrella Polar, for which he also plays soccer. Through this job, he is in the process of attaining his residence visa in Spain. He is a single father, separated from his wife, with an infant son, Abdul. Khaled is attractive, of an average build, with messy curly hair and a goatee. He is both physically fit and athletically talented. Invariably he is presented wearing leather necklaces, jeans, and an untucked collared shirt with the last few buttons undone. His unkempt hair, relaxed attitude and style of dress mark him as a man not excessively worried about much in life except being happy. He is assimilated in

Madrid and his style is similar to other characters of the film. Frequently he has a cigarette of hashish available in his shirt pocket for his friends. He dominates the Spanish language, though with many grammatical errors used to comic effect.

Khaled is a secondary character supporting Fernando's protagonist narrative. He is treated on an equal hierarchy level as the other Spaniards depicted in the film. He receives frequent camera close-ups, primarily in conversations with Ana. The ratio of scenes and close-ups is on par with the number received by the other storyline following the couple Bilbao and Julia. Khaled is also present in many shared shots with Fernando and the members of the soccer team. He is filmed at the same height as the camera. No special music or effects are used that mark him as different from the other characters in the film.

Central themes in the film include the victory of team unity and spirit over money and the metamorphosis and maturing of the protagonist and supporting characters through love and forgiveness. The narrative uses the classic romantic comedy structure of equilibrium – disequilibrium – resolution. During one week it is uncertain if the Estrella Polar team will surmount the difficulties of bought-off referees and dirty play that sends the star goalie to the sidelines with a foul play injury and requires the use of a loser type backup goalie to save the day.

Three principal couple relationships in the film mimic the crisis being experienced by the soccer team. These are between Fernando and Cecilia, Ana and Khaled and Julia and Bilbao. Fernando uses the penalty kick as an opportunity to get to know Cecilia, a girl that he has always had a crush on and who is initially repulsed by his advances. Khaled and Ana arrive at a crisis in their relationship as Ana realizes she needs to transition from casual dating to a higher degree of commitment. Bilbao and Julia's long-term relationship is tested by Bilbao's inability to let his wife know he has been fired. By the end of the week, both the team and each of these couples have triumphed.

The inclusion of a migrant character, Khaled, brings attention to the growing multicultural influence experienced by cities such as Madrid. However, unique to this film as compared to other Spanish films, is that apart from a number of

ethnicity-derived dialogues, a non-immigrant character could have replaced this character with no major differences in the narrative structure. The obstacles Khaled encounters (relationship problems with his girlfriend and economic instability from a precarious job situation) are presented as neutral themes that any male Spaniard could face and not specifically linked to his being a migrant or Moroccan.

El penalti opens with catchy upbeat music and credits of the actors' names that appear to be playing soccer. The screen fades and opens again with soccer players running up and down the field at a match held in an industrial neighborhood in Madrid. Accompanied by the sounds of a rowdy local crowd, the viewer learns that it is the final match between two teams, Estrella Polar and Deportivo. This match will decide who moves up to division two, and Estrella Polar is winning.

In the first scene of the film, Khaled is shown to be an important character in the narrative and a central player on the soccer team. He is able to handle the less than scrupulous playing techniques on the soccer field, playing aggressively and being fouled aggressively by the other team. At the lack of fair refereeing in an apparently fixed match, he runs up to the referee and butts him with his chest. The coach, Santos, responds from the bench, "No protestes, Khaled, calla la boca". This is ironically paired with a visual image of Fernando, the back-up goalie and protagonist, shown on the coach's left with his mouth wide open in a yawn.

He is also shown to be a loving father. During a pause in play, Khaled runs off the field to check on his infant child, a baby in a portable baby bassinet being watched by the game's amateur announcer. He speaks to the announcer in broken Spanish asking, "¿Niño, está [*sic*] bien?"

The narrative story line involving Khaled focuses on his relationship with Ana as it passes through crisis to resolution. Ana has grown dissatisfied, as she desires a relationship with a deeper level of commitment. She faults Khaled for not being able to make future plans with her and his inability to instinctively understand her needs in the relationship. Khaled is only legally separated from his wife and although both he and Ana are hesitant about the idea of marriage, this remains a sticking point for their progression as a couple.

Ana ruptures the relationship and begins to date Coach Santos. He is able to offer her emotional and economic stability: the promise of marriage and the chance to stop working as a waitress in the bar. Ana tells Fernando that Santos makes her laugh, which for her is the essence of being in love. However, Ana is quickly wooed back by Khaled when he develops plans for their future, showing her the blueprint for a house he wants to have built for them. They get back together, not for the house, nor as Khaled suggests because he makes her laugh, but says Ana for their sexual compatibility in bed.

By the end of the film, Khaled is able to provide Ana emotional and economic stability. He has stopped smoking hachis in order to save money for their future home. He has also acquired a contract in his work place therefore rectifying his legal status and providing ensuing economic stability. The contract offered by Estrella Polar Supermarket is presumably to ensure that he continues playing soccer for the team, which due to Fernando's stopping the penalty will be rising up a category in the league. Migrants such as Khaled are shown as assets to Spanish society.

That Khaled is given philia treatment by his Spanish friends and able to win back Ana by the film's end distances this film from other representations of Moroccan immigrants. Roberto Santiago chose the Segovian Luis Callejo to play the role of Khaled explaining that he chose a Spaniard because he couldn't find a better ethnic actor to play the part.

> Para las chicas busqué a tres actrices (Marta Larralde, María Botto y Cristina Alcázar) que pudieran dar una imagen muy de barrio. Lo más curioso fue el caso de Khaled. Después de ver a un montón de árabes para el personaje, el que me pareció más árabe y mejor actor fue Luis Callejo, que es español (Santiago, 2005: on line).

The use of a Spaniard to play a Moroccan role harkens back to Isabel Santaolalla's argument on the use of Spaniards to play the part of Gypsies in films.

> [P]erpetúa la poco defendible aunque extendida práctica de usar actores blancos maquillados para representar a todo personaje étnico de contenido mínimamente positivo. El uso de esta estrategia supone, pues, una afrenta a una "raza" a la que, claramente, la industria no considera capaz de despertar

simpatía por sí misma (Santaolalla, 2005: 41).

Nevertheless, Luis Callejo was not a well-known actor at the time of the film casting and therefore most audiences would not have been aware of his ethnicity.

Various themes associated with migrants and in particular Muslims are reiterated throughout the film. At times these are included for their comic effect and at times are incorporated as cultural assumptions. Amongst these are scenes and dialogues that focus on the Muslim religious taboo of eating pork products, the connection of hashish and lack of human rights with Morocco, and the feminization of Moroccan immigrants.

Food is used as a symbol to stress Khaled's cultural "otherness", yet also to show his assimilation of a Spanish style of life. Both Fernando and Ana bring up the theme of ham as a marker of his cultural difference. This is first seen in the Estrella Polar deli section where Fernando and Khaled hang legs of ham:

> Khaled: A tanto [*sic*] jamones si yo no puedo comer ni uno
> Fernando: ¿Tu sigues siendo musulmán? Yo creía que ya habéis quitado ya.
> Khaled: No es por este, es por colesterol.

And, later that night in Ana's apartment when she insists on making a Spanish tortilla with ham for Khaled:

> Ana: ¿De verdad no quieres un poquito de jamón en la tortilla?
> Khaled: Pero Ana, no como cerdo, tu sabes, te he dicho mil veces, col-es-ter-ol...
> Ana: Vale, vale

In both cases Khaled explains that he doesn't eat ham, not for religious reasons, but for the cholesterol. Although Khaled doesn't profess to be religious, this appears to be the historic test of fidelity by the dominant catholic population for converted *moriscos*.

Further reinforcing Khaled's assimilation and stance on not being religious are the multiple scenes in which he is shown drinking beer, usually together with his neighborhood friends. At no time is a visual or dialogue reference made to

Moroccan food. After losing Ana due to his lack of future plans with her, Khaled wins back her love by showing her the blueprints for the house he is having constructed for them. His assimilation complete, he uses the ham products, chorizo and chistorra to mark the future rooms of the house on the blueprints. The use of these items can be seen as an extension of Khaled's acceptance of Spanish cultural norms and therefore long-term compatibility with a Spanish woman.

While the consumption of beer and the comic treatment of ham distance Khaled from the usual expectations of a Moroccan man, his use of hashish reinforces the stereotype of Morocco as a drug source and of Moroccans as drug providers. Khaled carries hashish in his front shirt pocket for his personal use and less willingly gives to Fernando when asked. Interestingly, it is only Fernando who is shown smoking. Khaled later decides to give up smoking hachis altogether by the film's end.

Additionally, Fernando brings up the subject of human rights and Morocco. At the supermarket he makes reference to Khaled's supposed lack of knowledge on human rights and later at his apartment he tells a joke about "moros" not being allowed to complain in their country while making neck slitting gestures. Although Khaled looks away with an annoyed face and stifles his exasperation, he also shares the sentiment that his countrymen could do better if they were able to leave Morroco. When asked what he would do with 10 million euros he says "alquilo cien barcos y traigo todos los compatriotas que caben en barcos para que ellos vivan aquí. Yo hago contratos de trabajar a todos y así ellos tienen papeles, y si el gobierno no le gusta, a tomar por culo".

There is a continual tension between Khaled and the masculine – feminine. Many of the language-based jokes are built on Khaled's lack of grammatical gender coherency. He confuses the name of a beach resort area La Manga, calling it "*El Mango*", and in the final scene with Ana he has supposedly misunderstood that she wanted *planos* (architectural plans for the house he wants) and produces these, instead of the more simple *planes* (plans) for their relationship which she has demanded.

His relationship with Ana is based on high sexuality and attraction, stressing his masculinity. One of Ana's most frequent complaints is that they only make love and don't do other things normal couples do. As a starting member of the football team, he is represented as both physically fit and athletically talented, challenging the referee on bad calls and supporting his teammates.

Contrasting his masculinity on the field, he is closely associated with the care of his infant son, which in comparison with the machismo of the other players, in one sense could be described as feminized. Apart from continually running back and forth to the sidelines to check on Abdul during games, in scenes where Khaled meets with Ana he is always accompanied by and lovingly attentive to his baby. In one such scene, Khaled meets Ana at the bar where she works as she is closing up for the night. She is annoyed that Khaled doesn't help her to put the chairs up on the tables. He responds that he is busy with the baby while a close-up shows Abdul holding his father's finger and laughing. The day of the penalty kick, in a multiple scene sequence showing the morning preparations of each character, Khaled, dressed in a white Arab style shirt, sits on a couch with clothing and toys around him as he feeds a bottle to his baby. When Ana confronts him on why his ex-wife doesn't spend more time caring for the baby and he replies that his ex-wife says he is a good father.

Khaled's character is novel in Spanish film both for his breaking with traditional gender roles typically defining child rearing as women's work as well as the hierarchy equality he receives in the film from other characters. In studies on gender and representation in Spanish film, authors such as Pilar Aguilar cite the high degree of machismo existent, naming *El penalti* as tainted with male chauvinist commentaries, attitudes, actions and a general lack of interest in women outside of sex and sexually desiring them (Aguilar 2010). While Khaled as a character is fashioned on the template of a male chauvinist Spaniard in his attitudes towards Ana, his dealings with his child as a single father can be described as modern. In this sense he breaks with the chauvinistic patterns often stereotypically attributed to Spanish men and especially to men of Arab and Bereber cultures, in particular, as unconcerned with domestic tasks such as the care of children.

On the whole, Khaled is represented as a "good immigrant", integrated in society, and well liked by his peers. As mentioned before, he receives primarily philia treatment from the other characters. Phobia treatment shown through blatant racism is less perceptible and concentrated singularly in the character of Fernando. The few racist jokes or slurs in the film are made by Fernando who plays a principal role in highlighting the "otherness" of Khaled. He repeatedly uses the word "moro" to refer to Khaled and views Khaled as inferior to himself. In part this can be attributed to his low self-esteem and intent to find anyone he can signal as being his inferior.

Both Khaled and Fernando belong to the same social group and therefore frequently spend time together. They also work together in the close space of the supermarket deli and play on the company soccer team. Khaled resigns himself to putting up with the racist jokes of Fernando. This is used comically and ironically especially in the scene where Fernando tells Ana that Khaled is not good enough for her: he smokes too much hachis and only works in a deli. Both Ana and the audience are aware that Fernando's complaints also perfectly describe himself and that in contrast with Fernando, Khaled is a talented athlete, repeatedly seen on the soccer field with athletic success, and is capable of being in a sentimental relationship, an area in which Fernando, up until now, has not been capable. Ana and Fernando come to accept Khaled in their lives, Ana by choosing to stay in a relationship with him and Fernando for being comically convinced by Ana that Khaled is a good guy.

Other than Khaled, there are no other ethnic characters in the central narrative. In only one scene does a black woman appear walking in a neighborhood park. The lack of other migrants is in itself striking, due to the multicultural nature of Madrid.

6.4 Princesas

6.4.1 Princesas: Production, Reviews and Synopsis

Princesas is a drama written and directed by the national heritage director and Madrid native, Fernando León de Aranoa. The story revolves around the friendship that emerges between two women working in the sex industry in Madrid. The film was released on September 2, 2005 and had box office returns of 1,194,155 spectators and 6,089,884€ in earnings (Gobierno de España- Ministerio de cultura – cine y audiovisuals, n.d.d.: on line). It was a Spanish funded film produced by the companies Reposado Producciones Cinematográficas, SL. (Fernando León de Aranoa's production company) and Mediaproducción, SL., with the participation of Antena3 TV and Canal + España.

The film received numerous awards and nominations at the 2006 Goya Awards. It won in the categories of Best Leading Actress, Candela Peña, Best Supporting Actress, Micaela Nevárez, and Best Original Song, "Me llaman Calle" by Manu Chao. It was nominated in the categories of Best Film; Best Original Screenplay for Fernando León de Aranoa; Best New Actor for Luis Callejo; Best Sound for Miguel Rejas, Alfonso Raposo and Polo Aledo; Best Costume Design for Bina Daigeler; Best Make-Up and Hairstyles for Carlos Hernández and Manolo García.

Fernando León de Aranoa is a writer, director and producer. He debuted as a director with the short film *Sirenas* in 1994. The producer Elías Querejeta aided in

the production of his first full-length feature film, *Familia* (1996) which went on to win him a Goya Award for Best New Director. He has directed documentary films and shorts. Of his full length films, almost all have gone on to receive numerous Goya awards. In 1998, he produced *Barrio*, winner of three Goya Awards (Best Director, Best Original Screenplay and Best New Actress). In 2002 *Los lunes al sol*, winner of five Goya Awards (Best Film, Best Director, Best Actor, Best New Actor and Best Supporting Actor). Each of these films dealt with social themes, and while a few included migrant and ethnic characters, they were not part of the central theme.

Films dealing with migration as a central theme include *Princesas* (2005) and *Amador* (2010).

Fernando León de Aranoa's work is described as:

> [c]oncernido tanto por la memoria histórica de su país como por los problemas más acuciantes del presente, […]. El suyo es un cine realista con vocación metafórica, pegado a la tierra y de naturaleza prosaica, pero capaz de abrir paso a una secreta y siempre contendida dimensión lírica entre los pliegues de sus fotogramas (Heredero, 1999: 220).

Fernando León de Aranoa began formulating ideas for the film *Princesas* before he filmed *Los lunes al sol* (Fotogramas, 2008: on line). They were inspired by a photography exposition on sex workers he had seen at the *Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía* and a conversation with a friend whose mother was a hairdresser (*ibid.*). "[…Me] habló de cómo en su infancia escuchaba asombrado las conversaciones de prostitutas que iban a la peluquería de su madre y hablaban de su trabajo con mucha naturalidad" (*ibid.*).

> Otra imagen, vista en la Casa de Campo, es la de chica con enormes plataformas caminando sobre una línea discontinua pintada en el suelo. Su equilibrio me pareció simbólico del riesgo que los funambulistas asumen cada noche. Se la juegan cada día para ganar una mierda y, además, enviarla a no sé dónde. Tienen una mezcla de fragilidad y fortaleza asombrosa. E intentando mostrar desde otro ángulo un mundo y unos personajes que se han contado muchas veces. Centrándome en sus emociones, sus relaciones y la ternura que hay en ellas (Fotogramas, 2008: on line).

Princesas was applauded by many critics. Mirito Torreiro from *Fotogramas* awarded it four stars out of five. He praises the film and de Aranoa for his dialogues, saying that "León es, de lejos, el guionista que mejor dialoga en nuestro cine" (Torreiro, n.d.: on line). He describes de Aranoa's camera work as "mucho más inquieta, inquisidora y audaz que en sus anteriores, y primorosas, entregas, el director construye una ficción carente de cualquier coartada o paracaídas" (*ibid.*).

However, other critics, such as Miguel Refoyo from la Butaca and Nathan Lee from the New York Times movie review, denigrate the film for its failed attempt to create an interesting social commentary (Refoyo, 2005: on line; Lee, 2006: on line).

> A pesar de que la propuesta pueda parecer atractiva y sugerente teniendo en cuenta la sensibilidad realista de su director, 'Princesas' no es más que un fraude argumental e intencional del que se desprenden situaciones que procuran adoptar un tono documental contiguo al 'cinéma verité', pero que al pasar por el filtro costumbrista y a veces cómico de Aranoa se fragmenta en simples situaciones dibujadas desde el más sonrojante tópico (Refoyo, 2005: on line)

Princesas narrates the story of friendship that grows between two rival prostitutes that live and work in a Madrid neighborhood. Caye (Candela Peña) and Zulema (Micaela Nevárez) develop an unexpected friendship cutting through racial and economic divides. A constant theme running through the film is the choice to live in a fantasy world or one more grounded in a difficult reality.

6.4.2 Princesas: Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

Zulema is a thirty something single mother from the Dominican Republic working in Spain to send money back to her son and mother. Physically graced, she is tall and beautiful with long brown hair, light brown skin and Latin features. For ten months she has been living in Spain as an undocumented migrant. Frustrated by her unsuccessful attempts to attain legal status, she has resorted to prostitution. Her clinging halter-tops and hot pant shorts accent her tall thin frame and highlight her sexual attractiveness. She feels a shame about her occupation and is fearful of her

family finding out what she does. They currently believe she is working as a waitress.

Most of her social life is connected to the migrant Latin community in Madrid and in maintaining connections with her family back home. She speaks with a South American accent. The verbal mark of her difference from Spaniards is not shown through grammatical errors or lack of vocabulary, as she is a native Spanish speaker. Instead it is through her intonation and particular vocabulary –referring to money as *plata* and calling her clients *Papi*– that differentiate her linguistically from them. Zulema is not integrated in Spanish society.

Zulema has a principal role in the film and is developed as a complex character. This is reflected in the percentage of camera attention she receives and in the use of Latin music in the soundtrack. Zulema receives a large share of camera close-ups, single scene representation and shared scenes. She is filmed at equal length with the camera or in line with Caye's point of view. The soundtrack used throughout the film is applied to both actresses with the distinction that Caribbean music and reggaeton are applied in a few of Zulema's scenes. This is always represented as coming from a TV set or a market radio and not part of the film soundtrack.

Fernando León de Aranoa chose the Puerto Rican actress, Micaela Nevárez, to interpret Zulema. He says,

> […] cuando ya casi tenía a Zulema, me acordé de Micaela, a la que conocí tres años antes en Nueva York, en un viaje al festival de Tribeca con Los lunes al Sol. Un día, hablando por teléfono con Javier Bardem, que estaba en Nueva York, le dije si podía localizar a aquella chica. Y no solo hizo eso: al final fue él quién la entrevistó. Incluso hizo una escena con ella. La prueba fue magnífica y definitiva (Fotogramas, 2008: on line).

Princesas opens with a blurred image of trees racing by accompanied by the sounds of continual signals from a two-way taxi radio. The protagonist Caye watches the scenery passing by as she pages through a magazine. Outside the window the suburbs flash by revealing apartment blocks, industrial plants and a shantytown, Cañada Real where many immigrants live, on the outskirts of Madrid. Only the names of the two protagonists appear in the credits. The taxi stops and

Caye arrives at a hospital where she attends a client waiting for her sexual services. At this point the opening soundtrack begins to play and the film title appears on a black screen.

From here, the film introduces two central themes of the film: immigration and prostitution. There is a clearly divided line between the "us" of the world of Caye and the other white prostitutes and the "them" of the migrant prostitutes, which includes Zulema. The symbolic point of division is a beauty shop that overlooks a dusty park square. Inside the beauty shop, the hairdressers style the white Spanish prostitutes's hair while conversing on life, prostitution and the Other they see everyday outside the window. Outside, the park is filled with a multitude of Latin and black prostitutes. The prostitutes are represented by women of all shapes and skin tones, walking or waiting for clients in the park. They are a boisterous group represented as happy and unconcerned women by the jovial soundtrack that accompanies them. Some are very thin and dressed in mini miniskirts, others are very large hipped and are dressed in lycra skin-tight pants. As a whole they exude sexuality.

The camera makes many references to these two spaces, though always from the point of view of those inside the beauty shop, the Spanish point of view. At times, the camara shot includes the horizontal lines of the venetian window blinds as it looks out at the park. At other times it merges through the blinds to show the same scene with no obstruction, while maintaining the sounds of the hairdryers and conversations. The migrants are filmed from a distance, following the moving eye lines of the Spanish prostitutes in the salon.

Zulema is first introduced in a scene that foreshadows her arrival. Caye looks out the window of her run down Madrid apartment block building and sees Zulema's lingerie and a black t-shirt that reads "Sexy Girl 69" hanging on a clothesline. Zulema is introduced 13 minutes into the film wearing this black t-shirt and skin-tight blue jeans as she steals a client the protagonist Caye has gone out to meet. After complaining loudly to the customer that he at least pay her taxi fare, Caye verbally attacks Zulema saying "Aquí hay unas normas, aquí no estás en la selva".

In the following scene, Caye finds that Zulema has left an envelope on her door with 10€ inside.

In their next encounter, a jarringly loud soundtrack of Reggaeton music coming from Zulema's aparment provokes Caye to march angrily upstairs where she finds Zulema's door open. The loud music is blasting from Zulema's TV and there are signs of violence, broken cups and spilled coffee on the floor. From Caye's point of view, a hand held slightly shaking camera finds Zulema sitting bruised and naked in the shower. Caye takes Zulema to the hospital.

From this point on, Caye takes on the role of Zulema's protector. Her treatment of Zulema transforms from phobia to filia. Not only does she care for her in the hospital, but she also encourages Zulema to stand up for herself against the man who has hurt her. Caye, through the camera angles from her viewpoint, makes the viewer aware of Zulema's plight. At a larger level, Fernando León de Aranoa uses Caye to make the viewer aware of the migrant's plight. The viewer is sensitized to Zulema's precarious situation in Spain. From the beauty salon window Caye watches Zulema avoid the police. She accompanies her to make emotional and teary phone calls from the public phone centers, *locutorios*. She finds her when she has been hospitalized due to a second beating and helps her financially when she decides to return back home.

While Caye fills the role of Zulema's protector, other Spaniards take on the role of her agressors. The man who beat her is refered to as the *funcionario*, a nameless civil servant. She is trapped in an abusive relationship with this man. He promises to give her working papers in exchange for free sex. He brutally beats her whenever she refuses him and resorts to impersonating new clients in order to trick her into meeting with him. Zulema feels completely unprotected against him, impotent to avoid him and unable to denounce him because of her lack of legal papers.

The Spanish clients Zulema deals with treat her differently than they treat the Spanish prostitutes. In comparison with Caye, who is solicited for oral sex at 50€, Zulema repeatedly is required to haggle her prices to clients who offer 20€ for full

sex instead of the 30€ that she charges. This representation reflects the lower value placed upon immigrant services that wouldn't be offered nor accepted by a Spaniard.

The civil servant and other Spanish clients mirror the treatment of migrants in the mid 2000s. Spain's economic boon offered migrants the chance to make better money than could be offered in their home countries. In exchange, for working hard to fulfill Spain's needs, the Spanish bureaucratic system tantalizingly offered them the chance to become legal through sporadic regularization processes. However, migrants were also deported with rapid speed.

The Spanish prostitutes at the beauty shop serve as the principal anti-immigration voices in the film in their phobia treatment of foreigners. They mirror back common beliefs and prejudices circulated in Spanish society about migrants in their dialogues. These include heated conversations about migrants taking over jobs and undercutting the market with lower prices. They are associated with super-sexuallity, dirtyness, the mafia, ilegality and in general considered to be ignorant.

An example dialogue is that which takes place between two of these prostitutes, Caren (Violeta Pérez) and Ángela (Mónica Van Campen). The camera focuses on a black prostitute who struts by outside the window shaking her hips while the two women comment on her.

> Caren: Mírala ella como anda…con el culo para fuera.
> Angela: Es que las enseñan desde pequeñas. Les meten cosas en los zapatos para que les moleste, por eso caminan así...Y huelen distinto, por una hormona especial que tienen que es un olor que atrae a los tíos porque es más fuerte.
> Caren: Y que no se lavan. Por cultura, por religión, por lo que sea...

They reference this information as coming from a television special by the BBC. Even the hairdressers, who initially defend the migrant prostitutes, understanding that they don't have enough work in their country, cave in to xenophobia when threatened by competition. When Zulema gives Caye cornrow braids, one of the hairdressers voices the opinion on "principal" that the braids are unhygienic.

Caye experiences a conflict of loyalty, torn between her old friends and her new growing friendship with Zulema. The director says of this relationship:

> Caye y Zulema hacen un viaje que parte de la rivalidad de las prostitutas de aquí y las de fuera. Es algo que pasa en muchas otras actividades: el mosqueo hacia el que llega de fuera porque viene a quitar trabajo. Crear una amistad a partir de ahí me parecía un doble salto (Fotogramas, 2008: on line).

Caye comes to serve as a bridge between the two cultures. Through the emerging friendship with Zulema, the stereotypes she holds are examined as she acquires new first hand knowledge about this culture. She repeats the opinions of the Spanish prostitutes, based principally on imagination and stereotype, to Zulema who provides her with more accurate information. She in turn passes on the new information to the beauty shop crowd. At a later date Zulema is presented to the beauty shop girls, and accepted by them.

Other characters in the film also come to have a deeper understanding of a migrant culture through their interactions with Zulema. In comparison to the women at the beauty shop, Caye's family demonstrates a philia treatment towards Zulema. They know nothing about the Dominican Republic, especially the mother, who asks if they eat chicken there and if they have movie theaters and shopping malls, yet are curious and interested in learning. Zulema speaks of its modernity although she also refers to the extreme poverty provoked by poor government management. Caye's family represents a cross mix of Spanish society, from her mother who practically thinks Zulema comes from Mars, to her brother who is interested in learning more about the political system in the Dominican Republic.

Apart from Zulema and the multicultural crowd of noisy prostitutes who hang out at the park, the other migrants portrayed in the film consist of Latinos working and creating an "honest living". Amongst these are the workers in the Latin street market and nearby restaurant. Zulema introduces Caye to this community of friends, bringing her into contact with Latin influenced Madrid. The two go shopping for clothing at the *mercadillo* and eat typical Latin plates such tamales cooked in banana leaves.

Zulema also shares her apartement with a Dominican family, in what Zulema refers to as a "warm bed" living arrangement. Each one has twelve hours of access to the apartment. With these she maintains limited contact, preferring that they not know anything about her that might make its way back to her homeland. However in one scene, the father of the family approaches Zulema, sent by his wife to ask her to change the sheets before she leaves each day. When Zulema protests, asking why can't the wife do it herself, he says "porque no es ella quien se coge diez machos cada día" adding that they would prefer that she leave the house before 8:00 am as they don't want their son to see her. Zulema bows her head down in humiliation.

Zulema is portrayed as an optimistic victim. She is classified from the start as a prostitute, and very early on she is also portrayed as the stock character "prostitute with a heart of gold". This character is a woman who works in prostitution or similar such trade, yet is a good and kind person inside. Usually due to difficult life situations she has had to resort to earning money this way.

Zulema is good to everyone, trusts those who she shouldn't, and repeatedly reacts humbly towards those who yell at her or insult her. She positively influences Caye with her mixture of healthy self-esteem and joy. Caye protects her, the civil servant abuses her, and her fellow countrymen both encourage and humilitate her. Equally dangerous, she has lost her sense of sexual health and safety, failing to use condoms with clients and not going in for regular testing which leads her finally to contract a sexual disease insinuated to be Aids.

Through Zulema's likeability and heart of gold, the other characters and the film viewers are drawn to her and her culture. Those who come in contact with her are transformed and become more tolerant to migrants. She provides information as an ambassador of the Latin community; a transculturation processes occurs in Caye and the Madrid neighborhood where she lives and works as well as an information process with the film viewer. Equally Zulema undergoes transformation through her contact with the Spaniards. Where two cultures meet there is a fertile hybridizing effect.

In the film, the Spanish culture represented undergoes a change in its information and prejudices. Through the exchanges between Zulema, Caye and the beauty shop girls, new first hand information takes the place of previously held stereotypes on the sexuality of the immigrants and on the familiar humanness of the Other. Caren and the rest of the Spanish population can relate to the fact that not all immigrants arrive in *pateras*, small boats, but in fact most arrive by airplane. Caye as well undergoes an enormous transformation in her own personal life and self esteem. Financially, the beauty shop is able to capture new markets, attested to by the new placard in the beauty shop window reading "Exoticas trenzas africanas 60€" after Zulema teaches Gloria how to braid. More sadly, it becomes evident that the prostitution market has also become cheaper due to the increase in immigrant prostitutes offering sexual services for reduced rates.

Zulema too has undergone changes influenced by the Spanish culture, though less so due to her limited integration. She shares with Caye how at first she was repulsed by the cultural differences of the Spaniards. Describing her first experiences with Spanish men, she says, "A mí al principio me pasaba también. Me daba cosa, tan blanquitos". However, little by little she evolves, as shown by her willingness to date a Spanish man, a volunteer who works with the prostitutes. Caye is her first Spanish friend and through this relationship she rebuilds her confidence. She regains power and begins to protect herself, deciding to use condoms again with clients and going in for medical testing. This is influenced by Caye's sister-in-law giving her a one-time job to work as a lecturer on sex education at the high school. At this moment Zulema reveals that in her country she was a former sex education teacher.

The transformation of both women takes place on a personal level of growth and also in their acceptance of the cultures of the Other. Food and the sharing of food serve as a barometer to mark their growing acceptance of each other. The film includes scenes in which Zulema eats with Spaniards and Caye eating Latin food. Zulema is shown eating with Caye and her family at her mother's home during their weekly Sunday meal together. While this scene is shown as a natural even, it remains a striking occurance. It would be difficult to imagine Caye inviting her

other Spanish prostitute friends to join her family for a meal. Zulema in turn invites Caye to eat in the restaurant of her Dominican friends and in the Latin market.

Equally, Zulema's prepares a typical Dominican dish for a Spanish volunteer she is dating. The short relationship Zulema shares with the Volunteer is the only romantic relationship between characters of different cultures shown in the film. Due to the theme of prostitution, the film includes continual references to Spaniards and migrant prostitutes involved in sexual relationships.

Both Zulema and Caye are termed "Princesas" by the film title. Just as in Don Quixote's blurred interpretation of reality, where he mistakes various prostitute characters for princesses, so too this film blurs the lines between the two (Cervantes, 1605-1615: 37, 118-132). Caye and Zulema apply this label to themselves during a night out in which they meet two men at a club. In this context it is meant to refer to them being princesses not prostitutes for this night. The film stresses continually that they are beautiful individuals who happen to also be prostitutes.

Russell Campbell attributes the popularity of the prostitute in the arts as it addressed perceived threats to the patriarchal order. He says that these dramas highlighted a female who is cut off or separated from the protection of a father or husband and forced to make it on her own.

> "In its address to male audiences, the film will typically warn of the consequences of parental or marital failure; while for female spectators the story may serve as a cautionary tale, illustrating what is in store for the woman who permits herself to stray from the path of virtue. Ultimately the patriarchal pattern will be restored, whether through the straying lamb being brought back into the fold, or through her elimination" (Campbell: 1999: web).

Princesas and prostitutes fall under different rules of autonomy. The archetype of the princess is one that needs to be taken care of by a patriarchal order, by a knight or prince. Often the princess is a damsel in distress in need of being rescued. Zulema falls under this category. She is on a road to destruction between her lack of papers, her failing to be tested regularly for veneral diseases and the stalking by

the civil servant. She continues to contact him and is relentlessly pursued by him with the hope that he can provide her with legal status in this kingdom. He, however reveals himself as a false knight, putting her in the hospital twice with allusions to having used violence on her on previous occasions.

While the princess has a rescuer, the prostitute typically does not. A prostitute is economically independent and outside of the patriarchal circle of care. She is in a type of borderland that services the patriarchal order. The male is both powered and disempowered by the prostitute: dependent on her for his sexual needs and weaknesses, yet able to attain power over her for a price.

While this may be the case for Caye, it is not for Zulema. Caye is continually associated with excess money, with multiple scenes showing her counting her money in her private apartment. However Zulmea is unable to realize the economic liberation due to her status as an illegal migrant. She is only just surviving on the income she generates as a prostitute, due to her lower fees as a migrant and the money she sends home to her family. In the absence of power over her situation and lack of a patriarchal caretaker, it is Caye who steps into the role of Samaritan to save Zulema.

Zulema's precarious situation in Spain reaches a breaking point. She is unable to earn sufficient income, unable to attain working papers through the civil servant, she is constantly in danger from this man, and as a final blow, she finds out she is infected with a disease, presumed to be AIDS. Faced with the absolute impossibility of staying in Spain, the film ends with Zulema's decision to return to the Dominican Republic to be close to her family.

Caye tells her this is normal, she is a princess and princesses can't live outside of their kingdoms because they die of nostalgia. The text in the publicity trailer for the film echoes this thought.

> Dicen que las princesas no tienen equilibrio.
> Son tan sensibles que notan la rotación de la tierra.
> Dicen que son tan sensibles que enferman si están lejos de su reino.
> Que hasta se pueden morir de tristeza.

Before leaving she meets again with the *funcionario* in a scene of angry and savage sex that she has instigated with the hope of passing him her disease. Caye's friendship finances the flight with the money she had been saving for breast implants. The last scene with Zulema shows Caye wearing the black "Sexy Girl 69" t-shirt that Zulema has given her. "Remember me", says Caye as Zulema goes to board her airplane, "existimos porque alguien piensa en nosotros y no al revés."

Caye tells the airport police on her way out that Zulema returned home because she wanted to, nobody made her. However, while Caye insists that Zulema choses to return home, it is the film and Spanish societal norms that expel her. She is expelled for being an immigrant Other, and as a prostitute, and in a precarious situation outside of patriarchal caretaking. There are other directions the film could have developed to allow Zulema to remain in Spain. She could have changed her phone number and moved to another zone of Madrid or even to another city such as Barcelona to avoid the civil servant. She is not given opportunities to get papers in other ways, such as house cleaning. Instead, a former sex education teacher in her own country contracts a sexual virus in Spain through unprotected sex.

Caye's narrative needs Zulema to leave to remember her. She needs Zulema to think of her in her absence to exist. Zulema's departure allows Caye to exist as well as a chance to exercise a new role of that of good Samaritan. This is also witnessed in Caye's new relationship with her friend "Miss Methdona". This is a former schoolmate of Caye and the local prostitutes who has become a junkie. In repeated scenes, the owner of the beauty shop and the local bar do not let her in to use the bathrooms, stating that they are broken. Caye at the film's end lets her know that everyone's public bathrooms are now "fixed".

In spite of the Spanish community growing closer to Zulema, and in fact because of this very act, Zulema is eliminated from the country before the film's end. If she had been allowed to stay, to not have contracted a venereal disease, the film instead would have an immigrant prostitute beating all the odds. As Russell Campbell states, "Many a fallen woman, having demonstrated female independence, an ability to survive alone despite the misfortune she has had to bear, offers too much of a threat to the patriarchal norm to be permitted to carry on living." (Campbell:

1999: web). In these days of further liberation in woman's rights, the threat comes not from the prostitute surviving, but from being a migrant *and* a prostitute and triumphing.

The punishment for being a prostitute and immigrant is banishment. The use of the stock character Immigrant prostitute with a heart of gold allows the spectator to get to know the migrant character and to sympathize with her. However the film also categorizes her as a threat. She is able to create new industries and commit revenge on Spaniards. Her status as Other and other outside of protection is accentuated to neutralize this threat. The immigrant returns home and society can feel good about an "invasion" threat being avoided with the additional self-satisfaction of the Spanish society having helped her. Caye's words to the airport police explaining Zulema's choice to return as her own decision seems a weak play of words to cover her banishment from a land that never allowed her to establish herself in its kingdom. Spanish films were not yet ready to accept the idea of migrants integrating seamlessly.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, a critical analysis on ethnic and migrant representation was performed on the films *Tapas*, *Atún y chocolate*, *El penalti más largo del mundo* and *Princesas*. These four films were chosen as case study films from the film canon of Goya nominated films discussed in chapter five. Each analysis documented production details and provided a more extensive analysis of the rhetorical treatment of the migrant and ethnic characters. This included character physical descriptions, language style, special camera angles or music, the main story line of the character and his or her importance to the main story. Additionally, character treatment through mania, philia and phobia was described, as were scenarios where Spaniards and migrant-ethnic characters ate together or ate ethnic food and any characters involved in romantic and sexual relationship.

Migrant representation in films of this time period continued to both reinforce and differentiate themselves from previously constructed images and stereotypes offered by the media. An analysis of these films helps to better see the complexity

of representations and how they tie in with past and present discourses on the migrant figure. These films show different levels of tolerance towards integration and different stages of development of power and superiority suggested in dealing with the immigrant.

The first film analyzed was *Tapas*, an international co-production written and directed by two national heritage directors José Corbacho and Juan Cruz. It is a dramatic comedy set in Barcelona. Alberto Jo Lee, a Spaniard of Korean heritage, interprets Mao, a Chinese migrant in his thirties hired to work at Lolo's bar. He is a secondary character in the film. Mao has a Chinese wife or girlfriend who also lives in Barcelona. He understands Spanish perfectly, however his oral production is less developed. He has an Asian accent and drops words as well as refers to himself in the third person. His Spanish boss, Lolo, treats Mao, and all migrants, in a phobic manner. Conversely, Opo, a teenager who frequents the bar, treats Mao with mania and exoticizes his Asianness. Mao prepares Spanish and Asian-Spanish fusion food at the bar. While Spaniards are shown eating the food he prepares, he is never shown eating.

Initially Mao reacts subordinately towards Lolo. As time passes, he loses his shy attitude and in repeated occasions shows his intellectual superiority and expresses his annoyance at Lolo's bumbling racism through eye rolls, headshakes and finishing Lolo's sentences for him. However, in no scene is Mao seen to challenge Lolo nor is he ever perceived as a threat. While Mao may be more intelligent than Lolo, this intelligence is harnessed to increase the value and productivity of Lolo's tapas bar. In this sense the migrant worker is converted into a non-threatening benefit to the Spanish economy, passively patient in the face of xenophobic treatment.

By the film's end, both Mao and Lolo have exerted a hybridizing effect on the other and each character has transformed. Mao is transformed as he assimilates towards Spanish culture. While he does not undergo the same type of personal growth as that experienced by Lolo, he transitions from outsider to integrated community member. Mao becomes more Spanish in both style and appearance. This is represented by his increased confidence in holding the gaze of others and

more visually by changes in his wardrobe. Lolo experiences a change leading to acceptance of Mao, as well as the introduction of economic increases in the bar through the fusion of Spanish and Asian cooking.

The film marks the Spanish characters as very different from the Other migrant. These differences are accentuated through Mao's speech patterns, his wearing of a karate robe while he cooks, the differences of Asian food, music associated with his character and camera shot distances. However, the film ends with a positive note towards integration. In the case of the Asian immigrant, he is accepted due to his ability to work hard, earn money for the Spaniard and to not challenge the hierarchy establishment.

The next film analyzed was *Atún y chocolate*, an international co-production written and directed by the national heritage director Pablo Carbonell. It is a comedy that takes place in the fishing village of Barbate. "Biri" Mohamed Adbilatin, a Moroccan migrant in Spain, interprets Omar, an adult Moroccan migrant who has recently arrived on a *patera*. He is a third level character. There is no mention in the film of his having an occupation or searching for employment. He is shown in an asexual manner with no references to having a partner. He lacks ability in the Spanish language. When he speaks, it is in broken Spanish with a heavy Arabic accent and numerous comedy-based grammatical errors. He receives phobic treatment from the other Spanish characters and maintains a structurally inferior position to them. This treatment can be split into two models. The first is his infantilization by el Cherif, his kidnapper; the second is his animalization by Manuel, his rescuer, as a faithful and thankful pet. Omar is never shown eating with the Spaniards, however in a scene with el Cherif he is force-fed a bottle filled with laxatives.

The inclusion of Omar, a Moroccan migrant character, both draws attention to the challenges Spain faces with Morocco and migrants from Morocco and provides an opportunity to fictionally neutralize Morocco as a threat. Omar is involved in two narratives that reflect these themes. He is initially linked to illegal immigration and drug smuggling. Once this direction has been exhausted his story line revolves around fishing privileges.

Through camera angles and the soundtrack, the spectator is not encouraged to identify with Omar. The narrative portrays him as of lower intelligence, linked to drugs, willing to work for the Spaniard in pitiful conditions, of a lower hierarchy status, and tolerated but not assimilated nor accepted. It emphasizes the superiority of the native Spaniard, even the backwards village Spaniard, over the immigrant in a scenario where equality is impossible. Reinforcement of power/superiority over the immigrant is repeated throughout the film. However while the extreme racism of el Cherif is shown in a negative light, the bland racism and condescension shown by Manolo, el Perra, and Manolo's family is acceptable and funny. Migrants are treated as "Others", and attributed as causing ruptures in the historic way of life.

The third film, *El penalti más largo del mundo*, is a Spanish funded film written and directed by the national heritage director Roberto Santiago. It is an adaptation of the Argentine Osvaldo Soriano's text "El penal más largo del mundo". The comedy takes place in a local neighborhood of Madrid. Luis Callejo, a Spaniard of national heritage, interprets Khaled, a Moroccan man in his mid thirties who plays soccer and works at a supermarket. He is a secondary character. He dates the Spaniard Ana, the sister of the protagonist Fernando. He is separated from his wife and has a young child. He understands Spanish perfectly, however he speaks with an accent and makes many grammatical errors used to comic effect. He is treated in a philia manner and equal to the other Spaniards depicted in the film except by Fernando who treats him with phobia. He is shown having beers with his Spanish soccer mates and eating with Ana in her house. His reluctance to eat ham is a recurring theme parodied by the film to mark his Otherness.

The inclusion of a migrant character, Khaled, brings attention to the growing multicultural influence experienced by cities such as Madrid. This film is unique in many ways in which it distances itself from previous representations of Moroccan migrants. Khaled receives hierarchy equality from the other characters, he is able to stand up for himself, and he expresses annoyance at being treated inferior by ignorant Spaniards. The obstacles Khaled encounters (relationship problems with his girlfriend and economic instability from a precarious job situation) are

presented as neutral themes that any male Spaniard could face and not specifically linked to his being a migrant or Moroccan. Moreover, he is sexually attractive though not used as a sex object, capable of being in long-term relationships, and his character breaks with traditional gender roles typically assigning child-rearing work to women. Khaled remains presented as stereotypically macho, but this attribute is similar to the other Spanish males in the film. However the film maintains the connection of hashish and lack of human rights with Morocco, and the feminization of Moroccan immigrants.

El Penalti shows the "good immigrant" as providing a benefit to society and as integratable, assets both in athletics and in the labor market. Khaled receives a ratio of scenes and camera close-ups on par with the other secondary characters in the story. He is filmed at the same height as the camera and no special music or effects are used that mark him as different from the other characters in the film.

The fourth film analyzed is *Princesas,* a Spanish funded film written and directed by the national heritage director Fernando León de Aranoa. It is a drama set in Madrid. Micaela Nevárez, a Puerta Rican actress, plays Zulema, a Dominican migrant in her thirties working as a prostitute to support her son back home. She is a principal character in the film. Zulema dates a Spanish volunteer in the film, but it is a relation that doesn't take hold. She speaks Spanish natively with a South American accent. All characters in the film begin with a phobia treatment of Zulema. A group of Spanish prostitutes at a beauty shop serve as the principal anti-immigration voices in the film in their phobia treatment of foreigners. Through her friendship with the prostitute Caye, who takes on the role of Zulema's protector, this treatment by the other prostitutes transforms to philia. The film includes scenes in which Zulema eats with Spaniards and scenes where Caye consumes Latin American food.

Princesas was created with a mind towards social commentary on the precarious situation of the immigrant and prostitute in Spain. However, it is unable to offer an inclusive vision to the growing migrant presence in Spain. Zulema faces lower prices offered for her sexual services and stalking by a civil service employee. Both Caye and Zulema undergo transformations in their personal lives and also in their

acceptance of the cultures of the Other. The Spanish culture represented undergoes a change in its information and prejudices.

Zulema is portrayed as an optimistic victim. She receives a large share of camera close-ups, single scene representation and shared scenes. She is filmed at equal length with the camera or in line with Caye's point of view. The soundtrack mixes in Latin music. She is classified from the start as a prostitute, and very early on she is also portrayed as the stock character "prostitute with a heart of gold". This treatment allows the spectator to sympathize with the migrant character. However she is also treated as a threat, able to create new markets with migrant products and to commit revenge. Her status as Other, and as outside of patriarchal protection, is accentuated to neutralize this threat. The use of this stock character allows the viewer to become concerned with the plight of the immigrant and to feel like a Samaritan even while rejecting the immigrant. The immigrant returns home and society can feel good about an "invasion" threat being avoided with the additional self-satisfaction of the Spanish society having helped her. Spanish society of this era continued to need workers to fulfill Spain's growth facilitated by regularization processes. However film showed unease at the idea of migrants integrating seamlessly.

CHAPTER 7

7. ANALYSIS OF MIGRANT AND ETHNIC IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AS SHOWN IN DIGESTION AND RELATIONSHIPS IN SPANISH CINEMA

7.0 Introduction

This is the last of three analyses chapters forming part of a theoretical triangulation of research methodologies. Together these chapters aim to provide insight on the social construction of migrant and ethnic identities taking place in contemporary Spanish national cinema. Chapter five, *Content Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Spanish Goya Nominated Films 2004-2011*, provided a quantitative analysis on a canon of 60 films and Chapter six, *Analysis of Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Four Case Study Films,* a critical analysis of four films derived from the canon of 60 films and directed by national heritage directors.

This chapter performs a theoretical analysis based on the variables investigated in section 5.2.4 *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters*. These variables include trends in Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters eating together and trying ethnic foods and representations of mania, philia and phobia as measured by migrant and ethnic characters in romantic and sexual relationships. These variables were chosen due to the impact of their statistical presence in films from the quantitative analysis in chapter five. This revealed the long-term presence these themes have maintained in films throughout the representation of migrant and ethnic populations in Spanish film. Therefore, different than the first two analyses, this analysis draws on a wider film canon than the 60 films of chapter five. It includes Spanish productions from the wider Spanish film industry and from all

director heritage groups in order to historically place the use of food and relationships as metaphors in the larger national film legacy.

The chapter is divided into two analysis sections. The first section, *Assimilation as Represented through Digesting Immigration*, focuses on the use of food and the act of eating used as a metaphor in film to draw attention to the assimilation or rejection of cultural difference. The second section, *Trends in Levels of Mania, Philia and Phobia as Measured in Romantic and Sexual Relationships*, shifts from food to relationships to examine how ethnic and migrant characters are portrayed in hierarchy considerations. Each section begins by placing the variables being studied in a theoretical-historical context. Next, film examples are provided and described with commentary on their relationship to other films and to changing trends in representation. Film directors and years have been repeated in both texts with the aim of allowing each section to be read independently.

7.1 Assimilation as Represented through Digesting Immigration[31]

As was seen in the analysis of films in section 5.2.4 *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters*, a large percentage of films included scenes in which Spaniards and migrant and ethnic characters eat together and which depict ethnic foods being tried by Spaniards. This was present in 64% of the films in this sample and 100% of the films with migrant and ethnic charcters in principal and secondary roles. Spices, sauces and olive oil have become codes for the cultural questioning of migration in Spanish cinema. This section traces anthropophagism, the act of eating humans, and its application in the metaphorical sense to colonial, postcolonial and contemporary treatment of migrants and minority populations. It expands from the 60 films analyzed in chapter five to look at an all-inclusing range of Spanish films created since 1990. Digesting these changes and integrating new populations, cinematic dialogues address assimilation challenges, utopian fantasies and discourses for change.

---

[31] Parts of this essay are pending publication in (2011) "Digesting Immigration: Assimilating New Cultures in Contemporary Spanish Film", UGR ASETEL Conference Papers, Granada.

The body has a long history of metaphorical use dating back millennia, of representing the community, and in modern times, the nation. Building on this imagery, it is an easy step to connect the national body with feelings, appetites and personality quirks. If the nation is viewed as a body, then immigration can be viewed as a source of national nourishment. However, as contemporary authors dealing with migration note, this metaphor is more often used in the reverse sense, depicting immigration with negative associations of viruses, invasions, and contamination (Santa Ana 2002). This section explores the relationship between culture, food and globalization as represented in Spanish national films.

Anthropophagism refers to a human consumed as a food source by another animal. In more taboo versions it is the act of eating one's own species (cannibalism) or eating oneself (self-cannibalism). Western culture has typically identified cannibalism as a bestial and monstrous act belonging to less developed civilizations. During the colonial era, imperial Europe often united a fascination with exotic cultural differences with cannibalism to project anthropoghagist associations on other cultures. Accusations of cannibalism frequently were used as a way of denigrating and "othering" outside cultures as savage in order to legitimize colonial exploits and cultural superiority.

Inside current Western culture, contradictions exist. Mass murders are ascribed with cannibalistic tendencies. Science fiction films such as *Soylent Green* (Richard Fleischer, 1973) provide ominous anthropophagist predictions of survival on an overpopulated and decaying Earth. However, it is also commonly forgotten that contemporary Catholic rituals include ideas such as the consuming of the blood and body of Christ in the Eucharist (Neri, 1999: 428).

Cultural studies have been occupied with reversing the European hegemonic point of view to reconsider anthropophagism from a cultural context where eating another provides positive exchanges (Neri, 1999: 428). Some examples include cultures consuming the recently deceased as a way of respecting and interacting with the gods or the eating of a vanquished enemy to attain their qualities and skills. The literal act of cannibalism has also been absorbed into metaphorical associations in postcolonial studies dealing with identity creation. As

ex-colonized nations navigated the rupture of their culture with contamination by the colonizers culture, they have actively tried to recover previous traditions while coming to terms with imposed cultural legacies left by the colonizers (Neri, 1999: 428). For Bhabha, political resistance to colonial rule is a Janus-faced process of both rejecting and desiring the colonizer's legacy (Papoulias, 2004: 55).

One postcolonial response by the Brazilian Modernism Movement of the 1920s was active cannibalism of Western culture. Inspired by a painting of Tarsila do Amaral, entitled "Abaporu", or "the man that eats", Oswald de Andrade wrote the *Manifiesto Antropófago*. This text begins, "Only Cannibalism unites us. Socially. Economically. Philosophically" and continues punning European cultural contexts with references to an indigenous Brazilian group attributed with cannibalism. In this sense, the once colonized changed places at the dining table, putting Western culture on the menu.

In the past decades, as economies have globalized, countries that need workers have come to welcome and greedily swallow up migrant bodies in times of labor shortages. Due to language and cultural similarities, many workers from ex-colonized nations have been attracted to migrate to ex-colonizing countries, alongside other migrants from diverse regions. Such has been the case in migration flows of North Africans from Algeria and Morocco to France, South Asians from Pakistan and India to Britain and Latin Americans from Ecuador and Columbia to Spain.

When ethnic communities swell, a sense of threat and loss can be experienced by local residents who view foreigners as a menace to their accustomed way of life (Sandercock, 2003: 113). Often, the host country is not prepared for these bodies to create ethnic infrastructures, building communities and neighborhoods with stores, churches and mosques catering to these populations (*ibid.*: 136). When labor needs subside, there are calls for migrants to return from where they came from. Immigration metaphors convert once more to viruses, invasions, and contamination.

Encounters between different cultures cause what Berger and Luckmann identify as a power struggle for authenticity (Berger and Luckmann 1966). When two different populations come into contact with each other, the authority of the symbolic universe of each culture is called into question by the acknowledgement of a distinct culture with different norms. What has always been considered the "correct" vision of reality is now challenged by an alternative version of "correct". Distinct strategies are employed by a host nation to control this perceived threat such as the social construction of hierarchies, marginalization, expulsion, absorption, assimilation and integration. Assimilation is the gradual adaptation by a minority group of the habits and customs of the majority population. It is a long-term process that produces changes in both the host country and the migrant.

What on the one hand can be celebrated as the adding of new cultures that become part of the dominant narrative, can also be read through anti-immigration rhetoric as fear of colonization of the host nation. And in one sense this is true. The migrant arrives with cultural habits, products and practices that influence the local culture of the host nation in an inside-out form of cultural imperialism. The consumption of migrant labor introduces foods, philosophies and genetic intermixing into the host country. Nations that rely on immigration initiate a hybridizing process, creating new identities for both the migrant and the host nation. When culturally diverse narratives begin to be part of the local or national narrative they give example to Bhabha's belief that the contradictory process of rupture and displacement of the self creates new identities at the border of current representations (Bhabha, 1994: 217).

In today's world, self-identity and place-identity are bound to consumption practices that define who we are (Bell and Valentine, 1997: 3). A host nation is often at the outset reluctant to accept the cultural products brought by immigration. As foreign items become part of a nation's diet, conflict may arise when "who we imagine we are" and "who we have become" do not match. One response is the cannibalization of the parts of the minority culture deemed most palatable, isolating the consumed item from the source (hooks, 1992: 31). Particularly when advertising products for consumption, "whatever difference the Other inhabits is

eradicated, via exchange, by a consumer cannibalism that not only displaces the Other but denies the significance of that Other's history through a process of decontextualization." (hooks, 1992: 31).

Part of the attraction with consuming the Other lies in what bell hooks calls the lure of pleasure and danger (hooks, 1992: 26). This for Leonie Sandercock translates into unsettling desire (Sandercock, 2003: 111). Inspired by Ulrich Beck's thoughts on the attraction to the strangeness of strangers she writes, "our ambivalence towards strangers expresses both fear and fascination, which is also desire" (*ibid.*). In the case of migrants and minority populations living within a dominant population, this attraction and repulsion plays itself out in the various national visual media, such as billboard advertising, photography, television and film. These are displayed to greater and lesser degrees of accuracy, at times including conspicuous over-representation or under-representation of minority / migrant figures.

Decontextualization of the Other can be used to provide 'exotic' difference associated with novelness. One Spanish example of cultural decontextualization can be found in a 2003 commercial for the phone company Amena, since acquired by France Telemcom Orange. The ad shows an awkward white teenager with reddish kinky hair dancing at a hotel swimming pool surrounded by beautiful and sexy bikini-clad African women all moving to a reggae beat. Sequences of the dancing crowd are inter-cut with shots of a group of white girls spying on them with looks of incredulous disbelief. Punning on the double meaning of "sin blanca", which can mean either broke or no white female, the ad promotes the low rates of Amena's "Sin blanca" summer mobile phone plan. In this case, the modern Caribean-African influenced music and black women are isolated and decontextualized from their location and history and sexualized to enhance the desireability of a phone plan.

Not only is the migrant used as a metaphor in relation to national bodies, but also the migrant and food is used as a metaphor for cultural identities. This can include food products introduced by migrants, habits surrounding food, how the food is prepared and eaten, the hours for eating, the norms for eating, where one eats and

with whom one eats. Ramiro Delgado Salazar in "Comida y Cultura: Identidad y
significado en el mundo contemporáneo" says:

> Cada grupo humano construye fuertes relaciones sociales y simbólicas: en
> cada bocado de comida vivimos a diario nuestra doble condición de seres
> culturales y biológicos. Cada sociedad ha codificado el mundo de los
> sentidos desde su propia mirada y su propia racionalidad, y en el comer
> están presentes las particularidades de un grupo humano. La comida es un
> amplio espacio de significados amarrados a nuestra historia social, el cual
> es un excelente terreno para hablar de diversidad cultural y de
> contemporaneidad." (Delgado Salazar, 2001: 83).

The American artist Miwa Koizumi in her performance titled - *NY Ice Cream
Flavors*, provides a reflection on how food and migration are linked. She creates
and serves ice cream flavors with ingredients linked to distinctive New York
neighborhoods such as lox and bagels, kimchi and curry. Through these flavors,
Koizumi alludes to the different ethnic minorities that have come to settle in
particular neighborhoods. She parallels her art performance with that of first
generation migrants who began, "first by selling to other immigrants from their
homeland, then slowly melting into the dominant culture." (Koizumi, n.d., on line).

These changes can be perceived as culinary cosmopolitanism as foreign dishes
become standard fare and merge with local specialties. They can also produce fear
from the threat of diversity, fear of the loss of tradition and traditions, fear of the
standardization of food, and fear of a transformation of local culture. Referring
again to Miwa Koizumi's ice cream installation, Yael Raviv says, "The very fact of
this intimate participation in Koizumi's work highlights its limitations: the distance
between the audience and the ethnic groups represented in the project, the
complexity of the interaction between them, the actual distance that remains
despite the ability to consume the products of the 'other'" (Raviv, 2010: 26).

This process of decontextualizing minority representation in fantasy or invented
contexts can also be seen in cinema, where depictions of migration play out
national fears and desires onscreen. In Spanish cinema there is a large presence of
migrant food representation of Spaniards eating food from other cultures and a low
number of films that reference Spaniards and migrant characters eating together,

and even rarer, these characters eating in the homes of the other. These treatments serve as a form of cultural barometer, allowing the spectator insight on levels of acceptance, assimilation or rejection through the snapshots of everyday life represented in film.

Following a somewhat chronological year order, the next section provides examples from a selection of Spanish national films that use food products and meals to allude to processes of integration, assimilation and rejection towards migration. The great majority of the films analyzed here are creations by the dominant Spanish culture and therefore also serve as identity advertisements that package both the self and Other in a product made for consumption.

Spanish film meanders through restaurants, outdoor food stalls, bars and kitchens offering depictions of Bangladeshi, Chinese, Dominican dishes together with plates from other European countries. Films include representations of ethnic eating and drinking customs, cooking styles, the presence of corner Halal grocery stores, workers in the food industry and the globalization of these practices. Often these are presented in colorful scenes that show Spain to be international and cosmopolitan. However, the attractions and temptations of exotic seasonings also repulse when they are depicted as a challenge to local authority and authenticity. Spices and sharp smells disconcert those wishing to retain imagined Spanish homogeneity. Such scenes serve to demonstrate the uneasy embrace Spain provides to its migration changes. These films fuel discourses on immigration that run the gamut from assimilation, to integration, to utopian harmony as well as dialogues on change.

Early films such as *Bwana* (Imanol Uribe, 1996) and *Las cartas de Alou* (Montxo Armendáriz, 1990) took very different stances on representing food and the migrant. Alou in *Las cartas de Alou* is depicted eating with other African migrants from his home country, with other migrants and with Spaniards. However, Ombasi in *Bwana* receives xenophobic rejection from Antonio and Dori, the parents of a family he encounters on the beach when he offers the family coquina clams. Dori convinces Antonio to reject the clams as Ombasi has touched

them and she believes migrants are carriers of microbes. Her reaction ties back to the association of migrants with disease and infection.

One of the first Spanish films to focus on food as a metaphor in the process of assimilation was *Cosas que dejé en La Habana* (Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón, 1997). Differences in national dishes and eating customs were used to draw attention to the conflicts immigration poses from the migrant point of view. Upon their arrival, three Cuban sisters, Nena, Ludmila and Rosa are taught by their assimilated Aunt María the correct way to eat when they sit down to their first meal in Spain. The Aunt says:

> Lo primero que hay que educar cuando se viene de otro país es el paladar. Aquí no se come todo junto como allá, no. Aquí se sierve un primer plato, un segundo plato y a veces hasta un tercer plato.

She adds that business isn't discussed at the table and fruit is eaten last, not during the meal. In her attempts to be a proper Spaniard, all traces of her Cuban past are left behind. This is especially accented in the scene where her nieces cook a Cuban meal of "Ajiaco" for her. At the table, while in the company of her Cuban nieces, she refuses to eat it, saying, "Tostones y Malanga, no. Me gustan los sabores simples. El cocido en Madrid y el Ajiaco en Cuba." However, late in the night she binges alone on the leftovers in her kitchen. As she eats directly from the pot, her face expresses intense pleasure and nostalgia yet secrecy and guilt at her gluttonous weakness to eat "outgrown" foods from her abandoned homeland. Turmoil produced from needing to assimilate to survive versus staying true to ones heritage is repeated in different contexts throughout the film.

While *Cosas que dejé en La Habana* deals with assimilation questions from the migrant point of view, *Flores de otro mundo* (Icíar Bollaín, 1999) broadens the assimilation challenge to include Spaniards. Through an incentive of the rural town of Santa Eulalia to counteract population decline, Patricia, a Dominican, arrives in a caravan of single women to attend a party hosted by the town. There she meets and later marries the local Damián. In an oft-cited scene in Damián's kitchen, Patricia and Damián's mother get into an argument about the proper amount of

377

broth a bean stew should have. Damián and his mother work together to enforce the local cultural customs, while Patricia insists that her bean stew "no hace falta más caldo, así está bien". Damián's mother retorts that "las judías de toda la vida de Dios se hacen con caldo". This sequence picks up on the power struggle for authenticity that takes place between the two women with their distinct versions of the correct way things are done. Both cling to their cultural universes of food preparation, and as the film points out, it is the dominant group with majority rule that often dictates the norms to the migrant culture. However, Santa Eulalia, as well as Spain, also needs the benefits a migrant population can provide in order to survive and prosper in today's world. By the film's end, Patricia, Damián and his mother reach a new level of compromise and respect for each other. If Santa Eulalia is to continue to exist it must change and adapt. Otherwise it will fail, as shown by Patricia's counterparts who also come on the bus, Marirrosi, a Spaniard, and Milady, a Cuban, who are unable to continue with inflexible local men.

Rejection and disdain for migrant foods also works as narrative shorthand for expressing xenophobia or dislike of migrants. In *Torrente* (Santiago Segura, 1998), foreign food is treated ambivalently in the film, both rejected and accepted by the Spaniards in the film. The lead character Torrente expresses his disdain for food not associated with Spain. This can be seen in his reaction to the food he is served in a scene at a Chinese restaurant.

> Torrente: Chinita, Chinita… ven aquí! ¿Que mierda es esta?
> Waitress: Cerdo agridulce. ¿No le gusta?
> Torrente: ¿Cómo me va a gustar. Si esto es corteza con mermelada. ¿Y esto, para tocar el tambor, o que? Tráeme cubiertos. Tráeme el segundo plato …Y trae pan!
>
> …
>
> Torrente: Chinita… ¿Esto es cachondeo?
> Waitress: Es bambú
> Torrente: ¿Esto es de los osos pandas?
> Waitress: Sí
> Torrente: ¿Tengo yo cara de oso panda?
> Waitress: ¡No!
> Torrente: Y el pan

Waitress: No hay pan
Torrente: ¿No hay pan? ¡Olé tus cojones!

He rejects the food for its texture, its color, and the style of eating with chopsticks. He reinforces the Spanish cultural markers by pouring himself a glass of wine at the table, demanding silverware and bread. As a contrast, women working at a brothel gleefully welcome their Chinese food delivery and Torrente's father relishes an eggroll from the same restaurant. However, the eggroll and the Chinese food deliveries are associated with drug transporting. Furthermore, the food is associated with the referencement of an urban legend regarding the use of cats for meat at Chinese restaurants; in one kitchen scene the viewer sees cages upon cages full of live cats.

Canícula (Álvaro García-Capelo, 2002) also uses food to express the two sides of rejection and acceptation of migrant cultures. Hassan, a Moroccan taxi driver, accidentally runs into Isidro, a retired racist Spaniard, with his taxi. At the moment of impact, the camera follows in slow motion a fish that Isidro was carrying as it flies through the air. In tragic-comedy fashion, when Hassan returns Isidro to his house with a leg cast on, Isidro's wife, Claudia, falls down the stairs and breaks her leg too. Hassan brings a couscous dish with lamb to their house in an attempt to apologize for the accident as well as to convince the couple not to report him. He shows them a photo of his family that he supports back in Morocco and reveals that his residence papers have expired and that his boss at the taxi company doesn't want to do the paperwork to make him legal. Claudia is delighted with the food while her husband pushes the food around on his plate without desire to eat it, symbol of his rejection of foreigners. In a later scene, Hassan, brings Arabic sweets he professes to have made. Again, these are rejected by Isidro and enjoyed fully by Claudia. She thanks Hassan repeatedly for having brought them and expresses her delight while she eats each one. Conversely, Isidro, accuses Hassan of trying to bribe them with food instead of accepting what he feels is his deserved punishment: banishment – for being a migrant and for causing the accident.

Hassan plays the role of the hard working migrant stereotype to Claudia and Isidro. He seeks to redress the situation he finds himself in through labor. In his taxi, he contributes to Spanish society, even under a boss who exploits him. In his house, he creates food to make amends for the accident, even as Isidro rejects him. The hard working migrant archetype is in sharp contrast to the immoral, conniving, drug selling migrant stereotype that Isidro and his racist friends believe in.

Additional scenes, however, reveal Hassan to be a more complex character than either of these stereotypes. In scenes where Hassan speaks with his friend in Arabic, the audience is let in on the fact that he has no family in Morocco, he is not a baker, steals from his boss at the taxi company and has indeed brought the food and sweets to bribe the family to avoid punishment. However, he is also moral, resists resorting to the easy money of drug sales, and is constantly harassed on the street by Spaniards with racist attitudes; yet he retains hope that change is possible.

Acceptance of food is symbolically linked to relations with immigration in *Canícula*. Hassan's three encounters with Isidro and Claudia all involve food: the flying fish, the couscous and the Arabic sweets. It is through the act of giving and sharing food that an initial bridge of cultural acceptance is created. Both parties also undergo a transformation through their contact with each other. Even after the family has agreed not to report him, Hassan desires to redeem himself and to help Isidro be less racist. He borrows an air-conditioner unit that he intends to loan to the family during the period of the *canícula*, the hottest days of summer. Although a racist friend of Isidro denies him entry to the house, thereby frustrating his Samaritan act, his intention serves as a catalyst for change in the Spanish family. Isidro and Claudia evolve. Claudia, who has come to appreciate Hassan's visits, is less able to hear racist comments about "moros" from Isidro's friends. She defends Hassan, saying, "es una buena persona, nos trajo comida…". Claudia gains a voice, asking Isidro's racist friend to leave her house. Isidro, for his part, sees for the first time possible fissures in his long held beliefs that Moroccans only want to take advantage of the Spaniard. He supports Claudia's decision and repeats that his friend should leave.

Nonetheless, the film finishes with an unbalanced relationship gain. Claudia and Isidro are shown to have evolved through food encounters in their ideas on acceptance of migrants. Hassan, on the other hand, is left with a pessimistic view of the ability for Spaniards and others to live together harmoniously. These images help to provide awareness of racism and to promote change for Spanish audience members, yet continue to deliver representations of helpless migrants.

This same year, in the film *Poniente* (Chus Gutiérrez, 2002), Curro, a Spaniard, and Adbembi, a Berber from Morocco, share a friendship in a small coastal village in Almeria. They discuss life and future plans, each tolerating the cultural differences of the other, as depicted in a cafeteria scene where Adbembi drinks his tea and Curro nurses from his flask of alcohol. They make plans to one day own a *chiringuito* beach bar together, discussing it while eating their respective lunches together at the beach. However, these dreams are dashed when violence erupts in the area and racism in the society intervenes. Their utopic friendship can only support the idea of shared meals. Once their plans move beyond dreams, celluloid society steps in to put this to an end.

Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena (Manuel Gómez Pereira, 2004) is another film that addresses acceptance and rejection of other cultures through reference to international foods and migrant labor in the food industry. These are used to stress the changes globalization is bringing to Spain. The tone of the film is ironic and migrants are most often represented in non-favorable situations, however they are also given partial voice to speak out against this treatment.

One scene where this takes place involves a Kiddy-park manager, interpreted by Fernando Colomo, and a Latin-American worker who dresses up as a martian for children's birthday parties. The worker takes off his green mask and says angrily to the owner that he needs to get the outfit dry-cleaned because it is giving him a rash. The manager says, "Eso es el picante, hombre, que comeis mucho picante".

Even stronger negative reactions are displayed in the treatment of the Chinese and their food, harkening back to the treatment previously discussed in the

film *Torrente*. Jorge invites Hortensia to attend his daughter's communion with him. Ángeles, his ex wife, and Chen, her current husband, host the communion lunch at Chen's Chinese restaurant. When Ángeles asks Hortensia if she likes Chinese food, Hortensia painfully says, "yes" while shaking her head no. Ángeles, with empathy, replies that everyone says they like Chinese food but that no one really does. This criticism of Chinese food is even more surprising in that it comes from Ángeles, as she is married to Chen. At the lunch, Hortensia doesn't eat the food. Juan, Jorge's overtly racist father, congratulates her for this, commenting that Chinese food is repugnant.

While the film brims with a rejection of migrant culture, it is also awkwardly counter positioned by an attraction to the same foreignness. Cannibalization of the most palatable parts of the different cultures, per hooks, is demonstrated through Chinese influenced clothes styles and a very lively trade in take-out food. This film provides a window into the ambiguous reaction Spain has towards immigration and its cultural products, both wanting it and rejecting it.

Similar mixed reactions take place in a Latin street market in Madrid in *Princesas*, discussed in the case study film section 6.4 *Princesas*. Caye, a Spaniard, tries banana leaf wrapped tamales for the first time. She wrinkles her nose in dislike as she tastes what Zulema, her new Domincan friend, happily eats. Although Caye comes to accept Zulema as a deeper friend during the film, her reaction to the tamales and non-acceptation of new ideas from other cultures is echoed in her belief that "Princesses" – and other outside influences – can't bloom outside of their kingdoms. Even as the film works from a solidarity point of view, showing the hardships and overturning untruths spread about migrant cultures, including in a scene where Zulema lunches with Caye's family at their home, by the end of the film, Zulema returns to her country.

As is discussed in the case study film section, 6.3 *El penalti más largo del mundo*, this film breaks from previous representations in that it can imagine a world in which migrants assimilate and live together with Spaniards. Yet, it does so by constantly sticking its finger into the cultural differences that must be accepted by the migrant. In this film the theme of ham serves as a running joke connected to

the treatment of Khaled, an assimilated Moroccan living in a typical Madrid neighborhood. Ana, Khaled's Spanish girlfriend, and Fernando, Ana's brother, stress Khaled's "otherness" through his relationship to ham even as Khaled continually distances his adversion to ham, not for religious reasons, but for the cholesterol.

Whereas *El penalti más largo del mundo* reflects on cultural differences and gradual acceptation and assimilation processes of the Moroccan, the case study film discussed in section 6.2 *Tapas*, does so with the Chinese. Lolo, the owner of a bar in a Barcelona neighborhood, finds himself in crisis when his wife, the cook, leaves him. He hires Mao as a substitute; however bringing Mao into his typical Spanish bar unsettles Lolo. Lolo associates Mao with the Spanish beer Mahao and prohibits the use of soy sauce in the kitchen. It is only when Mao improves the quality of food and increases the bar earnings that Lolo begins to relax. By the film end, Lolo allows Mao to introduce "foreign" ingredients and Mao integrates to a more Spanish style.

In *El próximo oriente* (Fernando Colomo, 2006), a utopian fantasy is portrayed in the double assimilation of both the foreigner and Spanish culture in a Madrid neighborhood. The opening credits of the film play over a fast sequence of images of multiracial scenes: corner stores selling Indian food, Chinese stores, and people of many ethnicities walking to the occasional interjection of a police siren. The narrative reveals how two food establishments, a Bangladeshi restaurant and a Spanish butcher shop, are saved from the brink of bankruptcy by opening up to serve clients outside of their cultural demarcations.

The film begins in the restaurant of Cain's Bangladeshi neighbors. The absence of alcohol in Muslim culture is highlighted when Cain's date, a woman he has met on the internet, asks for a beer, and is instead steered towards ordering an iced tea. It is soon revealed that Aisha, one of the daughters of the Bangladeshi family, is pregnant with the baby of Cain's slick married brother. To help Aisha, Cain converts to Islam and enters into a marriage of convenience to remedy the damage done by his brother. When the Bangladeshi restaurant is closed for health and safety violations, Cain helps Aisha and her family to convert the restaurant into

a successful ethnic music bar. To do this, Spanish culture and Bangladeshi culture are fused. Spanish culture provides the concepts of bank loans, the serving of alcohol and the customers while the Bangladeshi culture adds the 'exotic': ethnic music, dance and hookah pipes. While this at first produces a great deception for Aisha's father, the patriarch of the family, he comes to accept and value the sacrifices Cain has made for the family. In a parallel narrative, Cain's ex-boss converts her butcher shop from a venue for Spanish ham products to a Halal butcher shop that caters to the now largely Muslim neighborhood. The Spanish owner of the butcher shop assimilates to the cultural needs of the neighborhood and therefore increases her profits. She does so at the impetus of her new partner, a Spanish man converted to the Sufism branch of Islam.

Throughout the film, references to food serve to remind the viewer of cultural differences. Relationships and businesses flourish by fusing cultural traditions and through the blossoming of interfaith relationships. However, the film only works as a Spanish utopian assimilation fantasy. The Bangladeshi family sacrifices traditional roles and religious values while the Spanish community canabalizes the exotic elements of the Bangladeshi culture in order for the restaurant to flourish.

The majority of foreign food restaurants depicted in Spanish film are of East Asian food and Chinese food in particular. In large part, the point of view is always driven from a Spanish character's perspective, an outsider perspective, looking at the food of the Other. This includes such films as *La fuente amarilla* (Miguel Santesmases, 1999), *Otros días vendrán* (Eduard Cortés, 2005), *7 mesas de billar francés* (Gracia Querejeta, 2007), and the previously mentioned *Torrente, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* and *Tapas*. Of these films, only *Otros días vendrán* treats the Chinese community in a neutral capacity. The other films either connect drugs and mafia to the Chinese community or use Chinese food in a comedic yet demeaning manner. An example of this is the Asian waiter in *7 mesas de billar francés* who is unable to understand the protagonist's desire to have an extra place setting in memory of her deceased partner and spars with her in a Laurel and Hardy type dialogue.

In very few films are migrants depicted eating cultural foods filmed from a position of equality or inviting Spaniards to eat cultural foods at their house. Unique in this aspect is *Biutiful* (2010), by the international director Alejandro González Iñárritu from Mexico. As pointed out by Domingo Sánchez-Mesa Martínez, the protagonist of the film, Uxbal, maintains a close yet paradoxical relationship with two migrant characters, Liwei and Ekweme (Sánchez-Mesa Martínez, 2010: on line). Both Liwei and Ekweme are shown in scenes eating and this treatment is similar to that given to Uxbal.

Liwei is given scenes which show him eating with his family at home. Liwei and his family are shown seated together at a dining room table eating Chinese food with chopsticks from a variety of small shared dishes. The scene is full of the talk of a boisterous family set to a classical music soundtrack and witnessed by the viewer but not through a Spanish character's eyes.

In another scene of the film, Uxbal accompanies Ekweme to his home to discuss problems with the street sales. Ekweme's wife, Ige, serves them a rice and meat dish and then sits apart with the baby. Uxbal and Ekweme eat in a Senagalese cultural style: using their right hand to carry food to their mouths. Uxbal holds a beer in his left hand. This style is also documented in the film *La causa de Kripan* (Omer Oke, 2009), in which the protagonist Alassane is served by his wife in Burkina Faso. He eats separate from her and uses his right hand to eat from the bowl.

The close friendship between Ekweme and Uxbal is represented through their sharing a meal together and the given acceptance of the other's cultures. Sánchez-Mesa Martínez asks if the solidarity Uxbal later shows Ige when Ekweme is deported serves to redeem his character: "a quien acoge en casa pero quien acaba cuidándole en sus últimos días" (*ibid.*). Another question that could be asked is if this type of friendship would be possible in a relationship devoid of meals shared in conditions of equality. This film serves as a counterbalance to films such as the previously mentioned *Bwana,* in which the racist head of the family refuses to eat the clams the African migrant character Ombassi has touched. At the very least, it

provides a glimpse into the different direction newer films by international directors imagine migrants and Spaniards sharing spaces.

While the treatment in *Biutiful* is unique in that almost no films depict extended scenes showing Spaniards eating migrant food in the homes of migrants, other films involving migrant characters eating at home do exist. In *Ilegal* (Ignacio Vilar, 2003), the protagonists Luis and Sofia have tea and witness a celabration feast in the home of Moroccan contacts living in Spain. *Un rey en La Habana* (Alexis Valdés, 2005), directed by an international director portrays various meals set in Cuba[32]. An anthropophagist twist is provided in one of these meals, the wedding feast for the marriage of the Spaniard Don Arturo to the Cuban Yoli. Due to the sudden death of Don Arturo before the wedding, Yoli's money hungry mother convinces the Cuban Papito to pose as Don Arturo. To dispose of the evidence, she has Don Arturo's body cooked and served at the wedding banquet. This feasting on the Spanish body, unwittingly eaten by the Cuban guests, provides a literal version of Oswald de Andrade's cultural cannibalism.

As mentioned in 5.2.4 *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters*, many films use the sharing of food to demonstrate a greater acceptance of intercultural friendships. Friendship between Spaniards and those from other cultures is demonstrated in films which show Spaniards dining out with those from other cultures such as in *En la ciudad* (Cesc Gay, 2003), *Roma* (Adolfo Aristarain, 2004), *La torre de Susa* (Tom Fernández, 2007) and *Pagafantas* (Borja Cobeaga, 2009). Even deeper relationships are depicted in scenes in which Spaniards invited by these to eat or drink at their homes, these include *Atraco a las 3... y media* (Raúl Marchand, 2003), *Te doy mis ojos* (Iciar Bollain, 2003), *Princesas*, and *Cabeza de perro* (Santi Amodeo, 2006).

In addition, two films by directors of migrant heritage, *La causa de Kripan* and *El truco del manco* (Santiago A. Zannou, 2008), show the sharing of meals by Spaniards and other migrant or ethnic characters in very underemphasized situations which do not call attention to the act. These meals are shared in

---

[32] However the film was shot entirely in Spain, not in Cuba.

relationships of equality. In *La causa de Kripan*, the protagonist Alassane, from Burkina Faso, is shown eating with friends in the Pais Vasco in a Spanish style. He is a guest at their house, sitting and talking with them in the living room and later having wine and dinner with them at the dining room table. In the film *El truco del manco*, the Spaniard Cuajo and his friend of mixed Spanish and African heritage, Adolfo, share schwarmas together at a local Kebab shop.

Films provide an artistic perspective exploring sociological issues in which what one eats, how one eats, with whom and where one eats forms a part of understanding cultural markers and symbols of identity. Food serves as a bridge when shared between people of different cultures and when fusions of food are created using two cultures products. Food is also used as a border highlighting the exclusion of migrants when the host country rejects their food products. In a spontaneous manner, these representations act as a barometer of acceptance and rejection levels for migrants. Thus, in the last twenty years there can be seen an evolution of representation regarding food and migrant and ethnic character representations in Spain. As was discussed, Chinese food serves as an example of the changing acceptance of foreign migration as represented through food. Chinese food has seen a large transformation in treatment over the years in Spanish films, going from being insulted as non-food in the 1998 film *Torrente*, to being eaten begrudgingly by Spaniards married to Chinese partners in *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* in 2005, to dignified portrayals of Chinese families sharing family meals communally in 2010 in *Biutiful*. Often it is not a matter of judging whether these representations are xenophobic or derogatory, but instead of using these representations to understand the attitudes of acceptance and rejections being reflected and expressed about the place of Other cultures at a particular time and location in a host country.

7.2 Trends in Levels of Mania, Philia and Phobia as Measured in Romantic and Sexual Relationships[33]

Similar to food, romantic and sexual relationships are present in a large number of films and serve as a litmus test for social acceptance of migrant and ethnic populations. This section explores the way Spanish national films imagine migrants and Spaniards in intimate relationships. As in section 7.1 *Assimilation as Represented through Digesting Immigration*, this section expands to include films taken from a broader range than those investigated in chapter five, beginning with films from 1975.

This area was deemed important for further study in the wider Spanish canon of films due to its statistical importance in the smaller analysis of 60 films described in section 5.2.4 *Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic* Characters. In this study 53% of the films depicted migrant and ethnic characters in relationships. In films with migrant and ethnic charcters in principal and secondary roles, 79% showed these in romantic and sexual relationships, and of these, 100% of the films with female migrant and ethnic characters referenced relationships, and 65% of those with males did the same.

The proximity of different cultures produces friction and xenophobic reactions as well as intercultural cohesion leading to friendships, love, understanding and acceptance. Both integrating and repelling the "Other" are responses based on controlling the perceived threat of strangers; assimilation, or the digesting of migrants, is a way to make a stranger less foreign as they take on the traits of the dominant culture and repulsion is a way to expel a supposed threat (Bauman 1993). These strategies belong to the processeses Fortress Europe uses to maintain European culture, identity, benefits and privileges that are denied to those screened out (Loshitzky, 2010: 3).

The practice of assimilating and expelling strangers is connected to the construction of social hierarchies. The dominant culture is always at the top of the

---

[33] Parts of this essay were previously published in (2011) "Romancing the Immigrant in Spanish Cinema: Imagining Love, Lust & Prostitution", *Metakinema*, 8, April.

social hierarchy (Berger and Luckman, 1966). In globalized environments, it is increasingly common to have multiple distinct cultures living in the same national boundaries. The dominant population or culture stratifies the less populous cultures into sub-hierarchies with varying levels of acceptance in an attempt for control (Todorov, 1989: 118). Some cultures are more accepted while others experience higher levels of xenophobic rejection.

Various approaches reproduced in film stimulate equality in the power structure and set aside hierarchy constructions or serve to reinforce these. As shown by Edward Said, images created of other cultures do not reflect these cultures but instead what the author and his or her society attribute to that culture. Often the Other is reduced to stereotypes and reproductions of inferiority which include equating them to historically repressed groups such as woman, children and animals (Perceval, 1995). This can also include fetishizing or exoticizing the migrant character.

The study of mania, phobia and philia in relationships, or lack of them, can reveal the social structure in use by dominant societies or cultures. In films, hierarchies can be seen through phobic and mania treatments of character representations. These constructions are only eliminated when those from other cultures are accepted as individuals and equal to oneself. In film, this is represented through philia relationships of structural equality. The relationships portrayed can be seen to evolve over time with the maturing of the dominant and migrant populations. In examining these relationships and the hierarchies they imply, this paper uses themes from identity, alterity and image representation to reflect on the following questions: Are social hierarchies set aside in film when the Other is accepted as a partner, and, are hierarchies firmly in place when it comes to lust and prostitution? This theme takes on special resonance as matrimonies, coexistences and hybrid relationships are taking place between Spaniards and migrants all the time. Analysis of these images provide insight on the circular link and metamorphous between society, the arts, and identity.

After sorting through the representations of crushes, commitments, prostitution, and one-night stands, a number of repeating categories began to emerge. These

were divided into three groups: love, sexual attraction and prostitution. Films are discussed in a historical chronology inside of these three categories to better highlight the progression of social changes.

The evolution of migrants represented in love and sexual relationships can best be described as a transition from rocky to stable relationships reflecting in part the changes taking place in Spanish demographics. From the 1970s and on through the 1990s, Spain first began to attract immigration of wealthier citizens from Northern Europe and the United Kingdom in particular. However, the public did not become part of the public discourse until economic driven migration began to appear in the late 1980s. The majority of these migrants were young men quickly absorbed into construction and agricultural positions. Despite low levels of migration in 1996, concern over immigration grew to become one of the top five preoccupations of the Spanish people due to its intense coverage by the media.

Cinematic coverage of immigration appears to have started in 1990 with the appearance of *Las cartas de Alou* (Montxo Armendáriz, 1990). However as early as 1975 migration themes began to appear in Spanish cinema. Right from the outset these films included interracial relationships as plot story lines. This extended to all levels of character development: protagonist, secondary actors and background characters. In the earliest films, although mixed relationships were typical plot functions (Flesler, 2004: 106), interracial relationships were treated warily. Nevertheless these early films brought attention to social injustice, introduced the intimacy possible in mixed relationships, and laid the groundwork for ensuing films.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, Spanish social reaction to migration was to merge the migrant with the stranger and alien. National films embraced a structural pattern in which the migrant male (whether Senegalese, Moroccan, Indian, Eastern European or Russian) was permitted to love but not marry or continue a long-term relationship with a Spaniard. More often than not, these relationships ended with the death or disappearance of one of the partners. Frequently this happened at the crucial point when the relationship was about to transition to a more mature level. Immigration was still a new concept, and the Spanish population was only

beginning to grasp the reality that their country was now attracting and needing immigration. The idea of relationships involving a foreign male seemed to strike a primitive need to protect or dissuade females from separating from the pack that manifested itself in film.

On-screen killing or deporting of male migrants, thus ending the cross-cultural relationship, was a symbolic way to eliminate a threat to social hegemony. Such was the case in the film *Las cartas de Alou* in which Alou, a Senegalese migrant, is deported just when he and his Spanish love interest, Carmen, are about to move to a more public stage in their relationship (Flesler 2004: 107; Molina Gavilan and Di Salvo, 2001: 3). For Niña, in *Hola ¿Estás solo?* (Iciar Bollain, 1995), after falling in love with the Russian Olaf, she and the viewer are left wondering at his disappearance just after she has invited him to come work with her for the summer at her mother's beach bar. In *Saïd* (Llorenç Soler, 1999), the Moroccan title character is attacked by racists while walking down the street with his Spanish girlfriend Ana. He is next arrested by the police and faces deportation. More tragically, in *Susanna* (Antonio Chavarrías, 1996) the punishment for being engaged and attracted to a Moroccan man results in death. The marriage between Susanna and Saïd, a Moroccan butcher, never takes place as she is killed by her jealous Spanish lover and Saïd is framed for the murder.

Isabel Santaolalla and Daniel Flesler trace many of these failed romance attempts to the Muslim heritage of the male migrants portrayed (Flesler 2004, Santaolalla 2005). Santoalalla cites *Saïd* and *El Faro* (Manuel Balaguer, 1998) as two examples of films in which mixed relationships with Maghrebi men are truncated probably due to a long tradition in film of interracial relationships not functioning (Santaolalla, 2005: 136). Flesler makes the case that films which highlight the differences of Muslim men, "clearly blame them and their alignment with their 'cultural traditions' for the failure of the romance", doomed by Spaniards as an identity conflict (Flesler, 2004: 112-113). She adds to the list *Tomándote* (Isabel Gardela, 2000), where open and sexually experimental Gabi falls in love with a semi-traditional Muslim Jalil.

This however applied to more than Muslim men. The migrant male in general remained depicted as an inadvisable partner as seen by another film of the same year, *Leo* (José Luis Borau, 2000), in which Gabo, an Eastern European, is shown to have been in unsettling sexual circumstances with the daughter of his ex-partner. This also occurs in the later film *Los novios búlgaros* (Eloy de la Iglesia, 2002) in which Daniel falls in love with Kyril, a Bulgarian migrant, although well aware that Kyril is using him for financial interests and disappears when Daniel is no longer useful to him. Daniel, by falling in love with a migrant becomes vulnerable and stereotypically feminized in comparison with Kyril.

An exception to this treatment is the third level character Mulai in *Las cartas de Alou*. Mulai is a childhood friend of Alou living in Barcelona and married to a Spanish woman with whom he has a child. He is shown to be prospering both economically and in love. However his economic success is shown to come from exploitation of his countrymen and therefore he is not viewed as an exemplary character.

Female migrants found a much more accommodating treatment in Spanish film than their male counterparts. While the migrant male was represented as a threat, migrant females were overwhelmingly shown as beautiful women in dire need of arranged marriages. As more women began to migrate to Spain their presence in filmic relationships with Spaniards increased. As early as 1975, the *destape* film *Zorrita Martínez* (Vicente Escrivá, 1975) introduced Lydia Martínez, a Venezuelan cabaret dancer with the stage name Zorrita, who convinces the much older Spaniard Serafín to marry her so that she can stay in Spain.

Almost twenty years later, the arrival of three Cuban sisters, Rosa, Lumilda and Nena, in *Cosas que deje en La Habana* (Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón, 1997) marked the beginning of the next series of films documenting alliances between Spanish males and the female migrant. Like *Zorrita Martínez*, this film also centers on an opportunistic marriage for papers. Lumilda accepts Javier, a homosexual man, as her groom and in the process doubts are raised whether Javier is homosexual or merely inexperienced. The relationship is not based on equality but instead a hierarchy system where an inexperienced Spaniard dominated by his mother is

paired with an attractive female migrant. It also continued to reinforce the failure of relationships with foreign males. Igor, a Cuban who deals in contraband Spanish passports, advances himself by seducing the Spaniard Azucena to support him. By the films end this relationship has ended, and Igor's future is pessimistic.

Also depicting this theme of marriages based on alliances is the relationship between Patricia and Damian in *Flores de otro mundo* (Icíar Bollaín, 1999). Damian, like Javier, is shy, obedient to his mother, and ready to marry. Similar to Lumilda, Patricia is Dominican, attractive and looking for legal papers. In this union Patricia sees a way to stop a clandestine existence in Spain and to bring her children overseas. Damian in turn wants to stay in his home village, a village in need of saving from total extinction (Santaolalla, 2005: 195). Patricia and Damian find love, treating each other as equals although they remain subjected to existent male-female hierarchies. A second unsuccessful relationship highlighted in the film is that of Milady, a young Cuban, and Carmelo, an older construction manager who has brought her to Spain. Their relationship is based on Carmelo's sexual interest in her and Milady's desire to be in Europe. The failure of this relationship is marked by intense inequality in Carmelo's patronizing and chauvinist treatment of Milady and her lack of interest in what Carmelo has to offer now that she is in Europe.

The film *La fuente amarilla* (Miguel Santesmases, 1999), provides an exception. The protagonist, Lola is a second-generation child of mixed heritage, and therefore both insider and outsider. She is not in need of papers as she is already Spanish; instead she is in need of vengeance. However, after avenging the murder of her Spanish father and Chinese mother, Lola witnesses her new love Sergio killed by gunfire. Just prior to his death they had agreed to begin a serious relationship together. Not only does Sergio die, but also everyone she has loved: her parents, her first boyfriend and a Chinese cousin she has been intimate with, all end in gun inflicted deaths. She fits the archetype of the tragic mulatto whose loves end in death. Treatment of Lola is similar to the formula used for male migrants in film, that of elimination on the verge of love culmination.

The turn of the 21ˢᵗ century witnessed increases in migration to Spain. The Spanish government processed three new rounds of regularization to legalize migrants working in Spain (2000, 2001, 2005). The country was experiencing an economic boom and needed workers. By 2007, conservative statistics estimated immigration in Spain at approximately 10% of the population, 4.5 million out of the 44 million residents in (INE, 2007: on line). Filmmakers gradually projected more favorable images of Spaniards pairing with individuals from foreign cultures. This evolution of themes echoed reality, where mixed marriages, between Spaniards and foreigners rose from 4% in 1996 to 10.7% in 2005 (Morán, 2007: 40).

The premise of impossible love began transforming as Spanish films acknowledged the robust complexity of the lives, livelihoods and countries of migrants. Such was the case in the film *A mi madre le gustan las mujeres* (Daniela Féjerman, Inés París, 2001), which took the Spanish viewer to the Czech Republic and the migrant country suddenly had a voice and images. In this film, Sofia, a successful Spanish pianist falls in love with Eliska a younger Czech woman. The balance of power tips strongly towards Sofia, as she is much older, much richer, and more successful as well as being Spanish with no visa problems. However, Eliska retains her autonomy and therefore her equality because she is not economically trapped in Spain. When persecuted by Sofia's children she leaves Sofia and returns to the Czech Republic. She is again reunited in love with Sofia by the end of the film.

Similarly, in *I love you baby* (Alfonso Albacete and David Menkes, 2001) the theme of impossible love lost and recovered continued as Spanish Marcos, after experimenting with a relationship with another man, Daniel, falls in love with Marisol, a Dominican. The film alternates between scenes focusing on Marcos and Daniel's lives and of Marisol and the lives of other migrants in Madrid, offering a glimpse into life from a migrant's point of view.

However, the most dramatic changes in representation of love relationships occurred in the representation of migrant male characters in love relationships from 2003 on. Background character roles, such as in the film *Ilegal* (Ignacio Vilar,

2003), while denouncing immigration mafia networks, began to show Spanish
women with Moroccan boyfriends or husbands in stable relationships.

The single biggest factor to influence changes in the fortune of foreign men and
love relationships with Spaniards was the increase of migrant male secondary
characters used in comedies. The narrative structure of many comedies is based on
a narrative structure that often ends with a happy ending. In romantic comedies this
permitted a happy romantic ending for both Spanish and culturally mixed couples.
This is supported by the analysis of the 60 canon films in section 5.2.4. Films that
were comedies had a greater chance of containing a romantic or sexual relationship
than dramas. Relationships were present in 71% of the comedies, while only 36%
of dramas contained relationships.

These initial inroads through comedies allowed inclusion of male migrants in
long-term relationships, however they continued to not be accepted as equals nor
involved in healthy relationships. Such is the case for *Cosas que hacen que la vida
valga la pena* (Manuel Gómez Pereira, 2004), which introduces in a side plot Chen,
a Chinese man married to the Spaniard Angeles. Chen provides a double reading of
the male migrant in relationships. He is portrayed as married to a Spanish woman
as well as very involved in the life of her child from a previous marriage. Despite
these positive accomplishments, he is used for comic exotic effect, presented as
feminized in comparison to Spanish males, and as tolerated instead of loved by
Angeles in a phobic relationship.

With the increase of migrant characters in comedies, migrant men began to be
portrayed in films with healthy love endings. One of the earliest films to show a
successful relationship forged between the migrant man and the Spanish woman is
El penalti más largo del mundo (Roberto Santiago, 2005), discussed in greater
detail in section 6.3 *El penalty más largo del mundo*. In this story, the Spaniard
Ana breaks up with Khaled, her Moroccan boyfriend, after tiring of a relationship
that she feels has no future. By the films end he wins Ana back and they have plans
to move in together. Khaled is depicted as integrated in the Spanish community. He
is both feminized and masculinized regarding stereotypical male and female
attributes. This film is the first to positively develop a forward reaching love

relationship between a Spanish woman and Moroccan male in more developed character roles. Later films such as *Fuera de Carta* (Nacho Velilla, 2008) further extend this pattern. In this film the Spanish chef, Maxi, and the Argentine ex-professional soccer player Horacio find their way to love and societal acceptance of this love by the community and their families.

Representations of relationships between Spanish men and migrant females continued to have high rates of success. They increasingly moved towards being represented similarly to relationships between Spanish men and Spanish women. Even the Muslim taboo was seen to crumble in the pairing of Bangladeshi Aisha and Spanish Cain in *El próximo oriente* (Fernando Colomo, 2006). Aisha is the lover of a married man Abel, who continually promises he will leave his wife for her. When she finds herself pregnant, it is not Abel, but his less attractive brother Cain who helps her through her difficulties. He converts to Islam, integrates himself with the family and marries Aisha. By the end of the film she too has fallen in love with him for his respect towards her and her family. Here again is a version of the bumbling goofy not attractive Spaniard who marries a beautiful migrant. This time however, it is not so that she can have papers in an arranged marriage, but to save her reputation with her family.

Another example film in this category is *Retorno a Hansala* (Chus Gutiérrez, 2008), which follows the story of Leila, the sister of a drowned Moroccan migrant who washes up dead on Spanish shores and Martín a Spaniard who desires to explore the possibility of expanding his funeral business into Morocco. They start a relationship based on philia in which each one comes to better understand the other's culture.

Equality of treatment is also evident in many relationships involving Spanish men and Latin American women. One such example is that of *Elsa y Fred* (2006), directed by the Argentine director Marcos Carnevale, in which Argentine Elsa finds love later in life with Spanish Fred. Apart from one scene in which the daughter of Fred makes a negative comment about Argentines, this film is marked by strong philial treatment between Elsa and Fred. Another is *7 mesas de billar francés* (Gracia Querejeta, 2007), which portrays a mixed relationship in which the

Spanish male patiently waits for the relationship to unfold. Evelin is a Honduran woman living in Madrid who dates Fele, a painter and billiard player. Both work in the same bar and are discreetly involved in a relationship. They try not to publicize this as Evelin has a husband back home in Honduras. She maintains regular phone calls and sends monthly money to her husband until she discovers that he has no plans to reunite with her and has fallen in love with her sister. Fele and Evelin continue their relationship, now publicly. Evelin and Fele are portrayed as slightly immature characters however their love is one of equals.

Similar to *Siete mesas de billar francés,* the film *Pagafantas* (Borja Cobeaga, 2009,) includes a Spanish male waiting for a chance at love. However, this story puts a modern twist that reverses the trope of goofy Spaniard and beautiful migrant who marry for papers. Chema falls in love with the beautiful and fun Argentine Claudia, however Claudia only sees Chema as her friend. While waiting for Claudia to realize he loves her, he agrees to marry her so that she can stay in the country. Claudia never imagines Chema as someone she would date which is made even more evident when her attractive and successful Argentine boyfriend returns to Spain to live with her. Chema, even after recovering from his infatuation for Claudia is helpless when she is near him. Claudia is not portrayed as helpless, but instead as opportunistic while unaware of the power she holds over Chema. In this film, the migrant female, particularly the Argentine female, reaches a level of equality and mania in the hierarchy similar to a Spanish woman faced with a weaker Spanish male.

The drama *Biutiful* (Alejandro González Iñárritu, 2010) moves beyond simple first-love equations to deal with themes in which the Spaniard and the Argentine are treated as philia equals in a sordid world. In this film Spanish Uxbal is a divorced father with a continuing relationship with his ex-wife, the Argentine Marambra. While this relationship is not shown to work due to her drug and alcohol problems and bipolar personality, Uxbal's own squalid past and delinquency is never hidden. This equality can be seen even in the casting decisions. The director expressed an interchangeability between choosing a Spaniard or Argentine actress to play the part of Marambra.

I held casting sessions all around Spain, and though I saw a lot of very talented actresses there, I couldn't find what I was looking for. Three weeks before principal photography began, I still hadn't found her and was close to postponing the shoot. I did an open casting session in Argentina, where we saw Maricel Alvarez. Even in a video test, I knew it was her (González Iñárritu, 2009: 7).

A few films fall into special categories. The previously mentioned *El próximo oriente* is part of a small minority of films that included ethnic or migrant characters who speak Spanish with no accent and date Spanish men. Aisha speaks with no accent and although her parents are understood to be migrants from Bangladesh, it is never made clear if Aisha was born there or in Spain. Two other films, *La noche de los girasoles* (Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo, 2006) and *En la ciudad* (Cesc Gay, 2003), portray bi-racial black Spaniards as lead characters in relationships with Spanish men and never make any reference to their ethnicity. These characters are treated on an equal philial status with the Spanish female characters and in their relationships.

Also fitting into this category is the film *El truco del Manco* (Santiago A. Zannou, 2008). In this film Adolfo meets Cristina at a Kebab restaurant that he frequents. Both of them are of mixed black and white heritage and speak Spanish with no accent. Their relationship does not progress beyond a first kiss, due in part to the budy-film narrative structure established by the relationship between Adolfo and another male character. Although their relationship does not develop due to the immaturity of Adolfo, there exists a philia treatment between the two characters. This film, directed by a migrant heritage director, shows treatment of relationships between mixed race couples in a similar style to relationships between Spanish couples. The heritage of the characters is not shown to play any part in their relationship dynamic.

One other area that deserves mention is the scarcity of images that represent the children of intercultural pairings. Films such as *I love you baby* in which by the end of the film Marcos and Marisol are shown five years later, with Marisol's daughter from a previous partner along with two children they have had together and fourth

child they are expecting, are an exception. This themes is briefly discussed in the the previous chapter 5.2.3.

The filmic equality growing in love relationships is in marked difference to that shown in relationships between the Spaniard and migrant based on attraction or sexual interest. Films representing attraction and lust are most notable for their unequal pairings. The representations are almost entirely of background characters. Scenes of attraction are above all involving the Spanish male towards the female migrant. Surprisingly, Spanish women initiate a large number of lust encounters.

A small sample of films touches on the attraction felt by Spaniards towards migrant females without the story link developing further. These feelings tend to be harbored by powerless young Spaniards attracted to female migrants as part of the young men's sexual initiation. Such is the case with teenage Manu in *Barrio* (Fernando León de Aranoa, 1998), who observes from afar a Dominican babysitter who sits at the park, or with Epo who flirts with a much older Argentine shopper in *Tapas* (José Corbacho and Juan Cruz, 2005). In *Torrente* (Santiago Segura, 1998) awkward and nerdy Rafi, sidekick to the protagonist Torrente, finishes the film with his arm around a young Chinese waitress who has saved his life. Similarly following this pattern, Elvira, the youngest daughter of Sofia in *A mi madre le gustan las mujeres* kisses her mother's Czech lover to test her own sexual orientation.

When the migrant male acts on his attraction, he tends to be of a lower social class level than the Spanish female and the results end in failure. This highlights the double hierarchy of class and Other status. Such are the cases of *El traje* (Alberto Rodríguez, 2002) and *Animales heridos* (Ventura Pons, 2005). In *El Traje* Patricio, an African migrant, through the confidence and respect gained by a suit given to him, arranges a date with a Spanish shop assistant. She remains interested in him until she sees that he isn't all the suit promises and hasn't been truthful to her. In *Animales heridos* Jorge Washington, a Mexican handy man and boyfriend of a Peruvian housecleaner, flirts with the wealthy female Spaniard whose house he is painting and later wistfully holds the water bottle of another wealthy Spanish woman whom he doesn't have the courage to approach.

Migrant males also emerged as the object of Spanish female desires. These relationships, initiated by Spanish women represent part of the new status of women portrayed as sexually equal and dominant in amorous relations. They also highlight the shifting power hierarchy of the migrant as subordinate to the Spanish women. A collection of films shows the migrant male as an exotic or taboo desire. In *Las cartas de Alou* the women who take Alou and his friend home for a one-night stand sneak them into the building to avoid their neighbors. More tragically, after the fetishized sexual fantasizing of a Spanish housewife in *Bwana* (Imanol Uribe, 1996) for the African title character of the film, Bwana meets a violent death.

Other images represent the Spaniard looking for opportunity from unequal migrant character positions. These story lines often present large age differences between a migrant male and a Spanish female. Such is the case of aging América with her young black lover in *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* and the underage Estíbaliz trying to seduce the Mexican Waldo/Osvaldo, a maintenance man at a hotel in *Atasco en el Nacional* (Josetxo San Mateo, 2007) whom she mocks for the size of his sexual organs. However they also apply in the treatment of male migrants by Spanish males such as in the film *Los novios búlgaros*. Both Daniel and his friend Gildo enjoy the company of much younger Bulgarian boys. Gildo likes the playful distraction of the foreign boys whom he treats similar to lap dogs, or as exotic animals. Gildo's relationships are marked by sexual interest and complete inferiority of the migrant.

The lowest of the hierarchy groupings and the most represented is that of the migrant portrayed in the sex trade as a prostitute. In a study on Spanish film of the 1990s, Pilar Aguilar Carrasco states that the most frequent occupation for non-protagonist role females, both Spaniard and migrant, was that of prostitute or sex club workers (Aguilar Carrasco, 2006: on line). By 2007, this category was the most frequent way in which a relationship between a Spaniard male and migrant female was represented. A few of these films gave voice to the female migrant prostitute in protagonist roles. Much more common were brief scenes involving the main or secondary characters patronizing a migrant prostitute as a third level or

background character. As a whole, migrants from Latin countries received the majority of attention with Russians being the second most represented. The Latin prostitutes hailed from the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Brazil and Venezuela and were generally represented as highly attractive.

An in-depth study by Isabel Argote of all films opened in Spain during the period of 2000 to 2002 showed that the female migrant was most frequently portrayed as a prostitute (Argote 2003). During this three-year period she details an extensive list of films that portray Latin American migrants in roles of prostitution or exchanges for sexual services generally in third level character or background scenes. Amongst others she includes, *Pídele cuentas al rey* (José Antonio Quirós, 1999) in which a Caribean mulatta and black females work at a sex club and *Piedras* (Ramón Salazar, 2002), which depicts South American women prostituting on a street corner.

In the analysis carried out in section 5.2.4, of the 29 films representing a migrant and ethnic character in relationships, 28% of these showed relations involving prostitution. However, when migrant and ethnic characters were in principal and secondary roles this number dropped to 9%.

Prostitute roles continue to be common in films up to the present and while a few films provide philia friendships between Spaniards and migrants, the majority show a phobic treatement of the migrant. At times these range from the comical. Examples include *Atraco a las 3... y media* (Raúl Marchand, 2003) in which a black Cuban woman in a red tanga surprises a robber dressed as Santa Claus on her way to the bathroom. She takes the money Santa offers her and asks seductively if Papa Noel wants anything done for him while her client waits for her in the back bedroom; or *Un rey en la Habana* (Alexis Valdés, 2005), which comically addresses the topic of migrants and prostitution in the slave trade. After an arranged marriage between the Cuban mulatta Yoli and an older Spanish man disintegrates upon the death of the groom, it comes to light that he had intended all along to kidnap her through a false marriage to send her to work as a prostitute in Spain.

Alternately, representations may touch on the theme from the American film *Pretty Woman* (Garry Marshall, 1990) of women saved from prostitution through relationships. In *La torre de Susa* (Tom Fernández, 2007) jealousy threatens two characters, Mote, a frequent visitor of a village brothel, and Pablo who's Dominican girlfriend Esmerelda works as a prostitute. The crisis between these friends is defused when after a fight with Pablo, Mote takes Esmerelda by the hand and leads her out of the club. He says to Pablo, "Tu novia ya no es puta, casa con ella y hacéis mulatos a ver si ellos saben mejor hacer aquí".

Not all films portraying the migrant as sex worker are limited to background roles. Three films showing migrant prostitutes in protagonist or supporting actress roles are *En la puta vida* (Beatriz Flores Silva, 2001), *Princesas* (Fernando León de Aranoa, 2005), and *Desde que amenece apetece* (Antonio del Real, 2006). In strangely similar circumstances, the migrant women depicted are all originally from Latin American countries, supporting a child back home, and by the films end return to their native country through the help of a Spaniard. These films tend to show the migrant in disadvantaged equality with their partners or clients.

En la puta vida is unique in the films depicting prostitution in that it is directed by a Uruguayan director in a Spanish-Uruguayan co-production. The film presents Elisa, a prostitute who emigrates from Uruguay with her pimp boyfriend. When things do not go as expected there, a Spanish policeman, Marcelo, helps arrange for her to return home to her children. The film ends with both hope and uncertainty as to her future; the last scene shows a budding relationship with Marcelo yet the text in the credits casts doubt on her future safety in Uruguay.

As was discussed in section 6.4 *Princesas*, Caye, a Spaniard, and Zulema, a Dominican, work as prostitutes in Madrid. Many of the street scenes contain representations of Latin and black prostitutes who are viewed as competition by the Spanish prostitutes. Zulema sends money to her family and little boy back home. She is stalked and abused by one of her clients and earns less money than the Spanish prostitutes. At the films end Caye and Zulema have developed a friendship, and Caye pays for Zulema's flight home.

In the comic film, *Desde que amenece apetece,* Pelayo falls in love with Claudia, a Venezuelan prostitute considered the best of the brothel for her energy in bed. Pelayo helps Claudia return to her country and young son with money he has inherited through his own sexual services as a gigolo.

Sólo quiero caminar and *Un Rey en la Habana* are unique films in that they showed Spanish prostitutes with foreign clients. In *Sólo quiero caminar*, an encounter in Spain between the Mexican mafia leader Felix and the Spanish prostitute Ana leads Felix to offer her the chance to be his "Pretty Woman" in Mexico. In Mexico, in a strange twist of equality, Ana's sister Aurora meets and falls in love with the Mexican Gabriel who has posed as a male prostitute. Both of these pairings lead to dire consequences echoing the film industry's subliminal mantra that different cultures shouldn't mix. *Un Rey en la Habana*, shows a dominatrix prostitute who caters to foreign leaders with the need to be dominated. This film also depicts Papito's sidekick, another Cuban, enjoying the pleasure of two Spanish prostitutes.

The frequent representation of Latin Americans as prostitutes in film is in part a reference to the increase of these nationalities in the Spanish population and their statistical presence in prostitution (Agustin, 2001: 553). However these depictions are also a way to inferiorize the subset of the migrant population that has the greatest ability to insert itself into the Spanish society due to lack of language barrier, past colonial connections, and ease of converting to Spanish nationality. If Spanish film provided a faithful portrayal of the Latin American migrant population in Spain, we would expect to see a much larger representation of the migrant female working in hotels and restaurants, as caregivers to the elderly and children, or as housekeepers, where a great majority of this population actually find employment (Argote, 2003: 6)

However, prostitution is not limited to female migrants. Though less frequently, there are also representations of migrant male prostitutes. Two such example films that are *Desde que amanece apetece* in which male strippers from Brazil, Africa, Russia and Cuba work and the Bulgarian boys in *Los Novios bulgaros*. These films tend to represent the male prostitutes as having fun with rich clients and entering in

prostitution as an enjoyable way of prospering financially. This candified treatment of prostitution is similar to the representation of Spanish female prostitutes in the films here examined. For example Caye in *Princesas* works to earn money for a breast enlargement while the Spanish prostitute in *Un rey en la Habana* works because she enjoys relieving men's stress in sadomasochistic games.

One additional area that should be pointed out is that while national heritage directed films fluctuate in their representations of philia and phobia treatments of mixed race relationships, this is not the case for relationships between two ethnic or migrant characters. Almost invariably, national heritage, international and migrant heritage directors show relationships between same ethnicity characters in equal-to-equal status. Examples include Martín (Federico Luppi), a well-off Argentine living in Spain dating the much younger Alica (Cecilia Roth) in the coproduction film by Argentine International director Adolfo Aristarain in *Martín (Hache)* (1997); the Spanish-Benin migrant heritage director Santiago Zannou's portrayal of mixed race Adolfo and mixed race Cristina in *El truco del manco* (2008); or national heritage directed films *Pagafantas* with the Argentine couple Claudia and Sebastián, or *Tapas* (José Corbacho and Juan Cruz., 2005) showing Mao and his Chinese girlfriend.

As can be seen from this analysis, a sharp difference exists in the treatment of the migrant in love relationships as compared to other sexualized roles. In films where the migrant is accepted as a love partner, social hierarchies are evolving towards acceptance and equality. For the migrant male this transition has been quite dramatic as early films truncated future relationship possibilities with Spanish women. This was the case for most relationships with migrant males in films up through 2003. More recent films have started to allow positive relationships with Spaniards, loosening hierarchy treatment. From 2004 through 2010 there is a marked change for the positive in the acceptance and integration of the male migrant as a love interest.

The female migrant, on the other hand, has almost always been accepted in love relationships, where fears over interracial mixing dissolve. This is in a sense a repetition of unions produced during the Spanish colonial empire in which male

Spaniards freely intermarried with local women. Relationships with female migrants are shown to flourish and often lead to marriage. While a large number of these relationships unite a highly attractive female migrant with a less advantaged Spaniard (either physically, socially or age-wise), over the course of the past two decades there has been a steady increase towards equality in the treatment of the female migrant.

Hierarchies are firmly in place when it comes to lust and prostitution. In the category of attraction and lust, the degree of equality plummets. Most advances are made by powerless younger Spaniards initiating themselves in courtship rituals by practicing on attractive migrant females. Alternatively they are made by powerless male migrants towards more successful Spanish women or by sexually interested Spanish females often with large age differences interested in migrant men.

Films that depict the female prostitute as part of background scenery demonstrate the lowest level of power on the hierarchical scale involving the migrant in relationships and also make up the highest total of representations. These films do not provide more than glimpses of the migrant working in degrading surroundings and with characters representing the bottom echelon of Spanish society. Portrayals of the migrant prostitute in protagonist roles and secondary roles center on their desperate economic need and lack of alternatives. Often the women are required to send money home to family or children in their original country and return to their home country by the end of the film. These personalities are given voice but not treated as equals, and receive a different treatment as compared with the Spanish female prostitute and the male migrant prostitute.

In one sense, the earlier discussed theories by Bauman on host societies using both integration and repulsion towards Others as responses to control the perceived threat of strangers can be applied to these results (Bauman 1993). On the one hand, a move towards assimilating the migrant stranger is seen in the increasing number of films portraying successful long term mixed culture relationships taking place in comedic films in current Spanish cinema. On the other hand the elimination of migrant males in love relationships in the early films and the high proportion of current films which portray migrant females as prostitutes maintain a strong alien

sentiment towards the migrant and non-acceptance as equals in the social hierarchy. With regards to specific migrant cultures, Latin Americans, with the exception of Argentines, are treated very ambivalently: appearing frequently as equals in love relationships also frequently in prostitution roles. Argentines are most likely to be portrayed as equal to Spaniards. Muslim and Moroccan men also receive a heightened percentage of representation with representation evolving from non-acceptance to limited successes.

Analysis of these films provides insight on where Spanish artists are positioning the migrant and ethnic Other in their vision of society. Nonetheless, statistical information on percentages of mixed marriages, birth rates of mixed children, and where migrants are really employed paint a much different story than the filmic representations. As a whole, these films are also crucial in the opening of doors to new acceptance and as a measure of what Spanish society is currently able to conceptualize in the construction of migrant place and a changing Spanish identity.

7.3 Summary

This chapter provided a theoretical analysis on the acceptance and rejection of ethnic and migrant populations as shown through the use of food and romantic and sexual relationships in film. This analysis originated from the study in chapter five on the rhetorical treatment of migrant and ethnic characters and was extended to include films from the wider Spanish film industry. Results of this analysis suggest that in film, desire around food and love is a powerful indicator of cultural acceptance and rejection of other cultures.

The first section focused on how food and the act of eating are used as metaphors to refer to assimilation or rejection of migrant cultures. The text set out to show a historical of how films use the theme of food to produce dialogues on the changes produced by migrant populations. The second section traced hierarchy demonstrations of mania, philia and phobia in a comparison of treatments in

romantic and sexual relationships as shown in film. In particular, the aim was to addresse the questions of if social hierarchies are set-aside in film when the Other is accepted as a partner, and, if hierarchies are firmly in place when it comes to lust and prostitution. Representations in these two areas act as a barometer of acceptance and rejection levels for migrants and ethnic populations in Spain.

These two sections used the theoretical base established in chapters one and two. In particular these included the theories on the power struggle for authenticity during encounters between different cultures (Bergman and Luckmann 1966), controlling the perceived threat of strangers through integration and expulsion (Bauman 1993), social hierarchies (Berger and Luckman 1986), the use of sub-hierarchies in an attempt for control (Todorov 1989) and consumer cannibalism and decontextualization of the Other (hooks 1992).

Looking first at food, Spanish film provides an evolving representation of migration assimilation as told through the metaphors of digestion and food. Cannibalism, colonialism, the lure of pleasure and danger, unsettling desire, and isolation of minority groups from social contexts all form part of a gelatinous mix that surrounds treatment and distortion of the migrant in Spanish cinema. Representations run the gamut from idealized fantasies of a nostalgic past contrasted with the arrival of immigration, harmonious utopian relationships between migrants and local populations, and intercultural contact reflecting both harmony and tensions. The evolving trend in films is to present assimilation as a conceivable and desired ending point in an increasingly multicultural Spain.

Films such as *Cosas que dejé en La Habana* and *Flores de otro mundo* described assimilation conflicts from both migrant and host nation points of view through food. Other films such as *Canícula* and *Torrente* portrayed rejection and disdain for migrant foods as narrative shorthand for expressing xenophobia or dislike of migrants by racist characters. *Poniente* used food to demonstrate utopic friendships that are not allowed to continue past meals. Other films such as *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* stress the changes globalization is bringing through food and food service employees.

Various films imagine utopian harmonies with Others demonstrated by their ability to assimilate food habits towards Spanish ways. These include *El penalti más largo del mundo*, which broke from previous representations of Moroccan men to imagine a world in which migrants assimilate and live together with Spaniards, stressing the cultural differences that must be accepted by the migrant to achieve this assimilation. Other films such as *Tapas* and *El próximo oriente* allowed the introduction of "foreign" products for exotic touches as long as the migrant assimilated to Spanish styles. Similarly, the Spaniard learned to integrate migrant practices, such as the acceptance of Halal food in *El próximo oriente*.

In particular, Chinese food has served as an example of the changing acceptance of foreign migration as represented through food. It has been included in such films as *Torrente, La fuente amarilla*, *Otros días vendrán*, *7 mesas de billar francés*, *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*, and *Biutiful*. Chinese food has gone from being insulted as non-food to being eaten begrudgingly by Spaniards to being presented as a part of healthy family life.

Equally, treatment of the African figure in film as shown through meals has undergone a large difference in film from the screening of *Bwana* to *La causa de Kripan* and *Biutiful*. Different than other films involving food, *Biutiful*, directed by an international director, shows a Spaniard eating food in the home of a migrant. In this film the Spaniard both eats food from another culture but also does so using the eating style of this culture.

This analysis suggests that films provide an artistic perspective exploring sociological issues in which what one eats, how one eats, with whom and where one eats form a part of understanding cultural markers and symbols of identity. Food is shown to serve as a bridge through sharing and the creation of fusion food products. However it is also used as a border highlighting the exclusion of migrants shown through the rejection of food products. Thus, in the last twenty years there can be seen an evolution of representation regarding food and migrant and ethnic character representations in Spain. Often it is not a matter of judging whether these representations are xenophobic or derogatory, but instead of using these representations to understand the attitudes of acceptance and rejections being

reflected and expressed about the place of Other cultures at a particular time and location in a host country.

Romantic and sexual relationships are also present in a large number of films. The study of mania, phobia and philia in relationships, or lack of them, can aid in the detection of hierarchical treatment and social acceptance shown towards migrant and ethnic populations. Relationships in films were divided into three groups: love, attraction and prostitution. These relationships were then studied to determine the manner in which social hierarchies were applied in each category. Findings demonstrate a large difference in the treatment of the migrant in love relationships as compared to other sexualized roles. In films where the migrant is accepted as a love partner, social hierarchies evolve towards acceptance and equality. Hierarchies are firmly in place when it comes to lust and prostitution.

In films with love relationships, treatment differed depending on the gender of the migrant character. In films from 1990 to 2000, the male migrant was merged with the concept of the stranger and alien. While characters in a film might receive filia treatment, film narratives reacted to the perceived threat of migrant males in early films through phobia outcomes: truncating future relationship possibilities with Spanish women through character banishment, death, or break-ups due to incompatibility issues. This can be seen in films such as *Las cartas de Alou*, *Bwana* and *Susanna*. By the mid 2000s, portrayals of migrant males in relationships with Spanish women began to change. From 2004 through 2010 there is a marked change for the positive in the acceptance and integration of the male migrant as a love interest. This coincided with an increase of migrant males cast as secondary characters in comedies. The film *El penalti más largo del mundo* was one of the first to positively develop a successful love relationship between a Spanish woman and Moroccan male that continues at the film end, while continuing to show both philia and phobia treatments.

The female migrant has primarily been accepted in love relationships of varying levels of philia treatment. Over the course of the past two decades there has been a steady increase in hierarchy equality shown towards the treatment of the female migrant in relationships. This is especially evident in many relationships between

Spanish men and Latin American women. Two such examples are *Elsa y Fred, 7 mesas de billar francés*.

A popular theme that has carried from the 1970s to the present day is the focus on marriages of convenience to attain legality, often pairing highly attractive female migrants with less advantaged Spanish males who are physically, socially or age-wise considered unattractive. Example films include *Zorrita Martínez, Cosas que deje en La Habana, Flores de otro mundo* and *El próximo oriente*. A modern twist is given to this trope in the 2009 film *Pagafantas*. In this film an Argentine female marries a bumbling Spanish male for legal papers. However different from previous treatments, she does not fall in love with him. Filmically, it demonstrates an equality in hierarchy treatment similar to how Spanish females are portrayed in situations with unattractive Spanish males.

In the category of attraction and lust, the degree of equality plummets. Films representing attraction and lust were most notable for their unequal pairings and often were represented almost entirely through background characters. Most advances are made by powerless younger Spaniards initiating themselves in courtship rituals by practicing on attractive migrant females. Alternatively they are made by powerless male migrants towards more successful Spanish women or by sexually interested Spanish females often with large age differences sexually towards migrant men. Examples can be seen in the films *Tapas* and *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*.

The lowest of the hierarchy groupings and the most represented is that of the migrant portrayed as a prostitute. Films that depict the female prostitute as part of background scenery demonstrate the lowest level of power on the hierarchical scale involving the migrant in relationships and also make up the highest total of representations. These films do not provide more than glimpses of the migrant working in degrading surroundings and with characters representing the bottom echelon of Spanish society. Examples include *Pídele cuentas al rey* and *La torre de Susa*. Portrayals of the migrant prostitute in protagonist roles and secondary roles center on their desperate economic need and lack of alternatives. These personalities are given voice but not treated as equals, and receive a different

treatment as compared with the Spanish female prostitute and the male migrant prostitute. This can be seen in *En la puta vida*, *Princesas* and *Desde que amenece apetece*.

CONCLUSION

Changing Perspectives at the Goya Awards: Migrant and Ethnic Identity Construction in Contemporary Spanish Cinema (2004-2011)

Spain has a long history of migration that is not fully recognized in its national mythology. In the past decades, Spain has undergone a rapid demographic change in its population due to migration. Despite the current economic crisis, this is not a situation that will go away. As seen in other European countries, while labor crisis affect migration influxes, migrant populations already in the country tend to establish themselves first through family repatriations, then through the creation of multiple generations (McNeill, 1998: on line). Additionally, future Spanish labor needs will require migrant labor: the Spanish population is predicted to reach negative growth by the year 2020 with those over 64 years old making up 32% of the population (INE, 2010: on line). As migrant populations produce second and third generation national citizens, the xenophobia commonly demonstrated towards immigrant populations often transforms into racism towards these new ethnic populations. During times of crisis, migrant and ethnic communities bear the brunt of hostility and tension. National objectives of multiculturalism, integration and assimilation are essential to developing strategies of coexistence.

In chapter one, awareness of a self-identity was defined as the most basic building block in identity construction (Culler 1997), that allows social and cultural identity constructions (Berger and Luckmann 1966, Tajfel 1981, Burke and Stets 2009). When different cultural groups come into contact with each other, one coping strategy used is the creation of a binary alterity model, seeking to separate the self group from the Other (Berger and Luckmann 1966, Tajfel 1981, Perceval 1995, Hall 1996, Burke and Stets 2009). Nevertheless, the world is more and more "criollizado", according to Glissant's famous expression (Glissant 1981).

Therefore, a second proposal is that of a hybridity model in which all cultures are seen to overlap and blend (Bhabha 1994, García Canclini 1995, Hall 1996).

Contact with other cultures is often first provided through mass media information sources such as the television news. The dependency on the media for information creates a situation of news experiences institutionally controlled (Thompson 1995, Gabás 2001, van Dijk 2002). However, the discourses on migrant and ethnic populations portrayed by the media frequently reproduce racist discourses that stereotype them (Perceval 1995, van Dijk 2002). The visual images and texts on migrants and ethnic populations are primarily controlled by dominant population group members who provide representations based on alterity models (Bhabha 1994, Shohat and Stam 1994). These images do not reflect the truth about other cultures but instead dominant culture projections about Other cultures (Said 1978, Hall 1982, Bhabha 1994, Shohat and Stam 1994). Representation and reality are in constant interplay: how ethnic minorities and migrant groups are represented is connected to how they are treated in a society (Dyer 1993). Filtered from the media, the discourses in art and film in particular retain the same messages on hierarchy and the privileging of dominant populations (García Canclini 1995, Tarr 1997, Larson 2006). Nevertheless, art also has the power to reshape and reevaluate treatment of migrant and ethnic populations.

The present study takes as its objective the analysis of migrant and ethnic representations in the Spanish arts with special attention to cinema due to its privileged power to express the cultural imagery. Films are able to develop in two hours what the news media provides in short fragments of information. Film is also able to reach large audiences, as seen when taking into account movie theater attendance, television broadcast audience, film rentals and internet downloads. This study has witnessed how artistic imagination consciously and unconsciously reproduces the dominant ideologies prevalent in a particular time and space as described by Shohat and Stam (1994). However, minority groups and audiences also maintain power to influence representations both through social actions and through minority group originated representations. As an example, the film *La fuente amarilla* faced such strong resistance from the Chinese ambassador to Spain

and the Chinese community in Madrid that it was reduced to using non-Chinese actors and seeking police protection during filming due to the vehement protests of this community to being stereotyped (Santaolalla, 2005: 148).

Studies on film and migrant and ethnic identity representation are important for their ability to bring to consciousness underlying discourses present in a national film system which may go unnoticed due to their accepted "normalness". Cultural studies privilege the work as a cultural document over its value as an object of art (Palacio, 2007: 71). Films are examined for cultural identity constructions based on notions of the self-identity, historical relationships with those considered Others and current political positions (Kellner 2009). Imagology considers the double role of the author as creator of a work and as a member of society, sharing many of the same cultural stereotypes in a historical time period (Moll, 1999: 360-1). Furthermore through the study of both active and passive characters (Casetti and di Chio 1990) and attention to structural subordination and hierarchy of dominance inside of standardized representations, film texts prove highly revealing (Shohat and Stam 1994).

In chapter two, it is pointed out that the concept of a national cinema based on territorial boundaries is controversial in the current era where borders are ambiguous and film productions tend to be multinational (Higson 2000, Hayward 2000, Choi 2006). It is also difficult to argue that national cinemas represent national identities, as national identities are constructed ideas (Hayward 2000, Choi 2006). This study, therefore, follows the notion that national cinemas are a group of films that share production styles, exhibition and distribution strategies, and create and feed off of similar film styles, narrative structures, themes and film genres (Choi 2006). They also serve as representations of the local in the face of Hollywood films (Choi 2006, Saeys 2009).

Furthermore, this analysis has centered on the role of the director in film authorship. This is based in part on the tradition of *auteur* filmmakers in European and Spanish cinema (Evans, 1999: 2), but does not center on the filmmaker as an *auteur*. Instead, focus is placed on the heritage identity of the filmmaker and the manner in which this aspect of the director's identity determines how he or she

represents the self and others in a production. In European cinema, the director often selects the film to be created and in many cases is the author or scriptwriter. Thus, it is the director who makes final decisions on character ethnicities and treatments. Identity is constantly reflected, projected and challenged by who does the representing. Point of view is used in this thesis to refer to the conceptual perspective from which the discourses in these representations go on to influence national discourses (Chatman 1978) and how these discourses are positions framed and limited by a speaker, in this case a director, inside of a wider cultural dialogue (Foucault 1971).

This investigation refers to three identities based on director heritage. These are directors of national heritage, migrant heritage and international directors. Outside of Spain, migrant heritage directors have by far the most studies dedicated to them (Shohat and Stam 1994, Naficy 1996, Chaisson 2000, Hayward 2000b, Marks 2000, Naficy 2001, Desai 2004, Ezra and Rowden 2006, Saeys 2009b, Berghahn and Sternberg 2010). However the filmmakers themselves are quite vocal on their disinterest in being classified by ethnicity when referring to their person or their films (Saeys 2009a, Hjort, Jorholt and Redvall 2010). For the film scholar this creates a need for sensitivity in writing about director identity, as cultural studies and the post colonial theories manifest the importance of recognizing multiple voices.

In chapter three, a comparative analysis of four European cinemas with longer migrant heritage histories is provided on the cinemas of France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Sweden. Although each of these countries has had an individual historical situation and has a heterogeneous mix in terms of migrant and ethnic populations, their film industries have documented migrant and ethnic populations in a similar fashion that can serve as a predictive model for Spanish cinema. Each country represented historical ethnic groups in their early cinemas, with images of Jews, Romani, and in the case of France and Britain through exotic colonial images. These early Others served as precursors to later representations of migrant and ethnic identities. As migrant populations increased in each country, national heritage filmmakers began documenting their presence in films. This

416

period was followed by the emergence of migrant heritage filmmakers who have challenged the types and themes of these representations and in turn have gone on to influence films directed by national heritage directors.

These phases serve to support Yosefa Loshitzky's model of three stages occurring in European national film representation of migrant and minority ethnic groups (Loshitzky, 2010: 15). The first stage sees national heritage filmmakers representing the migrant or ethnic figure in both alterity-based positions showing both solidarity and rejection. In Germany the first phase of films was known as *Guestworker Cinema* (Burns 2006) or *Cinema of Alienation* (Seeßlen 2003), and was followed by the *Cinema of the Affected* (Burns 2006). In Sweden the first phase of films showed migrants as Strangers (Tigervall 2005). Films in France and the United Kingdom during this period continued imperial traditions or were militant in their treatment of colonial representations (Bourne 2002, Monterde 2008). As social realism themes began to emerge in French and British films, focus shifted to living conditions and the social disruption caused by migrants in societies that rejected them (Tarr 2005, Bakari 2000). Germany and Sweden divide this phase into sub-phases that include the transition in demographics as migrant populations began to produce second and third generations. In Germany, films depicted first and second-generation immigrants as victims and outsiders. Themes in these films focused on the "myth of return", with both the immigrant and the German host nation desiring a final return; the poor treatment of immigrants in the host country and women's oppression (Ewing, 2002; Burns, 2006). In Sweden, immigrants were shown to be incompatible with Sweden and focused on Swedish xenophobia and racism (Tigervall 2005).

This is followed by a second stage of co-existence in which migrant heritage filmmakers emerge and begin to create films using the production and film styles of a country. These films include self-identity representations of migrant and ethnic characters and influence the way national heritage filmmakers represent migrant and ethnic characters. The third stage is characterized by representations by both national heritage and migrant heritage directors and focus on common human-based narratives that do not necessarily center on migrant narratives. A second

phase of films began in all countries as migrant heritage artists began collaborating with national heritage filmmakers. The introduction of migrant heritage filmmakers was the catalyst that dramatically changed migrant and ethnic representations, pivoting images to a new territory. As filmmakers of migrant heritage began creating films representing themselves, they redescribed themselves, the cultures they live in, and began to focus on generational narrations and inter-generational discoveries.

In the United Kingdom, migrant heritage filmmakers emerged creating Black British Cinema and Asian British cinema (Malik 2002). For France, the *Beur* film movement was created by second and third generation filmmakers of Magreb and Arab descent. This was followed by *Cinéma de banlieue*, created by both national and migrant heritage filmmakers and centered on the *banlieue* ghettos (Monterde 2008, Tarr 2005). Germany marks this phase with the creation of *Cinema of Métissage*, in which filmmakers of migrant heritage began representing themselves as well as choosing to make films that did not center on migrant themes or characters (Burns 2006, Ewing 2002). And in Sweden, the year 2000 marked the turning point when migrant heritage directors entered the scene (Wright 2005, Tigervall 2005). These "New Swedish Movies" told stories about gender issues, integration differences between the first generation and their foreign born children, fear of loss of traditions, countering of ethnic stereotypes. A further development in all four countries has been the petition by migrant heritage filmmakers to distance themselves from "ethnic" markers and includes their involvement in film projects which do not represent migrant themes.

Many films by migrant heritage directors have been celebrated with nominations and wins at national film awards as well by becoming blockbuster hits. Examples include *Auf der anderen Seite* (*The Edge of Heaven*, 2007) by the Turkish-German director Fatih Akin, nominated and won at the Deutscher Filmpreis Awards (13,513,896€), *Bend it Like Beckham* (2002), by the British-Indian director Gurinder Chadha, nominated at the British Academy Film Awards (58,127,745€) or *Jalla! Jalla!* (2000), nominated at the Guldbagge Awards by the Lebenese-

Swede director Josef Fares (6,758,756€)[34] (Box Office Mojo, n.d.: on line; Swedish Film Institute, n.d.: on line).

Turning to Spanish cinema, chapter four documented in similar manner Spain's historical contact with Other cultures and current transformation into a host country for migrants. This thesis provides a comparison between European cinema and Spanish cinema in the construction of migrant and ethnic identities. It describes how Spanish cinema is following a similar trajectory to that of France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Sweden. Like these cinemas, in its early cinema, Spain represented historical ethnic groups such as the Romani and past colonial subjects. Dating back to the 1900s, these include images of Romani, North and Central Africans, and Latin Americans (Elena 1996, Santaolalla 2005). However, due to the historical expulsion of the Jews, of the five national cinemas examined, Spain is the only county in which this ethnic groups received scarce representation in film (De España 1991). Instead, the prominent ethnic groups identified as the Other in early Spanish cinema were the Romani and the figure of "the Moor", which has an extensive history of Other treatment in the Spanish arts (Santaolalla 2005, Elena 1996 and 2010, Nair, 2006: 17).

Comparable with the European cinemas, Spain entered in the first stage of Loshitzky's development, representation of migrant and ethnic populations, as these began to grow in presence in Spain. During the late mid twentieth century, films depicting Latin American political exiles began to appear in Spain, however these did not emphasize their migrant status (Elena 2005b). One exception to this was the 1975 destape film *Zorrita Martínez* (Vicente Escrivá, 1975). It wasn't until the end of the twentieth century, in 1990 with the screening of *Las cartas de Alou* (*Letters from Alou* – Montxo Armendáriz, 1990), that most authors attribute Spain's creation of what has been referred to as "Spanish Immigrant Cinema" (Ballesteros 2001). Since this time, there are over 150 films that include migrant and ethnic characters. Films concentrate on migration topics such as xenophobia and racism (de Urioste 2000, Ballesteros 2001, Castiello 2001, Molina Gavilan and

---

[34] *Auf der anderen Seite*: $17,804,565; *Bend it like Beckham*: $76,583,333; *Jalla! Jalla!*: 58,404,607 Swedish Krona

Di Salvo 2001, Navarro 2009), as well as gender issues and questions of multicultural relationships (Argote 2003, Nair 2004, Flesler 2004, Fouz-Hernandez and Martínez Exposito 2007). Many of these films pursue the objective of exposing and denouncing xenophobia and racism (Ballesteros 2001), however when migration is not a main theme of a film, stereotypes and dominant population conceptions flourish. Domingo Sánchez-Mesa Martínez recognizes the major themes of: the voyage, survival in the new country, gender differences, the labor market and papers, intergenerational conflicts in same culture traditions, inter-personal conflicts and friendships or sexual relationships between host country population and migrant, cultural differences in religion, education and representations of childhood, marginalization, exploitation and nostalgia for the culture left behind and the myth of return (Sánchez-Mesa Martínez, 2011).

Both central and peripheral films tend to represent the migrant groups most numerous or idealized in Spain, with the exception of Romanians and the British who are minimally represented. Over time the representation of specific ethnicities has changed, such as the case with Latin Americans and Asians. While Latin Americans remain the favored group in films today, there is increased representation of the marginalized Latin American woman in film (Argote 2003, Castiello 2005) in the position of subaltern signaled by Gayatry Spivak: "Can the subaltern Speak?" (Spivak 1988). Other groups, such as the Moroccan male have been affiliated with historical pasts associated with the Moorish kingdoms and North African colonial campaigns (Flesler 2008).

While national heritage directors create the majority of productions, Spain also has a long tradition of collaborations in international co-productions with Latin America and Europe. One of the most prolific of these in contemporary film is the Argentine Adolfo Aristaráin with such films as *Martín (Hache)* (1997), *Lugares comunes* (*Common Ground* – 2002), and *Roma* (2004), all dealing with Argentines settled in Spain. In recent years, a trickle of migrant heritage filmmakers have begun to appear, suggesting the coming transition of Spanish cinema towards Loshitzky's second stage, in which migrant heritage filmmakers begin to create self-identity representations in films using the production and film styles of a

country go on to influence national heritage filmmakers. The most recognized of these are the half Spanish – half Beninese director Santiago Zannou (*El Truco del Manco – The One Handed Trick*, 2008; *La puerta de no retorno – The Door of No Return*, 2011) and the Beninese director Omer Oke (*Querida Bamako – Dear Bamako*, 2007; *La causa de Kripan – Kripan's Cause*, 2009). However, at this stage in Spain's transition it is impossible to imagine a migrant heritage director producing a box office success along the lines of *Torrente, El brazo tonto de la ley* (*Torrente, the Dumb Arm of the Law* – Santiago Segura, 1998) (10,902,631€), as has been described by migrant heritage filmmakers in Germany, the United Kingdom or Sweden.

Similar to the other European national cinemas analyzed, many of the most celebrated Spanish films representing migrant and ethnic identities from all three director groups have been nominated or won at the national film awards ceremony. The Goya Awards were chosen as one of the criterion to determine the parameters of the current investigation due to their being one of the most acclaimed awards possible in Spanish cinema, bestowing societal recognition and prestige to nominated film teams, for its representation of both artistic and blockbuster films, and as an indicator of what the film making community values among its own ranks.

Academic studies in Spain on migration in Spanish arts and films have run parallel with other European studies. These remain concerned with cultural studies agendas: gender, ethnicity, racism, and power. They have documented themes such as preoccupation with legal status and inflated attention to clandestine and life-threatening arrivals of immigrants, criminality, gender issues, multicultural relationships, xenophobia and racism (both exposing and denouncing) as well as a tendency to foment stereotypes and dominant population conceptions mirrored in the media.

This thesis adds to previous studies on migration and ethnicity in film carried out by other authors on Spanish and other European cinemas (Sarita Malik 2002, Parvati Nair 2004, Chema Castiello 2005, Alberto Elena 2005, Isabel Santaolalla 2005, Carrie Tarr 2005, Rochelle Wright 2005, Rob Burns 2006, José Enrique

Monterde Lozoya 2008, Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg 2010, Montserrat Iglesias Santos 2010). It serves to expand information on constructed migrant and ethnic identities and to highlight the lack of studies on point of view based discourses using a large corpus of contemporary Spanish films. Additionally, it was drawn from an interest in documenting how contemporary Spanish films portray the demographic changes taking place in Spanish society, aspects of social transculturation being documented, and how film is used to integrate and neutralize the perceived threat of immigration.

Chapter five provides the principal corpus used in this thesis. It gives a detailed description of categories related to migration and cinema taken from a statistical content analysis on migrant and ethnic representation in 60 full-length feature fiction Spanish national films from the years 2002 to 2010 nominated for a Goya Award between the years 2004 to 2011. These films were selected due to their having been nominated for a Goya award, taking place in the present contemporary era, set in Spain as the physical location of the narrative, and having 100,000 or more spectators. They were examined for director heritage, film funding, inclusion of migrant and ethnic images, the narrative level of these characters as well as their nationality, gender, and age, film setting, language abilities, and occupations. This was followed by documentation on the rhetorical treatment of the migrant and ethnic characters focusing on representations of mania, philia and phobia; food and migration and romantic and sexual relationships.

The second analysis, in chapter six, exemplifies through representative case studies diverse aspects related with the problematic. *Tapas*, *Atún y chocolate*, *El penalti más largo del mundo* and *Princesas*, all directed by national heritage directors, were critically analyzed for their representation of emerging trends in the construction of migrant and ethnic character both inside of the Goya nominated canon as well as in the broader Spanish society. The majority of the films, with the exception of *Princesas* have been minimally analyzed by other academics.

Chapter seven provides a pragmatic investigation on food, love and sexual relationships in the wider Spanish cinema. It deals with questions that have not yet been addressed by the academic literature, questions absolutely novel in the

bibliography such as the use of food as a metaphor in relations between Spaniards and migrants in Spanish films.

The majority of this investigation is centered on the detailed analysis of the corpus and the highlights are synthesized here:

To conclude this brief review of the most significant aspects of this investigation, it should be made clear that while one of the initial objectives of the thesis was to study the influence of director heritage in representing migrants and ethnic characters, this study did not contain a sufficient number of samples to accurately compare the difference between national directors and those of foreign origin.

Preliminary findings based on the films in this canon suggest that the heritage of the director and the funding sources matter greatly in the selection of migrant and ethnic character protagonist levels. This data led to the conclusion that if a film was directed by an international director or by a national heritage director involved in an international co-production, there was a high probability that a principal or secondary character would be of migrant or ethnic origin. Examples can be seen in films by the international directors of Argentine origin Adolfo Aristarain, Marcos Carnevale and Marcelo Piñeyro, whose films each contained Argentine protagonists and the fact that of the eight films created by national heritage directors that received international co-production funding 87% included migrant and ethnic characters as principal and secondary roles in their films. Whereas if the director was of national heritage and used only national funding, an ethnic or migrant character would most likely be present as a third level character or as a background character (62% out of a total of 39 films).

It is clear that the classic ethnic stereotypes outlined by Chema Castiello and Isabel Santaolalla remain present (Castiello 2005, Santaolalla 2005). These can be seen in the sexualized Latin American females (*Atraco a las 3... y media, Bienvenido a casa*, *Princesas*, *Pagafantas*) and Maghreb and sub-Saharan men without studies, naïve, and not fluent (*Atún y chocolate*, *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la* pena, *La torre de Susa*). Additionally, associations of migrants and drugs are present in a number of films (*Atún y chocolate*, *El penalti más largo del*

mundo, Sólo quiero caminar). This touches on both Bhabha and Shohat and Stam's theories on the control dominant groups retain over history, which allows them to create unchallenged stereotypes of the Other (Bhabha, 1994: 51-52; Shohat and Stam, 1994: 184).

In this sample, international directors showed a tendency to represent ethnic characters in more empathetic and favorable conditions than did national heritage directors. This included higher-level employment positions and in more equal friendships roles with Spanish friends that did not highlight their cultural differences, for example in the films *El método* (Marcelo Piñeyro), *Elsa & Fred* (Marcos Carnevale), and *Roma* (Adolfo Aristarain).

Stereotypes on who makes up the migrant population can be dangerous and there is a need for more framing in the media in this area. While a wide range of ethnicities were present, according to Spanish film, a Spanish migrant is most probably a Latin or Sub-Saharan African adult man you pass on the street (*El próximo oriente, Has conmigo lo que quieras*), an adult Argentine male with no family living in the city working in a management position (*El método*) or a female Latin American from a non-specified country, working in prostitution or the service industry (*Princesas, Mataharis*). The most numerous migrants statistically in Spain (those from Rumania, Morocco, Ecuador, and the United Kingdom) were, however, largely unrepresented.

This study shows a marked change in inclusion of specific ethnic characters. The majority of representations depicted Latin American and Caribbean characters, present in 69% of the films (11 of which presented Argentines in central character roles). Asian and South East Asian characters were represented in 15 films, a large increase from the few films listed by Santaolalla in 2005 (Santaolalla: 2005: 146). Three of these films included them in principal and secondary character roles: *Tapas, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* and *El próximo oriente*.

While many films in the 1990s focused on North African characters, in this study only seven films did so, and of the 27 films that included Sub-Saharan African and Black characters, only two included these in principal and secondary character

roles (*Biutiful* y *Cabeza de perro*). This points to an increased use of African characters as a casting shorthand to provide an "ethnic feel" to a film.

These findings can also be linked to Barbara Zecchi's signaling of the end of the first phase of migrant representation based on interest in the journey and the arrival of the migrant in Spain and a turn towards discussing the interactions between Spaniards and migrants (Zecchi, 2010: 172). They show a decreased interest in representing Moroccans and Africans in principal and secondary roles with the disappearance of *patera* narratives. The only film narrative in this study that included the arrival of a migrant was *Atún y chocolate*. Nevertheless, films continued to reproduce forced returns. These can be seen in the deportations in *Biutiful* and *Un rey en la Habana*, and the circumstantial forced returns in *Princeas* and *Pagafantas*.

Seventy-eight percent of the films showed migrants who were employed. Employment occupations were almost equally split between unskilled laborers and professional and management positions. The majority of professional and management positions were filled by three nationalities: Argentines, Europeans and Americans while unskilled labor occupations were filled by Latin Americans, Asians, Moroccans, and Sub-Saharan Africans and nationally unidentified Black characters. The continued insistence to favor Argentines, Europeans and Americans conforms with Western Europe's values in creating sub-hierarchies permitting different ceilings of possibility to different ethnic groups (Todorov 1989).

Friendship, food, love and sex are integral parts of the human experience used in films to serve as metaphorical bridges and border controls in the coming together of different cultures. At times confrontational and at times collaborative, they serve as undercurrents in individual films, vehicles that progress the film narrative.

Philia relationships between Spaniards and migrant and ethnic characters were overwhelmingly represented in films. This is a testimony to the intent by most filmmakers to represent these in humane roles as Spain explores its changing demographics.

Reoccurring in many films is the presence of overtly racist characters showing negative treatment towards migrant characters through exploitation, exclusion or elimination (Perceval, 1995: 43). This occurs in the films *Atún y chocolate, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena, Tapas*, *El penalti más largo del mundo* and *Princesas*. The treatment in these films shows an audience what racism looks like and how ugly it is. Racist interactions are often left uncommented on by other characters; however, frequently films show the transformation of racist characters by the end of the film. This was especially evident in films which pushed "assimilation" strategies in which the migrant becomes more like a Spaniard, such as in *Tapas*. The viewer is permitted to indirectly live this treatment, negotiating how they might react in and to this situation (Culler, 2000: 135). Extremely racist portrayals are rejected, permitting the viewer to feel superior to the racist character, such as the treatment of Chen by Jorge's father in *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*, while more minor racism is permitted, often serving to "reinforce the status quo", as in the inferiorizing treatment of Chen and the Chinese restaurant workers by Ángeles, Hortensia and Jorge (Larson, 2006: 14).

Romantic and sexual relationships were present in half of the films and in the large majority of films with principal and secondary ethnic or migrant characters. Comedies were more likely to show relationships than dramas. Female characters in principal and secondary roles were always linked to romantic and sexual relationships while roles for male characters were not bound to this pattern. Prostitution was primarily limited to Latin American women. A popular trope is that of marriages of convenience between Spanish males and migrant women which is has continued from early films such as *Zorita Martínez* to today's contemporary films. These involve highly attractive females who fall in love with unattractive Spanish males willing to marry them to achieve legality or acceptance (*El próximo oriente, Pagafantas*). These relationships however are in transformation, giving rise to women who "tiene[n] muy claro que amor y papeles no tienen que ir necesariamente juntos" (Zecchi, 2010: 177).

Desires for migrants to separate, assimilate and integrate (Berry, 2006: 35) are also being discussed in Spanish narratives through food. In more than half of the

426

films, Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters were represented eating together or eating ethnic foods. In films with principal and secondary character representations this was always present. The most integrated and empathetic relationships showed Spaniards and migrant or ethnic characters inviting one another to their homes for meals.

Self-identity and place-identity are bound to consumption practices that define who we are (Bell and Valentine, 1997: 3). Early films described the reluctance to accept the changes brought on by migration and were expressed through rejection of Other culture's foods (*Cosas que dejé en La Habana* and *Flores de otro mundo*, *Canícula* and *Torrente*). In the films studied here, racist characters continued to express xenophobia or dislike of migrants through the rejection of food (*Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*).

Assimilation in particular was welcomed through migrants willing to eat like Spaniards (*El penalti más largo del mundo*), stressing the cultural differences that must be accepted by the migrant to achieve this assimilation. Other films allowed the introduction of "foreign" products for exotic touches as long as the migrant assimilated to Spanish styles (*Tapas* and *El próximo oriente*). Similarly, the Spaniard learned to integrate migrant practices, such as the acceptance of Halal food (*El próximo oriente*) and Asian food (*Tapas, Otros días vendrán, 7 mesas de billar francés*) in their eating habits.

In films by migrant heritage and international directors, assimilation goals are set aside and a new vision of integration is provided (*Biutiful*, *La causa de Kripan* and *El truco del manco*). These films showed the sharing of meals by Spaniards and other migrant or ethnic characters in very equal situations that did not call attention to the act. They also showed migrant characters eating traditional foods in their own homes.

Another area of exciting change demonstrating assimilation and integration taking place in Spanish films were in the representation of children. Multiple films represented families in a move towards heterogeneous conceptions of the Spanish population. Representation of the second-generation migrant from migrant parents

has increased in film however in easily containable and assimilable quantities (ie, (*[Rec]*, *Camino, Cobardes*). Their numbers are almost equal with the representation of mixed race children, products of migrant and Spanish unions (*El próximo oriente*, *Elsa & Fred*, *Héctor*, *En la ciudad Biutiful*, and *El truco del manco*). Films appear to embrace hybridity yet remain wary of the development of ethnic minority populations, embracing Bhabha's notions on cultural overlapping (Bhabha 1994: 52-55), as long as the youth culture is made in the Spanish image. This ambivalence is also shown in the absence of siblings and extended families shown for adult migrants, when the statistical reality of family regroupings shows otherwise. In this sense films contain the migrant as a known Other, create safe and acceptable distortions of the migrant to decrease a presumed threat to society.

Future Areas of Investigation

As seen through examples from European cinema, migrant and ethnic character representation evolves when migrant heritage filmmakers emerge in greater numbers on a film scene. Future investigation will be needed as Loshitsky's predicted second and third stages of representation develop in Spanish cinema.

To continue in the future with this line of study, complementing analysis are needed focusing on the importance of point of view. This includes a thorough investigation of the contemporary influence of international directors through co-productions, especially with Latin American countries making up part of Spain's migrant population. This study found significant differences in the manner international directors represent their own heritage identities and Other identities as compared to how national heritage directors construct these same identities.

More investigation is also needed focusing on Spanish national directors, and the changes occurring as they become more sensitive to stereotypes unconsciously reproduced across multiple films in national cinema, and as they are influenced by the new generation of migrant heritage filmmakers.

In Conclusion…

Art serves as a cultural barometer. It historically captures the states of acceptance towards people and changes experienced by different societies. Films as a whole are full of nuances and varied perceptions on migrants and ethnic populations. In this work, attention has been paid to the way in which films reflect the complexity of relations between different cultural communities from a fictionalization of this experience that begins from a constructed ideology on identities.

What is certain is that art does not have a responsibility to coincide with reality, however it does carry a social responsibility with respect to its images. Film can be a powerful tool for correcting disinformation and promoting empathy and tolerance towards other cultures.

Ultimately, the academic world has a responsibility to provide the tools and information for audiences to become more aware of what they are consuming. The most powerful objective that can come out of an investigation such as this is to aid viewers to become more aware. At minimum, this includes understanding the necessity to look at the patterns produced when an identity is being projected, to question its accuracy, and to be conscious of this process. Perhaps it is only via the continuing efforts of critical audiences and the influence of migrant heritage directors that migrant and ethnic populations will be more accurately understood rather than stereotyped. How we reconcile art's responsibility with truthful representation is part of the dialogue on where we move forward on migration and film.

RESUMEN Y CONCLUSIÓN EN ESPAÑOL

Perspectivas cambiantes en los premios Goya: la construcción de la identidad inmigrante y étnica en el cine español contemporáneo (2004-2011)

La encrucijada migratoria ha definido la identidad española, aunque esto no sea reconocido hasta sus últimas consecuencias en su mitología nacional. En la actualidad, ha incidido de forma vertiginosa sustancialmente en la composición demográfica de la población. A pesar de que la crisis económica ha afectado de alguna manera este escenario, no se trata de una cuestión episódica, sino de carácter permanente. Como es observable en otros países europeos, aunque la crisis laboral influye en los flujos migratorios, las poblaciones inmigrantes en el país de acogida tienden a establecerse en primer lugar a través de las reunificaciones familiares, y asentarse a lo largo de múltiples generaciones (McNeill, 1998: on line). Además, la infraestructura económica española seguirá requiriendo la mano de obra de los inmigrantes: las predicciones estadísticas apuntan al crecimiento negativo hacia 2020 y un envejecimiento progresivo de la población, con un 32% de la población con más de sesenta y cuatro años (INE, 2012: on line). Por otra parte, a medida que las poblaciones inmigrantes producían ciudadanos nacionales de segunda y tercera generación, la xenofobia comunmente demostrada hacia dichas poblaciones en abstracto a menudo se transforma en racismo real en el proceso de integración en la comunidad de origen. El amplio espectro de la crisis, por otra parte, proyecta hostilidad y tensión hacia dichas comunidades inmigrantes y étnicas, por lo que los objetivos del multiculturalismo, y la integración y asimilación de las nuevas comunidades, más allá de prejuicios etnocéntricos, son esenciales para desarrollar estrategias sociales de coexistencia.

En el primer capítulo de esta investigación, se pone de manifiesto como el auto conocimiento es la base del reconocimiento identitario (Culler 1997) que permitirá construcciones ideológicas de identidad sociales y culturales (Berger and

Luckmann 1966, Tajfel 1981, Burke and Stets 2009). Cuando diferentes grupos culturales entran en contacto, la estrategia más frecuente es la de la creación de un modelo binario de alteridad, intentando separar el grupo de procedencia frente a la amenaza velada de lo Otro (Berger and Luckmann 1966, Tajfel 1981, Perceval 1995, Hall 1996, Burke and Stets 2009). No obstante, el mundo actual está cada vez más "criollizado", según la célebre expresión de Glissant, y se advierte cada vez más la existencia de un modelo híbrido en el que las culturas se solapan y mezclan (Glissant 1981, Bhaba 1994, García Canclini 1995, Hall 1996).

El contacto con otras culturas a menudo se produce a través de la información de los medios de comunicación, como en el caso poderoso del discurso televisivo. La dependencia de los media sobre los sucesos crea una situación de experiencias informativas controladas institucionalmente (Thompson 1995, Gabás 2001, van Dijk 2002), en las que los discursos sobre poblaciones étnicas e inmigrantes se caracterizan por su carácter estereotipado y sensacionalista. Las imágenes visuales y los textos sobre dichas comunidades, proyecciones culturales sobre el Otro, se controlan desde un modelo de alteridad (Bhabha 1994, Shohat and Stam 1994) que soslaya los datos empíricos sobre éstas para convertirse en un signo de poder (Said 1978, Hall 1982, Bhabha 1994, Shohat and Stam 1994). Por otra parte, representación y realidad están en constante intercambio: la manera en que las minorías étnicas y los grupos inmigrantes se representan está estrechamente conectada con el modo en que son tratados en la sociedad (Dyer 1993). En cuanto a los discursos artísticos en particular, filtrados desde los media, exhiben los mismos mensajes estereotipados (García Canclini 1995, Tarr 1997, Larson 2006), si bien la naturaleza inherente a los fenómenos artísticos tiene la capacidad de problematizar esta relación, reformularla e incluso subvertirla.

El presente estudio tiene por objetivo el análisis de representaciones inmigrantes y étnicas en el imaginario artístico español, especialmente en relación con el arte cinematográfico, debido a su poder privilegiado para expresar las representaciones colectivas. Las películas pueden desarrollar en dos horas lo que en la información de los media se presenta en ráfagas brevísimas, a la vez que llegan a una audiencia amplísima, como puede comprobarse cuando se toma en cuenta la taquilla, los

alquileres de películas o las descargas de internet. Este estudio ha mostrado cómo la imaginación artística consciente e inconscientemente reproduce las ideologías dominantes prevalentes en un tiempo y espacio particular, como describen Shohat y Stam (1994). Sin embargo, los grupos minoritarios y las audiencias también tienen el poder de influenciar la representación a través del activismo y la autorrepresentación. Así, la película *La fuente amarilla* suscitó tal resistencia por parte de la comunidad china y el embajador chino en España, dadas las vehementes protestas de esta comunidad sobre los estereotipos exhibidos, que su equipo técnico se vió obligado a sustituir a los actores chinos en el reparto final (Santaolalla, 2005: 148).

Los estudios sobre cine y representación de la comunidades paralelas son importantes por su habilidad para traer a la conciencia discursos subyacentes observables en un sistema de industria fílmica nacional que pueden pasar desapercibidos debido a su aceptada "normalidad". Los estudios culturales privilegian el objeto artístico como un documento, además de cómo objeto artístico (Palacio, 2007: 71), por lo que, en lo que respecta a las construcciones de identidad cultural, analizan las nociones de autoidentidad, relaciones históricas y de alteridad entre comunidades y la agenda política del momento, teniendo en cuenta las múltiples posibilidades del fenómeno artístico para elucidar representaciones discursivas dominantes (Kellner 2009). En otro orden de cosas, desde el ámbito disciplinar de la literatura comparada, la imagología considera el doble papel del autor como creador artístico y representante de una comunidad, compartiendo muchos de sus estereotipos en un periodo histórico concreto, lo que es perfectamente extrapolable al director cinematográfico en el caso que nos ocupa (Moll, 1999: 360-1). Además, a través del análisis de personajes activos y pasivos (Casetti and di Chio 1990) y la atención a la subordinación estructural y a la jerarquía de dominación dentro de las representaciones estandarizadas, los textos fílmicos se muestran altamente reveladores (Shohat and Stam 1994).

En el capítulo segundo se desarrolla la hipótesis de que el cine nacional basado en las fronteras territoriales es controvertido en la era actual, dado que los límites fronterizos están cada vez más difuminados y cuestionados, y las

producciones fílmicas suelen ser multinacionales (Higson 2000, Hayward 2000, Choi 2006). Resulta también difícil argumentar que los cines nacionales representan las identidades oriundas, puesto que dichas identidades, así como el propio concepto de "nación", no dejan de ser una construcción ideológica. No obstante, este trabajo defiende la idea de que los cines nacionales tienen entidad como discurso fílmico que comparte estrategias de producción, exhibición y distribución, formando el magma de unos estilos, estructuras narrativas, temas y géneros fílmicos contrapuestos a Hollywood (Choi 2006, Saeys 2009).

Además, los análisis de esta sección se han centrado en el papel del director cinematográfico, lo que se basa en parte en la tradición de cine de *auteur* en el repertorio fílmico europeo y español (Evans, 1999: 2), si bien no se indaga sobre su poética o su estilo sino sobre su identidad étnica y la manera en que este aspecto determina cómo él o ella se representa a sí mismo y a los otros en la producción. Además, es importante cómo con frecuencia en el cine europeo el director es guionista a su vez de la película, por lo que está directamente implicado en la etnicidad de los personajes y su tratamiento. La identidad está constantemente reflejada, protegida y desafiada por el agente de la representación y por el punto de vista adoptado, concepto que se usa en esta tesis para referirnos a la perspectiva conceptual desde la que los discursos en estas representaciones influencian los discursos nacionales (Chatman 1978) y cómo estos discursos son posiciones enmarcadas y limitadas por un agente discursivo, en este caso el director, dentro de un diálogo cultural más amplio (Foucault 1971).

Esta investigación se centra en tres identidades basadas en la herencia del director: directores de herencia nacional, inmigrante e internacional. Fuera de España, los directores de herencia inmigrante han sido objeto privilegiado de análisis (Shohat and Stam 1994, Naficy 1996, Chaisson 2000, Hayward 2000b, Marks 2000, Naficy 2001, Desai 2004, Ezra and Rowden 2006, Saeys 2009b, Berghahn and Sternberg 2010). Sin embargo, los directores mismos son bastante reacios a ser clasificados en función de este aspecto (Saeys 2009a, Hjort, Jorholt and Redvall 2010). Desde el discurso académico de la teoría postcolonial y los estudios culturales, sin embargo, la identidad del director puede ser un punto

estratégico que manifiesta la importancia del reconocimiento de múltiples voces en el proceso de enunciación artística.

En el tercer capítulo, se proporciona un análisis comparativo de cuatro cines europeos a partir de cuatro países con un amplia tradición de herencia inmigrante – Francia, Alemania, Gran Bretaña y Suecia-. Aunque cada uno de estos países ha tenido una situación histórica particular y posee una mezcla heterogénea distinta de poblaciones inmigrantes, sus industrias fílmicas han manifestado la evolución de este fenómeno en forma similar, de manera que pueden convertirse en modelo predictivo para el cine español. Así, cada país representó grupos étnicos históricos en los comienzos de su industria cinematográfica con imágenes de judíos, gitanos y, en el caso de Francia e Inglaterra, a través de imágenes coloniales exóticas. Por otra parte, a medida que las poblaciones inmigrantes crecían en cada país, los directores de herencia nacional empezaron a aumentar de forma exponencial su presencia en las películas. En una tercera fase, la consecuencia natural de una mayor hibridación identitaria tuvo como efecto la emergencia de directores de herencia inmigrante que cambiaron los tipos y los temas de estas representaciones y a su vez influenciaron las películas con dirección de herencia nacional.

Este ciclo sirve para apoyar el modelo explicativo de Yosefa Loshitzky, quien describe una fenomenología similar en la representación de grupos inmigrantes y étnicos para el cine europeo (Loshitzky 2010: 15). El primer estadio contempla a los directores de herencia nacional representando inmigrantes en posiciones de alteridad, mostrando tanto solidaridad como rechazo, como por ejemplo, en Alemania, en la que la primera olada de este cine fue conocida como *Guestworker Cinema* (Burns 2006) o *Cinema of Alienation* (Seeßlen 2003), seguido por *Cinema of the Affected* (Burns 2006). Estas películas describieron inmigrantes de primera y segunda generación como víctimas y marginales, muchas veces centrándose en el tema mítico del retorno (Ewing, 2002; Burns, 2006).

Esto fue seguido por una segunda etapa de coexistencia en al que los directores de herencia inmigrante emergieron y empezaron a crear películas usando los estilos fílmicos y de producción del país. Estas películas incluyeron representaciones autoidentitarias de personajes inmigrantes y étnicos e influenciaron la manera en

que los directores de herencia nacional representaban estos personajes. En Francia, el movimiento Beur se creó por directores de segunda y tercera generación de origen árabe y magrebí. Esto fue seguido por *Cinéma de banlieue*, creado por directores de procedencia nacional e inmigrante y centrada en los guetos *banlieue* (Monterde 2008, Tarr 2005).

Por último, en una fase posterior, la representación se centró en narraciones universales no centradas necesariamente en el horizonte migratorio. En este segundo momento, y a medida que los artistas de herencia inmigrante empezaron a colaborar con los creadores de herencia nacional, se cambió drásticamente el espectro de las representaciones inmigrantes y étnicas, posibilitándose nuevas imágenes en el imaginario fílmico. En el momento en el que los creadores de herencia inmigrante comenzaron a hacer películas, se redescribieron a sí mismos y sus culturas respectivas centrándose en diégesis ajenas a dicha problemática, como los conflictos intergeneracionales.

Muchas películas de directores de herencia inmigrante han sido reconocidas con nominaciones y premios nacionales, aparte de ser éxitos de taquilla. Ejemplos incluyen *Auf der anderen Seite* (*The Edge of Heaven*, 2007) del director Turco-Alemán Fatih Akin, nominado y ganador en los Premios *Deutscher Filmpreis* (13,513,896€), *Bend it Like Beckham* (2002), de la directora británico-indio Gurinder Chadha, nominado en los Premios de la *British Film Academy* (58,127,745€) o *Jalla! Jalla!* (2000), nominado en los Premios *Guldbagge* por el director Lebenese-sueco Josef Fares (6,758,756€)[35] (Box Office Mojo, n.d.: on line; Swedish Film Institute, n.d.: on line).

En lo que se refiere al cine español, el cuarto capítulo realiza un recorrido sobre el contacto histórico de España con las culturas de la otredad y su transformación reciente en un país de acogida para inmigrantes. En esta tesis se ha llevado a cabo una comparación entre el cine europeo y el español en la construcción conflictiva de dichas identidades, describiéndose cómo el cine español está siguiendo una trayectoria similar a la de Francia, Alemania, Gran Bretaña y Suecia. Como en

---

[35] *Auf der anderen Seite*: $17,804,565; *Bend it like Beckham*: $76,583,333; *Jalla! Jalla!*: 58,404,607 Krona Sueca

estas industrias cinematográficas, en los comienzos del cine en España, a partir de 1900, los grupos étnicos históricos representados son los gitanos, "moros" (África del norte y central), y latinoamericanos (Elena 1996, Santaolalla 2005). Sin embargo, debido a la expulsión histórica de los judíos, de las tradiciones fílmicas de los cuatro países examinados España es el único lugar en el que este grupo étnico brilla por su ausencia (De España 1991), mientras que los grupos étnicos prominentes identificados como imagen de la alteridad en el temprano cine español fueron los gitanos y los moros, cuyo tratamiento ha sido bien estudiado en el arte y la literatura españoles (Santaolalla 2005, Elena 1996 and 2010, Nair, 2006: 17).

Así pues, de manera comparable con el cine europeo, España entró en la primera fase del desarrollo de Loshitzky, la representación de poblaciones inmigrantes y étnicas existentes en España. A finales de la segunda mitad del siglo XX, las películas describiendo exiliados políticos latinoamericanos empezaron progresivamente a hacer su aparición, sin embargo este dato no fue excesivamente relevante (la película de destape *Zorrita Martínez* de Vicente Escrivá de 1975 constituyó una excepción al respecto). No fue hasta finales de siglo, en 1990, con la filmación de *Las cartas de Alou,* cuando la mayoría de los autores consignaron la aparición en España de un "cine de inmigración"(Ballesteros 2001). Desde este momento, se han creado aproximadamente ciento cincuenta películas que incluyen personajes inmigrantes. De estas, la mayoría se centran en tópicos hacia la inmigración indicativos de la presencia de xenofobia y racismo (de Urioste 2000, Ballesteros 2001, Castiello 2001, Molina Gavilan and Di Salvo 2001, Navarro 2009) así como de cuestiones de género o relaciones multiculturales, es decir, muchas de estas películas persiguen el objetivo de exposición y denuncia (Ballesteros 2001, Argote 2003, Nair 2004, Flesler 2004, Fouz-Hernandez and Martínez Exposito 2007). No obstante, cuando la inmigración no es el principal tema de la película, surgen cuestiones sobre los estereotipos y las concepciones de la población dominante. De forma práctica, los temas más habituales han sido enumerados por Domingo Sánchez-Mesa (2011): viaje, supervivencia en el nuevo país, diferencias de género, mercado de trabajo y papeles, conflictos intergeneracionales en las tradiciones culturales propias, conflictos interpresonales

y amistad o relaciones sexuales entre la población de origen y el emigrante, diferencias culturales en la religión, educación y representación de la infancia, marginalización, explotación, nostalgia por la cultura dejada atrás y el mito del retorno.

Tanto las películas principales como las periféricas tienden a representar a los grupos de inmigrantes más numerosos o valorados en España, con la excepción de los rumanos y los británicos, que están mínimamente representados. A medida que ha pasado el tiempo la representación de etnicidades específicas ha cambiado, como ocurre con los latinoamericanos y los asiáticos. Mientras que los latinoamericanos continúan siendo el grupo más favorecido en el cine actual, se aprecia una representación creciente de las mujeres latinoamericanas en el cine (Argote 2003, Castiello 2005) en la posición de subalternidad señalada por Gayatry Spivak: "Can the subaltern Speak?" (Spivak 1988). Otros grupos, tales como los marroquíes, aparecen asociados a pasados históricos relacionados con Al Andalus o las campañas coloniales del norte de África (Flesler 2008).

Aunque los directores de herencia nacional crean la mayoría del cine hecho en España, podemos advertir también la existencia de una larga experiencia de participación en coproducciones internacionales con América Latina y Europa. Uno de los directores más prolíficos en el cine contemporáneo es el argentino Adolfo Aristarain con películas como *Martin (Hache)* (1997), *Lugares comunes* (2002), y *Roma* (2004), todas relacionadas con argentinos establecidos en España. Por otra parte, en años recientes, han comenzado a aparecer directores de procedencia inmigrante, sugiriendo la transición creciente del cine español hacia la segunda etapa de Loshitzky, creando autorrepresentaciones en el cine de producción nacional. Los más reconocidos de éstos son el director medio español-medio beninés Santiago Zannou (*El Truco del Manco*, 2008; *La puerta de no retorno*, 2011) y el director beninés Omer Oke (*Querida Bamako*, 2007; *La causa de Kripan*, 2009). Sin embargo, en este estadio de la transición española es imposible imaginar un director de procedencia inmigrante con gran éxito de taquilla en la línea de *Torrente, El brazo tonto de la ley* (Santiago Segura, 1998)

(10,902,631€), como se ha descrito anteriormente en el caso de directores de herencia inmigrante en Alemania, Reino Unido o Suecia.

No obstante, de forma similar a otros cines europeos nacionales analizados, muchas de las películas españolas más celebres representan imágenes de inmigrantes y han sido objeto de nominación o han obtenido algún premio en certámenes nacionales. Los premios Goya se han elegido como uno de los criterios para determinar los parámetros de la presente investigación debido a que constituyen uno de los reconocimientos más importantes del cine español, proporcionando valoración social y prestigo a los equipos de producción de las películas nominadas, representativas tanto de las tendencias artísticas como de la comercialidad del cine hecho en España, e indicador de la evaluación comparativa de su trascendencia.

Los estudios académicos en España sobre el discurso fílmico han ido paralelos a los de otros estudios europeos con agendas relacionadas con los estudios culturales, prestando atención a fenómenos relacionados con el género, la etnicidad, el racismo o el poder. Han documentado temas tales como la preocupación con el estatuto legal o la atención selectiva hacia la llegada clandestina y amenazadora de inmigrantes, la criminalidad, los asuntos de género, las relaciones multiculturales, xenofobia y racismo (tanto mostrándolo como denunciándolo) así como la tendencia a fomentar los estereotipos y las concepciones de la población dominante reflejados en los media. De hecho, esta tesis doctoral se añade a monografías previas sobre la inmigración y la etnicidad en el cine llevados a cabo por otros autores (Sarita Malik 2002, Parvati Nair 2004, Chema Castiello 2005, Alberto Elena 2005, Isabel Santaolalla 2005, Carrie Tarr 2005, Rochelle Wright 2005, Rob Burns 2006, José Enrique Monterde Lozoya 2008, Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg 2010, Montserrat Iglesias Santos 2010). Ha servido para complementar la información sobre identidades inmigrantes étnicas construidas y para enfatizar la falta de estudios sobre discursos basados en el punto de vista usando un amplio corpus de películas españolas contemporáneas. Además de eso, ha analizado la manera en la que el cine español retrata los cambios demográficos que tienen lugar en la sociedad española, aspectos de transculturación social documentados y cómo

el cine a través de imágenes ideológicas y utópicas integra y neutraliza la amenaza de la inmigración.

El capítulo cinco proporciona el principal corpus usado en esa tesis, mediante una descripción detallada de las categorías relacionadas con la inmigración y el cine, tomadas de un análisis estadístico de contenidos, en sesenta películas españolas completas desde los años 2002 a 2010 que hubieran sido nominadas para los premios Goya entre los años 2004-2011. Los criterios de selección, además de dicha nominación a los premios Goya, se referían a su contextualización en España en el momento presente y a la existencia para las mismas de un número de espectadores no inferior a los 100.000. Las películas se han analizado teniendo en cuenta la herencia del director, la fuente de sus ingresos, la inclusión de inmigrantes o imágenes étnicas, los espacios, habilidades lingüísticas o profesión de los personajes. Se ha incidido de igual manera en la documentación sobre el tratamiento retórico de los personajes inmigrantes y de otras etnias, centrándose en la representación de la mania, filia o fobia, los usos culturales gastronómicos o sus relaciones románticas y sexuales.

El segundo análisis, en el capítulo seis, ejemplifica a través del análisis de casos representativos distintos aspectos relacionados con la problemática general. *Tapas, Atún y chocolate, El penalti más largo del mundo* y *Princesas*, todas dirigidas por directores nacionales, se han analizado críticamente por su representación de corrientes emergentes en la construcción de identidades inmigrantes, tanto dentro del canon nominado para los Goya como en la sociedad española en general. La mayoría de las películas, con la excepción de *Princesas*, nunca habían sido analizadas en detalle previamente. A continuación -capítulo siete- se proporciona una investigación pragmática sobre los usos gastronómicos y la comida como metáfora de las relaciones entre españoles e inmigrantes en las películas españolas, así como del amor y las relaciones sexuales en el cine español en general, cuestiones hasta ahora no abordadas por la bibliografía fílmica al uso.

Para concluir esta breve recapitulación de los aspectos más significativos de la presente investigación, hemos de poner de manifiesto que mientras que uno de los objetivos iniciales de la tesis era estudiar la influencia de la herencia del director en

la representación de personajes inmigrantes y étnicos, la evidencia nos ha demostrado la inexistencia de una muestra suficiente de películas de dirección extranjera para extraer datos concluyentes al respecto en términos comparativos.

Los resultados preliminares basados en el análisis de las películas de este canon sugieren que la herencia del director y las fuentes de financiación importan mucho en la selección del reparto. Se ha advertido que si una película ha sido dirigida por un director internacional o por un director de herencia nacional involucrado en una coproducción internacional, existe una alta probabilidad de que el personaje principal o secundario sea de origen inmigrante. Los ejemplos se puede ver en las películas de los directores internacionales de origen argentino Adolfo Aristarain, Marcos Carnevale y Marcelo Piñeyro, entre cuyas películas figuran protagonistas argentinos. Además de las ocho películas realizadas por directores nacionales que recibieron coproducción internacional de financiación, el 87% del corpus incluye personajes inmigrantes o minorías étnicas en los roles principales y secundarios de sus películas. Por el contrario, si el director era español y utilizaba sólo la financiación nacional, lo más probable es que el papel de los personajes de otras etnias fuera intrascendente o puramente ambiental (62% de un total de 39 películas).

Por lo demás, se ha corroborado cómo los estereotipos étnicos clásicos descritos por Chema Castiello y Isabel Santaolalla siguen presentes (Castiello de 2005, Santaolalla 2005). Estos pueden observarse en la cosificación sexual de la inmigrantes latinoamericanas (*Atraco a las 3 ... y media, Bienvenido a Pagafantas casa, Princesas*) así como en la ignorancia y torpeza lingüística de los individuos provenientes del Magreb y el África subsahariana (*Atún y chocolate, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*) o la asociación con la droga (*Atún y chocolate, El penalti más largo del mundo, Sólo quiero caminar*). Ello confirma las teorías de Bhabha y Shohat y Stam sobre el control que los grupos dominantes mantienen sobre la historia, lo que les permite crear estereotipos inamovibles del Otro (Bhabha, 1994: 51-52; Shohat y Stam, 1994: 184).

En este corpus, los directores internacionales mostraron una tendencia a representar los personajes étnicos con más empatía y en mejores condiciones que

los directores de herencia nacional. Por ejemplo, los inmigrantes representados ocupan puestos de empleo de alto nivel y se representan en condiciones de igualdad con los españoles sin poner de relieve sus diferencias culturales, por ejemplo en las películas *El método* (Marcelo Piñeyro), *Elsa y Fred* (Marcos Carnevale) y *Roma* (Adolfo Aristarain).

En otro orden de cosas, aunque hay una gran variedad de etnias presentes en el cine español, un inmigrante es probablemente un hombre adulto latino o sub-sahariano que aparente como figurante ocasional en el reparto (*El próximo oriente, Haz conmigo lo que quieras*), un hombre adulto argentino sin familia que vive en la ciudad trabajando en un puesto ejecutivo (*El método*) o una mujer latinoamericana, procedente de un país no especificado, que trabaja en la prostitución o en la industria de servicios (*Princesas, Mataharis*). Sorprendentemente, los inmigrantes más numerosos en España -estadísticamente son los de Rumania, Marruecos, Ecuador y el Reino Unido- apenas tienen representación. Se ha documentado que la mayoría de las veces se representan personajes de América Latina y el Caribe, presente en el 69% de las películas (11 de las cuales presentaron argentinos en papeles de personajes centrales). Personajes del sudeste asiático y de Asia oriental están representados en 15 películas, un gran aumento respecto a las películas citadas por Santaolalla en 2005 (Santaolalla: 2005: 146). Además, tres de estas películas incluyen papeles protagonistas y secundarios para inmigrantes de dicha procedencia: Tapas, Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena y El próximo oriente.

Aunque muchas películas en la década de 1990 se centraron en personajes norteafricanos, de las 27 películas que incluyen personajes subsaharianos o negros, solamente dos tuvieron relevancia significativa (*Biutiful* y *Cabeza de perro*). Esto apunta a un mayor uso de los personajes africanos para dar un "sentido multicultural" a una película sin profundizar en estos personajes.

Estos resultados también confirman la teoría de Barbara Zecchi sobre el final de una primera fase de la representación de la inmigración, la del viaje y llegada de los inmigrantes a España, y el cambio hacia un interés en la interacción entre españoles y inmigrantes (Zecchi, 2010: 172). Con la desaparición del tema de las

pateras, disminuye el interés en la representación de marroquíes y africanos en papeles principales y secundarios (la única película en este estudio que incluyó la llegada de un inmigrante fue *Atún y chocolate*). Sin embargo, el cine siguió reflejando retornos forzados, como se puede apreciar en las deportaciones en *Biutiful*, *Un rey en La Habana*, *Princesas* y *Pagafantas*.

Por último, un setenta y ocho por ciento de las películas mostraron a los inmigrantes con empleo. Los puestos de trabajo se dividieron casi por igual entre los trabajadores cualificados y no cualificados. La mayoría de los puestos profesionales y de gestión fueron ocupados por tres nacionalidades: argentinos, europeos y estadounidenses, mientras que las puestos no cualificados de trabajo fueron ocupados por latinoamericanos, asiáticos, marroquíes y subsaharianos. La continua insistencia en favor de los argentinos, los europeos y los estadounidenses se ajusta a los valores y subjerarquías del imaginario cultural europeo (Todorov, 1989).

Relaciones de filia, por otra parte, se atestiguan en un gran numero de películas, lo que constituye un testimonio de la intención de la mayoría de los directores de cine en representar los personajes inmigrantes y minorías étnicas en papeles dignos mientras España se adapta a sus cambios demográficos. Por último, la amistad, la comida, el amor y el sexo son parte integral de la experiencia humana utilizada en las películas para crear puentes metafóricos y fronteras en los encuentros de diferentes culturas. Un tropo recurrente en las películas contemporáneas es la de los matrimonios de conveniencia entre varones españoles y mujeres inmigrantes que, siguiendo el patrón de la película más antigua *Zorrita Martínez*. Estas películas incluyen mujeres muy atractivas que se enamoran a varones españoles poco agraciados dispuestos a casarse con ellas para ayudarlas lograr la legalidad o aceptación (*El próximo oriente, Pagafantas*). Estas relaciones, sin embargo, están cambiando, dando lugar a mujeres que tienen "muy claro que amor y papeles no tienen que ir necesariamente juntos" (Zecchi, 2010: 177).

En más de la mitad de las películas, españoles e inmigrantes fueron representados comiendo juntos o compartiendo alimentos procedentes de otras tradiciones gastronómicas. La propia identidad y la identidad relacionada con

nuestra condición cultural está íntimamente ligado a prácticas de consumo que definen lo que somos (Bell y Valentine, 1997: 3). Las primeras películas sobre la inmigración mostraban la reticencia a aceptar los cambios provocados por ésta, manifestados a través del rechazo de los alimentos de la cultura del Otro (*Cosas que deje en La Habana y Flores de otro mundo, Canícula, Torrente*). En cambio, muchas películas apoyaron la asimilación de extranjeros dispuestos a comer como los españoles (*El penalti más largo del mundo*), haciendo hincapié en las diferencias culturales que deben ser aceptadas por el inmigrante para lograr esta asimilación. Otras películas permitieron la introducción de hábitos gastronómicos ajenos como toques exóticos, siempre y cuando el inmigrante mostrara su predisposición a asimilarlos al estilo de los españoles (*Tapas, El próximo oriente*). Del mismo modo, el español ha aprendido a integrar las prácticas de inmigrantes, como la aceptación de los alimentos halal (*El próximo oriente*) y la comida asiática (*Tapas, Otros días vendrán, 7 mesas de billar francés*). En cambio, en las películas de directores de herencia inmigrante (*Biutiful, La causa de Kripan, El truco del manco*) se muestra a españoles y extranjeros compartiendo comidas en situaciones muy neutras que no llaman la atención sobre este hecho.

Otro ámbito de cambio que muestra la asimilación e integración que hay en el cine español se encuentra en la representación de los niños. La representación de los inmigrantes de segunda generación se ha incrementado en el cine pero no de forma especialmente significativa (*[Rec], Camino, Cobardes*). El número de películas es similar al de aquéllas que contienen representaciones de niños mestizos, producto de uniones entre inmigrantes y españoles (E*l próximo oriente, Elsa & Fred, Héctor, En la ciudad, Biutiful, El truco del manco*). Estas películas parecen aceptar la hibridez con las poblaciones minoritarias aún con ciertos recelos, de acuerdo con una parte de las ideas de Bhabha sobre la superposición cultural (cultural overlapping) (Bhabha 1994: 52-55). Esta ambivalencia se muestra también en la ausencia de hermanos y en la familia menos nuclear de los inmigrantes adultos, cuando la realidad estadística de las reagrupaciones familiares demuestra lo contrario. En este sentido, las películas que encapsulan al inmigrante

como un Otro conocido, crean distorsiones seguras y aceptables de su presencia para disminuir el carácter amenazante que suponen.

Las áreas futuras de investigación

Como se ha visto a través de ejemplos de cine europeo, la representación del mestizaje étnico y la hibridación cultural se desarrolla sobre todo cuando los cineastas de herencia inmigrante aumentan en número. Futuras investigaciones sobre la segunda y tercera etapa de representaciones de cineastas de herencia inmigrante, de acuerdo con Loshitzky, serán necesarias para el cine español en el futuro.

Para complementar el análisis de esta tesis, será necesario centrarse en la importancia del punto de vista de las nuevas producciones. Esto incluye una exhaustiva investigación de la influencia contemporánea de directores internacionales a través de las coproducciones, especialmente con los países latinoamericanos que forman parte de la población inmigrante en España. Como se ha puesto de manifiesto, este estudio encontró diferencias significativas en los directores internacionales sobre la manera de afrontar su propia identidad y la ajena en comparación con los directores de herencia nacional.

Además sería aconsejable desarrollar una investigación a partir de la labor de directores de herencia nacional, a medida que van cambiando su reproducción estereotipada de la realidad por influencia del cine llevado a cabo por la nueva generación de directores de herencia inmigrante.

Para concluir…

El arte sirve como un barómetro cultural. Históricamente describe los estados de aceptación hacia los cambios experimentados por las distintas sociedades. En este caso, se ha prestado atención sobre todo a la manera en que las películas reflejan la complejidad de relaciones entre comunidades étnicas diferentes desde la

ficcionalización de dicha experiencia a partir de la construcción ideológica de la identidad. Es cierto que el arte no tiene porque que coincidir con lo empíricamente real, pero debe tener cierta responsabilidad con respecto a sus representaciones. El cine puede ser una herramienta de gran alcance para corregir las categorías etnocéntricas y promover la empatía y la tolerancia hacia el Otro.

Al fin y al cabo, el mundo académico tiene una importante responsabilidad al proporcionar las herramientas y la información para que los receptores sean más conscientes de lo que están "consumiendo". En definitiva, el objetivo más poderoso que puede conseguirse de una investigación como esta es ayudar a los espectadores a ser más conscientes. Como mínimo, esto incluye la comprensión de la necesidad de observar los lugares comunes que se producen cuando una identidad se proyecta, cuestionar su exactitud y ser conscientes de este proceso, la posibilidad de conseguir representaciones precisas y no estereotipadas de las poblaciones inmigrantes y, en definitiva, del Otro, que componen el nuevo paisaje de una Europa "criollizada", en palabras de Glissant. Cómo reconciliar la responsabilidad del arte con la representación de la realidad y del imaginario cultural es parte del diálogo sobre la inmigración y el cine.

RESUMEN Y CONCLUSIÓN EN ESPAÑOL

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Texts

ABUÍN GONZÁLEZ, Anxo (2011) "National Theaters on the Iberian Peninsula", Comparative Literature and Culture (on line), 13/5, December, <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol13/iss5/11> [July 29, 2012]

ACADEMIA DE LAS ARTES Y LAS CIENCIAS CINEMATOGRÁFICAS DE ESPAÑA (n.d.) (on line) <http://www.academiadecine.com/> [July 1, 2009].

ACTIS, Walter, PEREDA, Carlos and DE PRADA, Miguel Ángel (2002) "Inmigración, escuela y mercado de trabajo. Una radiografía actualizada", *Colección Estudios Sociales* (on line), 11, Colectivo Ioé, Fundación La Caixa <http://www.colectivoioe.org/index.php/publicaciones_libros/show/id/44> [July 28, 2011].

AGUILAR CARRASCO, Pilar (2006) "Una mirada crítica sobre el cine español", *Labrys, estudios feministas* (on line), June-December 10, <http://www.unb.br/ih/his/gefem/labrys10/espanha/cinepilar.htm> [April 1, 2007].

---- (2010) "La representación de las mujeres en las películas españolas: un análisis de contenido", in ARRANZ, Fátima (ed.) *Cine y Género en España,* Madrid, Ediciones Cátedra, pp. 211-273.

AGUSTÍN, Laura María (2001) "Mujeres migrantes ocupadas en servicios sexuales", *Mujer, inmigración y trabajo, Collective Ioé* (on line)*,* IMSERSO: 647-716, <http://www.nswp.org/pdf/AGUSTIN-MIGRANTES.PDF> [April 1, 2007].

ALVAREZ JUNCO, José (2002) "The Formation of Spanish Identity and Its Adaptation to the Age of Nations", *History & Memory* (on line), 14/1/2, Fall, pp. 13-36, <http://www.omp.org.pl/junco.htm> [May 14, 2005].

ÁLVAREZ SUÁREZ, Inmaculada (2008) "Masculinidades encontradas: Estrategias de representación de género en el cine español sobre inmigración cubana", *Secuencias: Revista de historia del cine*, 28, pp. 61-76.

ANDERSON, Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities: the Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* New York and London, Verso, 2003.

ANSOLA GONZÁLEZ, Txomin (2003) "Una crisis tan interminable como enmascarada", in GARCÍA, Luis Alonso (ed.) *Once miradas sobre la crisis y el cine español,* Madrid, Ocho y Medio, pp. 41- 56.

ANWAR, Muhammad (1998) *Between Cultures: Continuity and Change in the Lives of Young Asians,* London, Routledge.

ARGOTE, Rosabel (2003) "La mujer inmigrante en el cine español del inaugurado siglo XXI", *Feminismo /s: revista del Centro de Estudios sobre la Mujer de la Universidad de Alicante* (on line), 2, pp. 121-138, <www.mugak.eu/ ef_etp_files/view/Rosabel_Argote_La_mujer_inmigrante_en_el_cine_espa%C3 %B1ol.pdf?package_id=2392> [April 1, 2007].

---- (2006) "Princesas... de la calle alejadas de sus reinos. (Re)presentaciones de mujeres inmigrantes en el cine de 2005", *Mugak* (on line)*,* 34, pp. 17-22, <http://revista.mugak.eu/articulos/show/364> [September 27, 2007].

ARRANZ, Fátima (2010a) "La igualdad de género en la practica cinematográfica española", in ARRANZ (ed.) *Cine y Género en España,* Madrid, Ediciones Cátedra, pp. 17-68.

---- (2010b) "La masculinidad hegemónica 'versus' la igualdad de género: los discursos sobre la igualdad en el cine español", in ARRANZ, Fátima (ed.) *Cine y Género en España,* Madrid, Ediciones Cátedra, pp. 275-348.

AZCONA PASTOR, José Manuel (2004) *Possible Paradises: Basque Emigration to Latin America,* trans. by Roland Vazquez, Reno, University of Nevada Press.

BAHLMANN, Lith and REICHELT, Matthias (2012) "Sinti and Roma in German Film", *Goethe-Institut e. V., Internet-Redaktion* (on line), April <http://www. goethe.de/kue/flm/fmg/en9172364.htm> [July 12, 2012].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BAKARI, Imruh (2000) "A Journey from the Cold. Rethinking Black Film-Making in Britain", in OWUSU, Kwesi (ed.) *Black British Culture and Society: a Text Reader,* London and New York, Routledge, 2005, pp. 246-256.

BALFOUR, Sebastian (2000) "Spain From 1931 to the Present", in CARR, Raymond (ed.) *Spain: a History,* New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 243-282.

BALLESTEROS, Isolina (2001) *Cine (Ins)urgente- Textos fílmicos y contextos culturales de la España posfranquista*, Madrid, Editorial Fundamentos.

---- (2005) "Embracing the Other: the Feminization of Spanish 'Immigration Cinema'", *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas*, 2/1, September, pp. 3-14.

---- (2006) "Foreign and Racial Masculinities in Contemporary Spanish Film", *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas*, 3/3, pp. 169-185.

BAÑÓN HERNÁNDEZ, Antonio Miguel (1996) *Racismo, discurso periodístico y didáctica de la lengua,* Almería, Universidad de Almería, Servicio de Publicaciones.

BARTHES, Roland (1971) "From Work to Text", in RICE, Philip and WAUGH, Patricia (eds.) *Modern Literary Theory*, New York, Arnold, 1996.

BARTOV, Omer (2005) *The 'Jew' in Cinema: From the Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust,* Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

BAUMAN, Zygmunt (1993) *Postmodern Ethics*, Malden, Oxford and Carlton, Blackwell Publishing.

BELL, David and GILL, Valentine (eds.) (1997) *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*, London and New York, Routledge.

BELMESSOUS, Saliha (2003) "Louis XIV (1638-1715)", in PAGE, Melvin (ed.) *Colonialism, An International Social, Cultural and Political Encyclopedia*, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO Inc, pp. 351.

BENWALL, Bethan and STOKOE, Elizabeth (2006) *Discourse and Identity,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

BERG, Charles Ramírez (2002) *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, & Resistance,* Austin, University of Texas Press, 2004.

BERGER, Peter and LUCKMANN, Thomas (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality,* New York, Anchor Books, 1986.

BERGER, Verena (2010) "La re-presentación de la migración en el cine español: documental, docudrama, docuficción", in HERTRAMPF, Marina, KIENBERGER, Antonia, SCHMELZER, Dagmar and VON TSCHILSCHKE, Christian (eds.) *Docuficción. Perspectivas sobre una tendencia de la cultura española actual*, Frankfurt am Main and Madrid, Vervuert and Iberoamericana, pp. 35-56.

---- (2011) "Voices Against the Silence: Polyglot Documentary Films from Spain and Portugal", in BERGER, Verena and KOMORI, Miya (eds.) *Polyglot Cinema: Language Contact and Migration in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain*, Wien, LIT Verlag Münster, pp. 211-225.

BERGER, Verena and KOMORI, Miya (eds.) (2011) *Polyglot Cinema: Language Contact and Migration in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain*, Wien, LIT Verlag Münster.

BERGHAHN, Daniela and STERNBERG, Claudia (eds.) (2010) *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic Cinema in Contemporary Europe,* Houndmills and New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

BERRY, John (2006) "Contexts of Acculturation", in SAM, David and BERRY, John (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 27- 42.

BESAS, Peter (1997) "The Financial Structure of Spanish Cinema", in KINDER, Marsha (ed.) *Refiguring Spain. Cinema/Media/Representation*, Durham and London, Duke University Press, pp. 241-259.

BETZ, Mark (2000) *Beyond the Subtitle: Remapping European Art Cinema,* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

BHABHA, Homi K (1994) *The Location of Culture,* London and New York, Routledge, 2005.

BOSSÉNO, Christian (1992) "Immigrant Cinema: National Cinema - the Case of Beur film", in DYER, Richard and VINCENDEAU, Ginnette (eds.) *Popular European Cinema*, London and New York, Routledge, pp. 47-57.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOWEN, Wayne, and ÁLVAREZ, José (2007) *A Military History of Modern Spain: from the Napoleonic Era to the International War on Terror*, Westport, Greenwood Publishing Group.

BOX OFFICE MOJO (n.d.) (on line) <http://www.boxofficemojo.com/> [July 1, 2009].

BOYER, Paul, CLARK, Clifford, KETT, Joseph, SALISBURY, Neal, SITKOFF, Harvard, and WOLOCH, Nancy (2009) *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People. Volume 1*, Boston, Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

BREDÄNGE, Gunlög (1996) "Teacher Education in Sweden: An Intercultural Perspective", in CRAFT, Maurice (ed.) *Teacher Education in Plural Societies: an International Review,* London and Bristol, PA, Falmer Press, pp. 116-129.

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION (BBC) NEWS (n.d.) "Background: Short History of Immigration", *Race UK* (on line) <http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/uk/2002/race/short_history_of _immigration.stm> [September 1, 2009].

---- (2010) "Q&A: France Roma expulsions", *BBC News Europe* (on line), October 19 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11027288> [July 12, 2012].

BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE (n.d.) (on line) <http://explore.bfi.org.uk/> [July 12, 2012].

BURKE, Peter and STETS, Jan (2009) *Identity Theory*, New York, Oxford University Press.

BOURNE, Stephen (2002) "Secrets and Lies. Black Histories and British Historical Films", in MONK, Claire and SARGEANT, Amy (eds.) *British Historical Cinema: The History, Heritage and Costume Film,* London and New York, Routledge, pp. 47-65.

BURNS, Rob (2006) "Turkish-German cinema From Cultural Resistance to Transnacional Cinema?", in CLARKE, David (ed.) *German Cinema: Since Unification,* London and New York, Continuum International Publishing Group, pp. 127-150.

BUTLER, Judith (1993) *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*, New York, Routledge.

CABRUJA, Teresa, IÑIGUEZ, Lupicinio. and VÁZQUEA, Félix (2000) "Cómo construimos el mundo: relativismo, espacios de relación y narratividad", *Anàlisi,* 25, pp. 61-94.

CAMÍ-VELA, María (2005) *Mujeres detrás de la cámara. Entrevistas con cineastas españolas 1990-2004*, Madrid, Ocho y Medio.

CAMPBELL, Russell (1999) "'Fallen woman' prostitute narratives in the cinema", *Screening the Past* (on line), 8, La Trobe University, <http://www.latrobe. edu.au/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr1199/rcfr8b.htm> [August 12, 2008].

CARAVACA, Ruben (2011) "Musica e Inmigración: Otra cara del mismo problema", *Cambio 16*, 2058, May 16, pp. 48-53.

CARBONELL, Pablo (n.d.) "Notas del Director", *Webpage Atún y chocolate* (on line), <http://www.Atún ychocolate.com/director.htm> [July 1 2011].

CARLING, Jørgen (2007) "The Merits and Limitations of Spain's High-Tech Border Control", *Migration Policy Institute* (on line) <http://www. migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=605> July 1, 2010].

CARR, Raymond (2000) "Liberalism and Reaction 1833-1931", in CARR, Raymond (ed.) *Spain: a History*, New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 205-242.

CARRASCO URGOITI, María Soledad (1956) *El moro de Granada en la literatura del siglo XV al XX*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1989.

CARRÉ, Jean-Marie (1947) *Les écrivains français et le mirage allemand 1800-1940*, Paris, Boivin.

CARTOON- THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF ANIMATION FILM (2008) "Industry Report- Financing. The Spanish Audiovisual Funds", *Cineuropa* (on line), June, <http://cineuropa.org/dossier.aspx?lang=en&treeID=1365&docu mentID=90719> [July 1, 2009].

CASETTI, Francesco and DI CHIO, Federico (1990) *Cómo analizar un film*, trans. by Carlos Losilla, Barcelona, Buenos Aires and Mexico, Paidós, 2007.

CASTIELLO, Chema (2001) *Huevos de serpiente. Racismo y xenofobia en el cine,* Madrid, Talasa Ediciones.

--- (2004) "Inmigrantes en el cine español: el caso marroquí", in LÓPEZ GARCÍA, Bernabé and BERRIANE, Mohamed (eds.) *Atlas de la inmigración marroquí en España*, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid- Taller de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos, pp. 425-427.

---- (2005) *Los parias de la tierra. Inmigrantes en el cine español,* Madrid, Talasa Ediciones.

---- (2010) *Con maletas de cartón- la emigración española en el cine,* San Sebastian, Gakoa.

CEA D'ANCONA, Mª Ángeles and VALLES MARTÍNEZ, Miguel (2010) *Evolución del racismo y la xenofobia en España. Informe 2010* (on line), Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, Subdirección General de Información Administrativa y Publicaciones, Observatorio Español del racismo y la xenofobia (Oberaxe), Madrid, <www.oberaxe.es/files/datos/4e20230088dc8/ INFORME%20RACISMO%202010.pdf> [July 28, 2011].

CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES SOCIOLÓGICAS (CIS) (n.d.) "Tres problemas principales que existen actualmente en España", *Barómetros: Indicadores: Percepción de los principales problemas de España* (on line) <http://www.cis.es/cis/opencms/-Archivos/Indicadores/documentos_html/ TresProblemas.html> [July 27, 2011].

CERVANTES, Miguel de (1605-1615) *The Adventures of Don Quixote,* London, Penguin Books, 1996.

CERVIÑO, Mercedes, (2005) "'El penalti más largo del mundo', humor costumbrista y fútbol de la mano del actor Fernando Tejero", *El mundo.es Cultura* (on line), March 2, <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2005/03/01/ cultura/1109694635.html> [July 1 2011].

CHAISSON, Reba (2000) *For Entertainment Purposes Only? An Analysis of the Struggle to Control Filmic Representations,* Lanham and Oxford, Lexington Books.

CHANDLER, Daniel (2010) "Notes on Representation" (on line), Sept 28, Aberystwyth University, UK, < http: //www.aber.ac.uk/media/Modules/MC30 820/represent.html> [Feb 28, 2011].

CHARNON DEUTSCH, Lou (2004) *The Spanish Gypsy. The Story of European Obsession*, University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press.

CHATMAN, Seymour Benjamin (1978) *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film,* Cornell, Cornell University Press, 1980.

CHAUDHURI, Shohini (2005) *Contemporary World Cinema,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

CHECA OLMOS, Francisco (2002) "España y sus inmigrados. Imágenes y estereotipos de la exclusión social", in GARCÍA CASTAÑO, F. J. and MURIEL LÓPEZ, C. (eds.) *La inmigración en España: contextos y alternativas* (on line)*,* II, Actas del III Congreso sobre la inmigración en España (Ponencias), Granada, Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales <http://www.ugr.es/~equallab /Documentos/TextosExpertoArena/PacoCheca.pdf > [March 14, 2005].

CHOI, Jinhee (2006) "National Cinema, the Very Idea", in CARROLL, Noël and CHOI, Jinhee (eds.) *Philosophy of Film and Motion Pictures: An Anthology,* Malden, Oxford, and Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 310-319.

CHRISAFIS, Angelique (2010) "Immigration: France sees tensions rise five years on from Paris riots", *The Guardian* (on line), November 14, <http://www. guardian.co.uk/world/2010/nov/16/france-racism-immigration-sarkozy> [July 12, 2012].

CLIFFORD, James (1992) "Travelling Cultures", in GROSSBERG, Lawrence, NELSON, Cary and TREICHLER, Paula (eds.) *Cultural Studies*, London, Routledge, pp. 96-116.

COHEN, Robin (1997) *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, London, UCL Press.

COHEN, William (2003) "French Empire", in PAGE, Melvin (ed.) *Colonialism, An International Social, Cultural and Political Encyclopedia*, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO Inc, pp. 214-218.

COLLINS, Roger (2000) "Visigothic Spain, 409-711", in CARR, Raymond (ed.) *Spain: a History,* New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 39-62.

COMMISSO, Sandra, (2006) "Pequeñas raciones de vida: Entrevista con el director español Jose Corbacho", *Clarín.com* (on line), February 22,

<http://old.clarin.com/diario/2006/02/22/espectaculos/c-01001.htm> [April 1, 2012]

CONSTANTINE, Stephen (1990) *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions Between the Wars,* Manchester, Manchester University Press.

COOK, David (1981) *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

CORBACHO, José (2006) "Los internautas preguntan a José Corbacho", *El País entrevistas digitales* (on line), January 26, <http://www.elpais.com/edigitales/ entrevista.html?encuentro=1895> [April 1, 2012].

---- (2008) "Tapas", *Fotograma* (on line), June 25, <http://www.fotogramas.es/ Peliculas/Tapas/Tapas> [April 1, 2012].

CORKHILL, David (2000) "Race Immigration and Multiculturalism in Spain", in JORDAN, Barry and MORGAN-TAMOSUNAS, Rikki (eds.) *Contemporary Spanish Cultural Studies*, London, Arnold, pp. 48-57.

CRAIG, Gary (2011) "United Kingdom. Promoting Social Inclusion of Roma. A Study of National Policies", *Peer Review in Social Protection and Social Inclusion and Assessment in Social Inclusion* (on line), <http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/network-of-independent-experts/2011/promoting-the-social-inclusion-of-roma> [July 12, 2012].

CRUMLEY, Bruce (2009) "Should France Count Its Minority Population?", *Time* (on line), March 24, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599, 1887106,00.html> [July 24, 2009].

CULLER, Jonathan (1997) *Breve introducción a la teoría literaria,* trans. by Gonzalo García, Barcelona, Crítica, 2000.

CURRY, Andrew (2005) "Why There Were No Riots in Germany -Riot Control", *The New Republic Online* (on line), November 16, <http://www.fulbright.de /fileadmin/files/togermany/information/2005-06/gss/curry_riots.pdf > [July 27, 2009].

D'LUGO, Marvin (1997) *Guide to the Cinema of Spain,* Westport, Greenwood Publishing Group.

---- (2003) "Authorship, Globalization, and the New Identity of Latin American Cinema", in GUNERATNE, Anthony and DISSANAYAKE, Wimal (eds.) *Rethinking Third Cinema,* New York and London, Routledge, pp. 103-125.

DALEY, Suzanne (2011) "Swedes Begin to Question Liberal Migration Tenets", *The New York Times* (on line), February 26, <http://www.nytimes.com/ 2011/02/27/world/europe/27sweden.html?pagewanted=all> [July 12, 2012].

DAMERAU, Camila (2007) "'Contamíname… Mézclate conmigo'. Límites y transgresiones en alma Gitana y Flores de otro mundo", in POHL, Burkhard and TÜRSCHMANN, Jörg (eds.) *Miradas Glocales. Cine español en el cambio del milenio*, Frankfurt, Vervuert, pp. 167-184.

DE ESPAÑA, Rafael (1991) "Antisemitismo en el cine español", *Film-Historia* (on line), 1/2, pp. 89-102, <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/FilmhistoriaOnline /issue/view/16845/showToc> [July 12, 2011].

DE PABLOS, Emiliano (2008) "Bigscreen Films Driven by TV Muscle - Broadcasters Pour $500 Mil into Industry", *Variety* (on line), September 18, <http://www.variety.com/article/VR1117992467.html?categoryid=3194&cs=1& query=spanish+film> [July 1, 2009].

DE URIOSTE, Carmen (2000) "Migración y racismo en el cine español", *Monographic Review/Revista monográfica*, XV, pp. 44-59.

DELGADO, María M. (2003) *'Other' Spanish Theaters. Erasure and Inscription on the Twentieth-Century Spanish Stage*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

DELGADO SALAZAR, Ramiro (2001) "Comida y Cultura: Identidad y significado en el mundo contemporáneo" *Estudios de Asia y Africa*, January-April, XXXVI, 1, pp 83-108.

DENGEL JAIME, Ellen and ECKSTEIN, Lars (2008) "Bridehood Revisited: Disarming Concepts of Gender and Culture in Recent Asian British Film", in ECKSTEIN, Lars, KORTE, Barbara, PIRKER, Eva Ulrike and REINFANDT, Christoph (eds.) *Multi-ethnic Britain 2000+: New Perspectives in Literature, Film and the Arts,* Amsterdam, Rodopi, pp. 45-63.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DENSCOMBE, Martyn (1998) *The Good Research Guide for Small Scale Social Research Projects*, Berkshire, Open University Press, 2007.

DESAI, Jigna (2004) *Beyond Bollywood: The Cultural Politics of South Asian Diasporic Film,* New York, Routledge.

DEUTSCHE FILMINSTITUT (n.d.a) "Cinema and Inmigration: The History of Immigration in the Federal Republic of Germany", *Filmportal.de* (on line), <http://www.filmportal.de/df/c7/Artikel,,,,,,,,F2E5706ADE9835F0E03053D50B3732D8,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,.html> [July 25, 2009].

---- (n.d.b) "Cinema and Inmigration: Cinema and Immigration in the Federal Republic of Germany", Filmportal.de (on line), <http://www.filmportal.de/df/e6/Artikel,,,,,,,,F1CEE7C6E77B8F06E03053D50B375DD5,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,.html#MF1CF40DB6EACA790E03053D50B376541> [July 25, 2009].

---- (n.d.c) "Cinema and Inmigration: Not Only, But Also: Turkish-German Cinema Today", *Filmportal.de* (on line), <http://www.filmportal.de/df/09/Artikel,,,,,,,,F285AADCB46C946FE03053D50B372023,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,.html> [July 25, 2009].

---- (n.d.d) "German Film Data base", Filmportal.de (on line), <http://www.filmportal.de > [September 26, 2009].

DIAWARA, Manthia (1993) "Power and Territory: The Emergence of Black British Film Collectives", in FRIEDMAN, Lester (ed.) *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism,* London, Wallflower Press, 2006, pp. 125-135.

DÍAZ LÓPEZ, Marina (2005) "Cierta música lejana de la lengua: latinoamericanos en el cine español, 1926-1975", *Secuencias: Revista de historia del cine*, 22, pp. 76-106.

DODGE, Kim (2007) "What is Third World Cinema?", *Third (World) Cinema* (on line), <http://thirdcinema.blueskylimit.com/thirdcinema.html> [June 5, 2011].

DOLLT, Andreas (2003) "Cinema Statistics. The Upward Trend in Cinema-Going Came to a Halt in 2002", *Statistics in Focus. Industry Trade and Services, Eurostat* (on line), Theme 4, August, <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-NP-03-008/EN/KS-NP-03-008-EN.PDF> [July 1, 2009].

DOMÍNGUEZ GARCÍA, Javier (2008) *De apóstol Matamoros a Yllapa Mataindios: Dogmas e ideologías medievales en el (des)cubrimiento de América*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

DUBNOW, Simon (2000) *History of the Jews in Russian and Poland*, Bergenfield, Avotaynu.

DUGUID, Mark and PAK, Ling-Wan (n.d.) "British-Chinese Cinema: Expressions of an Almost Hidden Community", *British Film Institute Screenonline* (on line), <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/475755/index.html> [September 1, 2009].

DYER, Richard (1993) *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representation,* London and New York, Routledge, 2002.

DYSERINCK, Hugo (1966) "Zum Problem der 'images' und 'mirages' und ihrer Untersuchung im Rahmen der Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft", in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyer & Co, pp. 107-120.

EAGLETON, TERRY (2000) *La idea de cultura. Una mirada política sobre los conflictos culturales*, trans. by Ramón José del Castillo, Barcelona, Paidós, 2001.

EKSNER, Julia (2006) *Ghetto Ideologies, Youth Identities and Stylized Turkish German: Turkish Youths in Berlin-Kreuzberg*, Münster, LIT Verlag.

EL MUNDO (2005) "Las otras regularizaciones. 600.000 extranjeros regularizaron sus situación en seis procesos extraordinarios entre 1991 y 2001", *El Mundo* (on line), February 6, <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2005/02/06/sociedad/1107690435.html> [July 25, 2011].

---- (2007) "Almodóvar justifica su ausencia en los Goya por 'saturación' y niega 'animadversiones'", *El mundo* (on line), Jan 29, <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2007/01/29/cultura/1170083428.html> [June 3, 2009].

EL NORTE DE CASTILLA (2009) "González Sinde, preocupada por la distribución del cine español. La ministra de Cultura dice que la producción nacional interesa 'cuando la gente la tiene disponible en las salas'", *El Norte de*

Castilla (on line), June 19, <http://www.nortecastilla.es/20090619/cultura/ gonzalez-sinde-preocupada-distribucion-20090619.html> [July 1, 2009].

EL PAÍS (2007) "Artistas, inmigrantes e integrados. Un documental cuenta el día a día de creadores extranjeros afincados en España", *El País* (on line), December 20, <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/cultura/Artistas/inmigrantes/integrados/elpe pucul /20071220elpepucul_2/Tes> [July 1, 2011].

ELENA, Alberto (1996) "Romancero Marroquí: Africanismo y cine bajo el franquismo", *Secuencias,* 4, pp. 83-118.

---- (1997a) "La canción de Aixa", *Secuencias: Revista de historia del cine*, 7, pp. 26-29.

---- (1997b) "La llamada de África: una aproximación al cine colonial español", in GUBERN, R. (ed.), *Un siglo de cine español*, Madrid, Academia de las Artes y de las Ciencias Cinematográficas, pp. 249-259.

---- (1999) "Avatares del cine latinoamericano en España", *Archivos de la Filmoteca valenciana*, 31, febrero, pp. 229-241.

---- (2005a) "Cine y migraciones: la experiencia hispanoamericana", *Secuencias: Revista de historia del cine,* 22, segundo semestre, pp. 27-47.

---- (2005b) "Latinoamericanos en el cine español: los nuevos flujos migratorios, 1975-2005", in *Secuencias: Revista de historia del cine*, 22, pp. 107-135.

---- (2010) *La llamada de Africa. Estudios sobre el cine colonial español*, Barcelona, Ediciones Bellaterra.

ENRICH, Valeria and ENRICH, Enric (2006) "Major Film Distributors Sanctioned by Spanish Competition Court", *IRIS Merlin. European Audiovisual Observatory* (on line), <http://merlin.obs.coe.int/iris/2006/6/article18.en.html> [July 1, 2009].

ENTRE DOS ORILLAS (n.d.) (on line) <http://www.entredosorillas.org/ contenidos/contenido.aspx?IdContenido=169> [July 15, 2011].

EPSTEIN, Jan (2003), "Jewish Representation", in MCFARLANE, Brian (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of British Film*, London: BFI/Methuen, pp. 366.

EUROPASUR (2008) "Almodóvar y 'Los Simpson' dejan fuera de juego a 'La que se avecina'", *Europasur* (on line) July 15, <http://www.europasur.es/

article/television/179950/almodovar/y/los/simpson/dejan/fuera/juego/la/se/aveci na.html> [July 1, 2009].

EVANS, Peter (1999) "Introduction", in EVANS, Peter (ed.) *Spanish Cinema: The Auteurist Tradition,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 1-7.

EWING, Katherine Pratt (2002) "Between Cinema and Social Work: Diasporic Turkish Women and the (Dis)Pleasures of Hybridity", in INDA, Jonathan Xavier and ROSALDO, Renato (eds.) *The Anthropology of Globalization,* Oxford, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, (2008), pp. 184-211.

EZRA, Elizabeth and ROWDEN, Terry (2006) *Transnational Cinema: The Film Reader*, Abingdon and New York, Routledge.

FANON, Frantz (1952) *Black Skin White Masks*, London, Pluto Press, 1986.

FEAR, Andrew (2000) "Prehistoric and Roman Spain", in CARR, Raymond (ed.) *Spain. A History*, New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 11-38.

FERNÁNDEZ, Fausto (n.d.) "Tapas", *Fotogramas* (on line), <http://www. fotogramas.es/Peliculas/Tapas/Critica> [April 1, 2012].

FERRER RODRÍGUEZ, A. and URDIALES VIEDMA, M.E. (2004) "Características de la población extranjera en España", *Geo Crítica / Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* (on line), VIII/160, March 1, Barcelona, Universidad de Barcelona, <http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/ sn-160.htm> [March 14, 2005].

FILMFÖRDERUNGSANSTALT (n.d.) *German Federal Film Board. List of Film Hits (Statistics)* (on line) <http://www.ffa.de/index.php?page=profil&language =_en> [July 22, 2009].

FLESLER, Daniela (2004) "New Racism, Intercultural Romance, and the Immigration Question in Contemporary Spanish Cinema", *Studies in Hispanic Cinema*, 1/2, pp. 103-118.

---- (2008) *The Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration,* West Lafayette, Purdue University Press.

FLESLER, Daniela and PÉRÉZ MELGOSA, Adrián (2003) "Battles of Identity, or Playing 'Guest' and'Host': the Festivals of Moors and Christians in the Context

of Moroccan Immigration in Spain", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 4/2, pp. 151-168.

FLETCHER, Richard (2000) "The Early Middle Ages, 700 - 1250", in CARR, Raymond (ed.) *Spain: a History,* New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 63-89.

FORMULA TV (2005) "Audiencias Martes 10 de Mayo. 'Hospital central' roza el 31% al superar los 5,5 millones de espectadores", *Formula TV* (on line), May 11, <http://www.formulatv.com/1,20050511,1095,1.html> [July 20, 2011].

---- (2007) "Telecinco estrena este domingo la quinta temporada de 'Aída'", *Formula TV* (on line), November 30, <http://www.formulatv.com/ 1,20071130,6159,2.html> [July 1, 2011].

FOTOGRAMAS (2008) "Princesas", *Fotogramas* (on line), April 25, <http://www.fotogramas.es/Peliculas/Princesas/Princesas> [April 1, 2012].

FOUCAULT, Michael (1969) "What is an Author?", in BOUCHARD, Donald (ed.) *Language, Counter-memory, Practice. Selected Essays and Interviews by Michael Foucault*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1977, pp. 113-138.

---- (1971) "History of Systems of Thought", in BOUCHARD, Donald (ed.) *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews,* Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1977, pp. 199-204.

FOUZ-HERNANDEZ, Santiago and MARTÍNEZ EXPÓSITO, Alfredo (2007) *Live Flesh: The Male Body in Contemporary Spanish Cinema*, London and New York, IB Taurus.

FRANCIS, John (2006) *Iberia and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History,* Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO Inc.

FRANKLIN, John and MOSS JR., Alfred (1947) *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans,* New York and Toronto, Alfred A. Knopf Publications, 2000.

FUCHS, Barbara (2009) *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

GABÁS, Raul Pedro (2001) "Quién opina en la opinión pública", *Anàlisi,* 26, pp. 169-186.

GABRIEL, Teshome (1982) *Third Cinema in the Third World: the Aesthetics of Liberation,* Ann Arbour, University of Michigan Press.

GALÁN FAJARDO, Elena (2006) "La representación de los inmigrantes en la ficción televisiva en España. Propuesta para un análisis de contenido. El Comisario y Hospital Central", *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* (on line), 61, La Laguna (Tenerife), <http://www.ull.es/publicaciones/latina/200608galan.htm> [July 1, 2010].

GALIANO LEÓN, Manuel (2008) "Movimientos migratorios y cine", *Historia Actual Online* (on line), February 15, 15, Winter pp. 171-183, <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2546992> [Jan 15, 2010].

GARCÍA, Luis Alonso (2003) *Once miradas sobre la crisis y el cine español,* Madrid, Ocho y Medio.

GARCÍA, Rocío (2009) "Los españoles consideran 'bueno' su cine, pero prefieren verlo en casa", *El País* (on line), June 25, <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/cultura/espanoles/consideran/bueno/cine/prefieren/verlo/casa/elpepucul/20090625elpepicul_6/Tes> [July 1, 2009].

GARCIA ALVITE, Dosinda (2007) "¿Miradas éticas o fascistas? Representaciones de inmigrantes africanos en Salvajes y Poniente", in CORNEJO PARRIEGO, Rosalía (ed.) *Memoria colonial e inmigración: La negritud en la España posfranquista*, Barcelona, Bellaterra, pp. 219-237.

GARCÍA CANCLINI, Nestor (1995) *Consumidores y ciudadanos. Conflictos multiculturales de la globalización,* Mexico City, Grijalbo.

---- (2001) *La globalización imaginada*, Mexico City, Paidós.

GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, Emilio (2003) "¿Donde está el enemigo del cine español?", in GARCÍA, Luis Alonso (ed.) *Once miradas sobre la crisis y el cine español*, Madrid, Ocho y Medio, pp. 57-74.

GARRIDO, José Ángel (2003) *Minorías en el cine: la etnia gitana en la pantalla,* Barcelona, Edicions Universitat Barcelona.

GILROY, Paul (1993) *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

GIRÓ, Xabier (2002) "Periódicos y construcción nacional", *Revista Zer Aldizcaria* (on line), 12, May, <http://www.ehu.es/zer/> [Nov 15, 2005].

GLICK, Thomas (1979) *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages,* Leidon, Brill Academic Publishers, 2005.

GLISSANT, Edouard (1981) *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*, trans. by J. Michael Dash, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1996.

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA- MINISTERIO DE CULTURA- CINE Y AUDIOVISUALES (2006) "Memoria de ayudas a la cinematografía: Ayudas a la cinematografía 2006" (on line), <http://www.mcu.es/cine/ MC/MAC/index.html> [July 1, 2009].

---- (2008a) "Ayudas a la Cinematografía – 2008" (on line), <http://www. mcu.es/cine/docs/MC/MAC/2008/1.Presentacion_Presupuesto.pdf> [July 1, 2009].

---- (2008b) "Memoria de ayudas a la cinematografía: Ayudas a la cinematografía 2008" (on line), <http://www.mcu.es/cine/MC/MAC/index.html> [July 1, 2009].

---- (2009) "Ayudas y subvenciones del Ministerio de Cultura 2009: Ayudas para la amortización de largometrajes" (on line), BOE January 1, <http://www.mcu. es/cine/SC/becasAyudasSubvenciones/Amortizacion2009.html> [July 1, 2009].

---- (2010) "El cine y el vídeo en datos y cifras. Evolución. Número de películas realizadas. 1970 – 2010" (on line), <http://www.mcu.es/cine/MC/CDC/ Evolucion/ NPeliRealizadas.html> December 1, 2011].

---- (n.d.a) "El cine y el vídeo en datos y cifras. Evolución: Evolución del mercado cinematográfico. 1998 – 2008" (on line), <http://www.mcu.es/cine/MC/CDC/ Evolucion/MercadoCine.html> [July 1, 2009].

---- (n.d.b) "Evolución cinematográfica 1993-2002" (on line), <http://www.mcu.es/ cine/docs/MC/BIC/2002/Evolucion/01-Evol1993-2002.pdf> [July 1, 2009].

---- (n.d.c) "Evolución cinematográfica 1996-2006" (on line), <http://www.mcu.es/ cine/docs/MC/BIC/2006/Evolucion/Evolucion_1996-2006.pdf> [July 1, 2009].

---- (n.d.d) "Datos de películas calificadas: Base de datos de películas calificadas" (on line), <http://www.mcu.es/cine/>.

---- (n.d.e) "Conceptos básicos de la industria cinematográfica y audiovisual: Coproducciones internacionales de películas" (on line), <http://www.mcu.es /cine/CE/Industria/CoproduccionesInternacionales.html> [Aug 30, 2010].

---- (n.d.f) "Conceptos básicos de la industria cinematográfica y audiovisual: Certificado de nacionalidad española de las películas" (on line), <http://www.mcu.es/cine/CE/Industria/CertificadoNacionalidad.html> [July 1, 2009].

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA- MINISTERIO DE TRABAJO E INMIGRACIÓN (2011a) "Estudio Evolución del racismo y la xenofobia en España. Informe 2010 de la Secretaría de Estado de Inmigración y Emigración - La sociedad española convive con la diversidad", *Gabinete de Communicación* (on line), July 15, <http://www.tt.mtin.es/periodico/inmigracion/201107/INM20110715. htm> [July 28, 2011].

---- (2011b) "Anna Terrón analiza en Pamplona el cambio de ciclo migratorio", *Gabinete de Comunicación* (on line), July 19, <http://www.tt.mtin.es /periodico/inmigracion/201107/INM20110719.htm> [July 21, 2011].

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA- MINISTERIO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES (2007) *Plan estratégico ciudadanía e integración 2007-2010*, (on line), <extranjeros.mtin.es/es/IntegracionRetorno/Plan_estrategico/pdf/PECIDE F180407.pdf> [July 28, 2011].

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA- MINISTERIO DEL INTERIOR (n.d.) *Centro de internamiento de extranjeros* (on line), <http://www.interior.gob.es/extranjeria-28/regimen-general-189/centro-de-internamiento-de-extranjeros-208?locale=es> [July 28, 2012].

GONDRY, Michael (2008) "Couscous (La Graine et le mulet) – Review", *Film for the Soul* (on line)*, Aug 14, <http://filmforthesoul.blogspot.com/2008/08/ couscous-la-graine-et-le-mulet-review.html> [July 30, 2009].

GONZÁLEZ IÑÁRRITU, Alejandro (2009) "On Biutiful", *Biutiful Press Release* (on line), <www.festival-cannes.com/assets/Image/Direct/034821.pdf> [April 1, 2012].

GOODMAN, Walter (1986) "Movie Review: Tea in the Harem (1985)", *The New York Times* (on line), <http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9A0DEF D71438F935A35755C0A960948260> [July 12, 2012].

GORDILLO ALVAREZ, Inmaculada (2008) "El cortometraje y las minorías étnicas", *Comuniación e Cidadanía* (on line), 6, <observatoriodosmedios.org/ foros/download.php?id=204&sid=261f2791e0e44215151836af8ade7d7d> [September 2, 2011].

GRAMSCI, Antonio (1975) *Prison Notebooks*, in BUTTIGIEG, Joseph (ed.), Columbia University Press, New York 1992.

GRANADOS MARTÍNEZ, Antolín (1998) *La imagen del inmigrante extranjero en la prensa española. ABC, Diario 16, El Mundo y El País: 1985-1992,* Doctoral Thesis, Universidad de Granada, Spain, Departamento de Sociología.

---- (2001) "La construcción de la realidad de la inmigración: el inmigrante extranjero en la prensa de Andalucía", varios authors, *I Jornades per a la integració, la convivència i la ciutadania*; Terrassa, Ajuntament de Terrassa.

GRANDE ROSALES, María Ángeles (1998-2001) "Hacia un teatro global. Cultura e identidad en el teatro contemporáneo", *Teatro, Revista de estudios teatrales,* 13/14, pp. 185-197.

---- (2004) "Transformaciones: de la representación emancipada a la crisis de la representación", in *Teatro, Revista de estudios teatrales*, 20, pp. 275-292.

---- (2007) "Hacia una semiótica de la cultura", in RÍOS, Félix (ed.), *Interculturalidad/Insularidad/Globalización*, Vol. I. pp. 337-346.

GRANDE ROSALES, María Ángeles and SÁNCHEZ, María José (2003) "La función política de la teoría: desarrollos sociológicos recientes", *Prosopopeya*, 4, pp.81-100.

GRAVETTE, Andrew Gerald (2000) *Architectural Heritage of the Caribbean: an A-Z of Historic Buildings*, Princeton, Markus Wiener Publishers.

GROSSBERG, Lawrence (2009) "Cultural Studies: What's in a Name (One More Time)", in HAMMER, Rhonda and KELLNER, Douglas (eds.) *Media and Cultural Studies*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, pp. 25-48.

GUIMARÃES DE ANDRADE, Carla (2008) *El motivo de la inmigración en el teatro español (1996-2006)*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Alcalá, Spain, Department of Filologia.

GUYARD, Marius-François (1951) "L'étranger tel qu'on le voit", *La littérature comparée*, Paris, pp. 110-119.

HACKING, Ian (1999) *The Social Construction of What?,* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2000.

HALL, Stuart (1982) "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies", in GUREVITCH, Michael, BENNETT, Tony, CURRAN, James and WOOLLACOTT, Janet (eds.) *Culture, Society, and the Media,* London, Methuen and Co, 2005, pp. 52-86.

---- (1996) "Who Needs Identity?", in HALL, Stuart and DU GAY, Paul (eds.) *Questions of cultural identity,* London, Sage Publications, 2005, pp. 1-17.

HALLERÖD, Björn (2011) "Sweden. Promoting Social Inclusion of Roma. A Study of National Policies", *Peer Review in Social Protection and Social Inclusion and Assessment in Social Inclusion* (on line), <http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/network-of-independent-experts/2011/promoting-the-social-inclusion-of-roma> [July 12, 2012].

HAMDORF, Wolfgang Martín and LÓPEZ RUBIO, Clara (2001) "El cine mestizo y transcultural: un posible nuevo género en el cine español", in VELLIDO PELEGRINA, Juan, PÉREZ RIVILLAS, Leticia (eds.) *Cine español: Situación actual y perspectivas. Actas del I congreso del cine español*, Granada, Grupo editorial universitario.

HAMILTON, Kimberly, SIMON, Patrick and VENIARD, Clara (2004) "Country Profiles: The Challenge of French Diversity", *Migration Policy Institute* (on line), November, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfmID=266> July 1, 2009].

HANESCH, Walter (2011) "Germany. Promoting Social Inclusion of Roma. A Study of National Policies", *Peer Review in Social Protection and Social Inclusion and Assessment in Social Inclusion* (on line), <http://www.peer-

review-social-inclusion.eu/network-of-independent-experts/2011/promoting-the-social-inclusion-of-roma> [July 12, 2012].

HARRISON, Joseph and CORKHILL, David (1988) *Spain: A Modern European Economy*, Hampshire and Vermont, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

HAYWARD, Susan (1993) *French national cinema,* London and New York, Routledge, 2005.

---- (2000a) "Framing National Cinemas", in HJORT, Hjort and MACKENZIE, Scott (eds.) *Cinema and Nation,* London and New York, Routledge, 2002, pp. 88-102.

---- (2000b) *Cinema Studies: the Key Concepts*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003.

HECKMANN, Friedrich (2003) "From Ethnic Nation to Universalistic Immigrant Integration: Germany", in HECKMANN, Friedrich and SCHNAPPER, Dominique (eds.) *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence*, Stuttgart, Lucius and Lucius Verlagsgesellschaft, pp. 45-78.

HEREDERO, Carlos (1999) *20 nuevos directores del cine español,* Madrid, Alianza Editorial.

HERODUTUS (1954) *The Histories*, in John MARINCOLA, trans. by Aubrey de Sélincourt, London, Penguin Books, 1996.

HIGBEE, Will (2005) "Towards a Multiplicity of Voices: French Cinema's Age of the Postmodern, part II – 1992-2004", in HAYWARD, Susan (ed.) *French national cinema*, London and New York, Routledge, pp. 293-327.

HIGSON, Andrew (2000) "The Limiting Imagination of National Cinema", in HJORT, Mette and MACKENZIE, Scott (eds.) *Cinema and Nation*, London and NewYork, Routledge, 2002, pp. 63-74.

HIRD, Alison (2009) "Breaking the Law to Help Immigrants, a French Film Sparks Controversy", *Radio France Internationale* (on line), *March* 29, <http://www.rfi.fr/actuen/articles/111/article_3303.asp> [July 30, 2009].

HJORT, Mette, Eva JORHOLT, and REDVALL, Eva Novrup (2010) *The Danish Directors 2: Dialogues on the New Danish Fiction Cinema,* Bristol and Chicago, Intellect Books.

HOOKS, bell (1981) *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism*, Boston, South End Press.

---- (1992) "Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance" in *Black Looks. Race and Representation*, Boston, South End Press, pp. 21-40.

HUYSSEN, Andreas (1986) *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism,* Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

IGLESIAS SANTOS, Montserrat (ed.) (2010) *Imagenes del otro. Identidad e inmigración en la literatura y el cine*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva.

---- (2010) "Representar al otro: Los Imaginarios de la inmigración", in IGLESIAS SANTOS, Montserrat (ed.) *Imagenes del otro. Identidad e inmigración en la literatura y el cine*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, pp. 9-32.

IMÁGENES DE LA INMIGRACIÓN: EDUCACIÓN Y CONVIVENCIA INTERCULTURAL (n.d.) webpage (on line), University of Granada, Department of General Linguistics and Literature Theory, <http://www.imagenesdeinmigracion.org/index.html> [September 25, 2011].

INGRAM, Kevin (2009) "Introduction", in INGRAM, Kevin (ed.) *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond. Volume One: Departures and Change,* Leiden, Brill, pp. 1-21.

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTADÍSTICA (INE) (2006) "Revisión del Padrón municipal 2006. Datos a nivel nacional, comunidad autónoma y provincia: Población extranjera por sexo, país de nacionalidad y edad (hasta 85 y más)" (on line), <http://www.ine.es/jaxi/tabla.do?path=/t20/e245/p04/a2006/l0/&file=00000010.px&type=pcaxis&L=0> [April 1, 2007].

---- (2007) "Revisión del Padrón municipal 2007. Datos a nivel nacional, comunidad autónoma y provincia: Población extranjera por sexo, país de nacionalidad y edad (hasta 85 y más)" (on line), <http://www.ine.es/jaxi/tabla.do?path=/t20/e245/p04/a2007/l0/&file=00000010.px&type=pcaxis&L=0> [April 1, 2007].

---- (2008) "Revisión del Padrón municipal 2008. Datos a nivel nacional, comunidad autónoma y provincia: Población extranjera por sexo, país de nacionalidad y edad (hasta 85 y más)" (on line), <http://www. ine.es/jaxi/tabla.do?path=/t20/e245/p04/a2008/l0/&file=00000010.px&type=pca xis&L=0> [July 21, 2011].

---- (2010) "Proyección de la Población de España a Largo Plazo, 2009-2049" (on line), January 28, <http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?L=0&type=pcaxis&path= %2Ft20%2Fp251&file=inebase> [July 21, 2011].

---- (2011a) "Avance del Padrón municipal a 1 de enero de 2011. Notas de prensa" (on line), April 4, <www.ine.es/prensa/np648.pdf>http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu. do?type=pcaxis&path=%2Ft20%2Fe245&file=inebase&L=> [May 4, 2011].

---- (2011b) "Padrón de Españoles Residente en el Extranjero a 1 de enero de 2011. Notas de prensa" (on line), April 27, <www.ine.es/prensa/np649.pdf> [July 28, 2011].

INTERNET MOVIE DATABASE (IMDb) (n.d.) (on line) <http://www.imdb.com/> [August 11, 2011].

JAMESON, Fredric (1991) *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Capitalism*, Durham, Duke University Press.

JAYNES, Gerald (2004) "Immigration and the Social Construction of Otherness: 'Underclass' Stigma and Intergroup Relations", in FONER, Nancy and FREDRICKSON, George (eds.) *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in the United States,* New York, Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 100-116.

JEWISH VIRTUAL LIBRARY (n.d.a) "Virtual Jewish History Tour: France", *The American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise* (on line), <http://www.jewish virtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/France.html> [July 12, 2012].

JEWISH VIRTUAL LIBRARY (n.d.b) "Virtual Jewish History Tour: Germany", *The American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise* (on line), <http://www.jewish virtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/germany.html> [July 12, 2012].

JEWISH VIRTUAL LIBRARY (n.d.c) "Virtual Jewish History Tour: United Kingdom", *The American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise* (on line), <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/England.html> [July 12, 2012].

JOHNSTON, Harry (1905) *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

JOHNSTON, Philip (2007) "Emigration soars as Britons desert UK", *Telegraph.co.uk* (on line), Nov 15, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1569400/Emigration-soars-as-Britons-desert-the-UK.html> [March 29, 2010].

JOKISCH, Brad (2007) "Ecuador: Diversity in Migration", *Migration Policy Institute* (on line), February, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=575> [July 27, 2011].

JONES, Chris and JOLLIFFE, Genevieve (2006) *The Guerilla Film Makers Handbook,* New York, Continuum International Publishing Group.

KAMINA, Pascal (2002) *Film Copyright in the European Union,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

KELLAWAY, Kate (2006) "Home is a Foreign Country", *The Observer-The Guardian UK* (on line), Nov 12 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2006/nov/12/features.review1> [April 1, 2010].

KELLNER, Douglass (2009) "Toward a Critical Media/Cultural Studies", in HAMMER, Rhonda and KELLNER, Douglas (eds.) *Media and Cultural Studies*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, pp. 5-24.

KINDER, Marsha (1993) *Blood Cinema. The Reconstruction of National Identity in Spain,* California and London, University of California Press.

---- (ed.) (1997) *Refiguring Spain. Cinema/Media/Representation,* Durham and London, Duke University Press.

KIPEN, David (2006) *The Schreiber Theory: A Radical Rewrite of American Film History*, New York, Melville House.

KÖHLER, Margret (2008) "Drive not Drabness", *Goethe-Institut: Cultural Scene and Migration* (on line), July, <http://www.goethe.de/lhr/prj/daz/mag/ksz/en3522007.htm> [July 25, 2009].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

KOIZUMI, Miwa (n.d.) *New York Flavors Ice Cream* (on line), <http://miwa. metm.org/NY_flavors/> [1-12-2010].

KOLKER, Robert Phillip (1999) *Film, Form, and Culture*, Boston, McGraw-Hill College, 2002.

KOWALSKY, Daniel (2004) "Rated S: Softcore Pornography and the Spanish Transition to Democracy, 1977-82", in LÁZARO REBOLL, Antonio and WILLIS, Andrew (ed.) *Spanish Popular Cinema,* Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 188-208.

KUHN, Annette (1982) *Women's Pictures: Feminism and Cinema,* London and New York, Verso, 1994.

KUNZ, Marco (2002) "La inmigración en la literatura española contemporánea: un panorama crítico", in ANDRES-SUÁREZ, Irene, KUNZ, Marco and D'ORS, Inés (eds.) *La inmigración en la literatura española contemporánea,* Madrid, Editorial Verbum, pp. 109-136.

LA HIGUERA (n.d.) "Biografia Jose Corbacho" (on line), <http:// www.lahiguera.net/cinemania/actores/jose_corbacho/biografia.php> [April 1, 2012].

LACEY, Nick (1998) *Image and Representation. Key Concepts in Media Studies*, New York, St. Martín's Press.

LAFONT, Isabel (2009) "La pornografía como arte político", *El País* (on line), January 15, <http://www.elespectador.com/entretenimiento/arteygente/articulo 107989-pornografia-arte-politico> [April 10, 2010].

LARSON, Stephanie Greco (2006) *Media & Minorities: The Politics of Race in News and Entertainment,* Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

LEE, Alberto Jo (2010) "Entrevista de Alberto Jo Lee", *La leyendo del lagarto* (on line), November 16, <http://www.alimentalaleyenda.com/noticias-Alberto-Jo-Lee.html> [April 1, 2012].

LEE, Nathan (2006) "Princesas (2005) Working Girls with Dreams Beyond the Corner", *The New York Times* (on line), August 23, <http://movies. nytimes.com/2006/08/23/movies/23prin.html?_r=0> [August 1, 2012].

LEERSSEN, Joep (2007) "Imagology- History and Method", in BELLER, Manfred and LEERSSEN, Joep (eds.) *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters,* Amsterdam and New York, Editions Rodopi, pp. 17-32.

LEGOMSKY, Stephen (1996) "E Pluribus Unum: Immigration, Race and Other Deep Divides", 21 *Southern Illinois University Law Journal 101*, Fall 1996, pp. 106 - 111, in RANDALL,Vernellia "Immigrant-Bashing: Why Now?" (on line), University of Dayton School of Law «http://academic.udayton.edu/race/02rights/immigr03.htm» [July 22, 2010].

LÉON PORTILLA, Miguel, HELMS, Mary, MURRA, John, HIDALGO, Jorge, ELLIOTT, John,WACHTEL, Nathan, MACLEOD, Murdo, and BRADING, D.A. (2002) *América Latina en la época colonial: España y América de 1492 a 1808,* trans. by Antonio Acosta, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

LEVINSON, David (1998) *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook,* Phoenix, Oryx Press.

LIEBKIND, Karmela (2006) "Ethnic Learning Approach to Acculturation", in SAM, David and BERRY, John (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 78-96.

LIÉGEOIS, Jean-Pierre (1994) *Roma, Gypsies, Travellers*, trans. by Sinéad ní Shuinéar, Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing.

LINDO, Elias (1848) *The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, Paternoster Row.

LJUNGMARK, Lars (1965) *Swedish Exodus*, trans. by Kermit Westerberg, USA, Swedish Pioneer Historical Society, 1979.

LLANO CAMACHO, Isabel (2008) "Inmigración y música Latina en Barcelona: El papel de la música y el baile en procesos de reafirmación e hibridación cultural", *Revista Sociedad y Economía* (on line), December 15, pp. 11-36 <http://redalyc.uaemex.mx/src/inicio/ArtPdfRed.jsp?iCve=99612494001> [July 18, 2012].

LLORDÉN MIÑAMBRES, Moisés (1992) "Las Asociaciones Españolas de Emigrantes", in MORALES SARO, María Cruz and LLORDÉN MIÁMBRES,

Moisés (eds.) *Arte, cultura y sociedad en la emigración española a América,* Oviedo, Universidad de Oviedo, pp. 9-56.

LÓPEZ PÉREZ, José (2010) "Entrevista al actor Alberto Jo Lee, que se dio a conocer gracias a la pelícual 'Tapas'", *El Blog del Cine Español* (on line), April 2, <http://www.elblogdecineespanol.com/?p=1352> [April 1, 2012].

LOSHITZKY, Yosefa (2010) *Screening Strangers,* Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

LOUIS, William Roger (2006) *Ends of British Imperialism. The Scramble for Empire, Suez and Decolonization*, London, IB Tauris.

LOUTFI, Martíne Astier (1996) "Film Industry and Colonial Representation", in SHERZER, Dina (ed.) *Cinema, Colonialism, Postcolonialism: Perspectives from the French and Francophone Worlds,* Austin, University of Texas Press, pp. 20-29.

LULL, James (1995) *Media Communication, Culture. A Global Approach,* Cambridge, Polity Press, 2000.

MAASILTA, Mari (2007) *African Carmen. Transnational Cinema as an Arena for Cultural Contradictions* (on line)*,* Tempere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communications, University of Tempere <http://acta.uta.fi/english/teos.php?id=10965> [Aug 3, 2010].

MALIK, Sarita (2002) *Representing Black Britain: Black and Asian Images on Television,* London, Sage Publications.

MARCOS, Laura and ENRICH, Enric (2008) "Spain: New Cinema Act", *IRIS Merlin. European Audiovisual Observatory* (on line), <http://merlin.obs.coe.int/iris/2008/4/article18.en.html> [July 1, 2009].

MARIABELLA (2007) "TVE presenta Hijos de Babel", *Dentrotele* (on line), December 11, <http://www.dentrotele.com/2007/12/11/tve-presenta-hijos-de-babel/> [August 8, 2009].

MARÍN, Pablo (2012) *El documental español sobre inmigración (2000-2010). Una mirada sociocrítica*, Granada, University of Granada, Unpublished doctoral thesis.

MARKS, Laura (2000) *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment of the Senses,* Durham and London, Duke University Press.

MÁRQUEZ MACIAS, Rosario (1995) *La emigración española a América, 1765-1824,* Oviedo, Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Oviedo.

MARTI OLIVELLA, Jaume (1999) "Invisible Otherness: From Migrant Subjects to the Subject of Immigration in Basque Cinema", in DOUGLASS, William, URZA, Carmelo, WHITE, Linda, and ZULAIKA, Joseba (eds.) *Basque Cultural Studies*, Reno, University of Nevada Press, pp. 205-226.

MARTÍN CABRERA, Luis (2002) "Postcolonial Memories and Racial Violence in Flores de otro mundo", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 1/3, pp. 43-55.

MARTÍN CORRALES, Eloy (1995) "El cine español y las guerras de Marruecos (1896-1994)", *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, 55/190, pp. 693-708.

---- (2000) "Árabes y musulmanes en el cine español de la democracia (1979-2000)", Mugak (on line), 11, January 4, <http://revista.mugak.eu/ articulos/show/55> [June 1, 2009].

MARTÍNEZ, María Elena (2008) *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico,* Stanford, Stanford University Press.

MARTÍNEZ CARAZO, Cristina (2002) "Flores de otro mundo: La pluralidad cultural como propuesta", *Letras Peninsulares*, 15/2, pp. 377-390.

---- (2011) "Immigration and Plurilingualism in Spanish Cinema", in BERGER, Verena and KOMORI, Miya (eds.) *Polyglot Cinema: Language Contact and Migration in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain*, Wien, LIT Verlag Münster, pp.157-172.

MARTÍNEZ SIERRA, Juan José, MARTÍ FERRIOL, José Luis, DE HIGES ANDINO, Irene, PRATS RODRÍGUEZ, Ana and CHAUME, Frederic (2011) "Linguistic Diversity in Spanish Immigration Films. A Translational Approach", in BERGER, Verena and KOMORI, Miya (eds.) *Polyglot Cinema: Language Contact and Migration in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain*, Wien, LIT Verlag Münster, pp. 15-29.

MATERNA, Linda (2007) "Globalization and African Immigration in Spanish Film: Chus Gutiérrez's Poniente (West, 2002)", in BEITTER, Ursula (ed.)

Reflections on Europe in Transition, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, pp. 57-72.

MCFARLANE, Brian (2003) *The Encyclopedia of British Film*, London, Methuen and British Film Institute, 2005, pp. 292.

MCKEE, Robert (1997) *Story*, New York, Harper-Collins Publishers Inc.

MCNEILL, Tony (1998) "Immigration in Postwar France" (on line), University of Sunderland, February 19, <http://seacoast.sunderland.ac.uk/~os0tmc/contemp1/immig2.htm> [July 22, 2009].

---- (1999) "Les Beurs en France" (on line), University of Sunderland, March 3 <http://seacoast.sunderland.ac.uk/~os0tmc/contemp1/beur.htm> [July 22, 2009].

---- (2002) "Crisis in the French Suburbs" (on line), University of Sunderland, July 22, <http://www.well.ac.uk/cfol/lesannees.asp> [July 22, 2009].

MEDIA DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY - SINGAPORE GOVERNMENT (n.d.) *Official Co-Production Status* (on line), <http://www.mda.gov.sg/International/BilCoAgreement/Pages/OffAgreements.aspx> [Sept 1, 2010].

MIGRANT AND DIASPORIC CINEMA IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE (n.d) (on line), <http://www.migrantcinema.net/> [April 25, 2010].

MILLS, Sara (1997) *Discourse,* London and New York, Routledge, 2004.

MITCHELL, Elvis (2003) "Dirty Pretty Things (2002): Film Review; Amid the Luxury, Immigrants in Peril", *The New York Times* (on line), July 18, <http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9E06EEDA133CF93BA25754C0A9659C8B63> [March 29, 2010].

MOCH, Leslie Page (1992) *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since 1650,* Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2003.

MOLINA GAVILAN, Yolanda and DI SALVO, Thomas (2001) "Policing Spanish/European Borders: Xenophobia and Racism in Contemporary Spanish Cinema", *Ciberletras* (on line), 5, <http://www.lehman.cuny.edu/ciberletras/v05/molina.html> [February 3, 2009].

MOLL, Nora (1999) "Imágenes del 'otro'. La literatura y los estudios culturales", in GNISCI, Armando (ed.) *Introducción a la literatura comparada*, trans. by Luigi Giuliani, Barcelona, Crítica, 2002, pp. 347-389.

MONTERDE LOZOYA, José Enrique (2008) *El Sueño de Europa: Cine y migraciones desde el sur / Dreams of Europe: Cinema and Migrations from the South,* Cordoba, Junta de Andalucia Consejeria de Cultura.

MORÁN, Carmen (2007) "España salta al mestizaje", *El País*, February 17, pp. 40.

MOYANO, Eduardo (2005) *La memoria escondida. Emigración y cine*, Madrid, Tabla Rasa.

NAFICY, Hamid (1996) "Phobic Spaces and Liminal Panics: Independent Transnational Film Genre", in WILSON, Rob and DISSANAYAKE, Wimal (eds.) *Global / Local: Cultural Productions and the Transnational Imaginary,* Durham, Duke University Press, pp. 119-144.

---- (2001) *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking,* New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

NAIR, Parvati (2002) "In Modernity's Wake: Transculturality, Deterritorialization and the Question of Community in Icíar Bollaín's Flores de otro mundo (Flowers From Another World)", *Post Script: Essays in Film and the Humanities,* 21/2, pp. 38-49.

---- (2004) "Borderline Men: Gender, Place and Power in Representations of Moroccans in Recent Spanish Cinema", in MARSH, Steven and NAIR, Parvati (eds.) *Gender and Spanish Cinema,* Oxford and New York, Berg, pp. 103-118.

---- (2006) *Rumbo al norte. Inmigración y movimientos culturales entre el Magreb y España*, Barcelona, Bellaterra.

NAREMORE, James (1999) "Authorship", in MILLER, Toby and STAM, Robert (eds.) *A Companion to Film Theory,* Malden, Oxford and Victoria, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004.

NATIONAL FILM AND VIDEO FOUNDATION - SOUTH AFRICA (n.d) *Co-production Treaties* (on line), <http://www.nfvf.co.za/filming-south-africa/co-production-treaties> [Sept 1, 2010].

NAVARRO GARCÍA, Laura (2008) *Contra el Islam: la visión deformada del mundo árabe en Occidente*, Cordoba, Almuzara Editorial.

---- (2009) "Racismo y medios de comunicación: Representaciones del inmigrante magrebí en el cine español", *I/C Revista científica de información y comunicación*, 6, pp. 337-362.

NERI, Francesca (1999) "Multiculturalismo, estudios poscoloniales y descolonización", in GNISCI, Armando (ed) *Introducción a la literatura comparada*, trans. by Luigi Giuliani, Barcelona, Crítica, 2002, pp. 391-439.

NESSELSON, Lisa (2002) "Inch'Allah Sunday", *Variety* (on line), January 4, <http://www.variety.com/review/VE1117916691.html?categoryid=31&cs=1> [July 29, 2009].

NICOLAU, Roser (1989) "Población, salud, y actividad", in CARRERAS, Albert, and TAFUNELL, Xavier (eds.) *Estadísticas históricas de España: Siglos XIX-XX,* Volume 1*,* Fundación BBVA, 2005.

NUTTING, Dave (2001) "German Speakers in Australia: Why Did They Emigrate?", *German Australia* (on line), <http://www.teachers.ash.org.au/ dnutting/germanaustralia/e/why-emi.htm> [July 28, 2009].

OEZCAN, Veysel (2004) "Country Profiles: Germany: Immigration in Transition", *Migration Policy Institute* (on line), July, <http://www.migration information.org/ Profiles/display.cfm?id=235> [July 27, 2009].

OGIDI, Ann (n.d.a) "British African Stories: Stories of Colonial and Post-colonial Africa", *British Film Institute Screenonline* (on line), <http://www. screenonline.org.uk/film/id/1082830/index.html> [September 1, 2009].

---- (n.d.b) "Black British Film: Pride, Pressure and Rage", *British Film Institute Screenonline* (on line)*,* <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/1144245/> [September 1, 2009].

OLIVER, Amy (2011) "Digesting Immigration: Assimilating New Cultures in Contemporary Spanish Film", *UGR ASETEL Conference Papers*, Granada, Pending publication.

---- (2011) "Romancing the Immigrant in Spanish Cinema: Imagining Love, Lust & Prostitution", *Metakinema* (on line)*,* 8, April, <http://metakinema. es/metakineman8s4a1_Amy_Oliver_Munoz_Immigration_Spanish_Cinema.htm l> [June, 12, 2011].

OLSON, James Stuart and SHADLE, Robert (1996) "Preface", in OLSON, James Stuart and SHADLE, Robert (eds.) *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*, *Volume 1*, Westport, Greenwood Publishing Group, pp. ix-xii.

OLZAK, Susan (1992) *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.

ORTEGA PÉREZ, Nieves (2003) "Spain: Forging an Immigration Policy", *Migration Policy Institute* (on line), February, <http://www. migrationinformation.org/feature/display> [April 23, 2011].

PADILLA, Beatriz and PEIXOTO, João (2007) "Latin American Immigration to Southern Europe", *Migration Policy Institute* (on line), <http://www.migration information.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=609> [July 1, 2011].

PAGEAUX, Daniel-Henri (1989) "De la imaginería cultural al imaginario", in BRUNEL, Pierre and CHEVREL, Yves (eds.) *Compendio de literatura comparada*, Madrid, Siglo veintiuno de españa editors, SA, 1994, pp. 101-131.

PALACIO ARRANZ, Manuel (2007) "Estudios culturales y cine en España", *Comunicar,* 29, XV, pp. 69-73.

PAPOULIAS, Constantina (2004) "Homi K. Bhabha", in HUBBARD, Phil, KITCHIN, Rob and VALENTINE, Gill (eds.) *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, Sage Publications.

PASTOR, Beatriz (1999) *El jardín y el peregrino: ensayos sobre el pensamiento utópico latinoamericano 1492-1965,* Mexico City, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

PECK, Jeffery (2006) "Jewish Life in Germany Today", *Goethe-Institut e. V., Online-Redaktion* (on line), May <http://www.goethe.de/ges/phi/dos/jul/en14 18155.htm> [July 12, 2012].

PERCEVAL, Jose Maria (1995) *Nacionalismos, xenofobia y racismo en la comunicación.Una perspectiva histórica,* Barcelona, Paidós.

PÉREZ, Joseph (2003) *Breve historia de la inquisición en España,* Barcelona, Crítica.

PÉREZ BUSTAMANTE, David (2009) "Fiscalidad de las inversiones cinematográficas en la nueva Ley del cine", *Revista Aranzadi de Derecho del*

Deporte y el Entretenimiento: *Uría Menéndez*, 25, (on line), <http://www.uria.com/esp/publicaciones/art.asp?id=321> [July 1, 2009].

PÉREZ MARQUÉS, Jesús (n.d.) "Entrevista a José Corbacho", *En lo social- Blog de Jesús Pérez Marquéz* (on line), <http://www.jesusperezmarques.com/index. php?option=com_content&task=view&id=479&Itemid=45> [April 1, 2012].

PÉREZ SÁNCHEZ, Gema (2008) "One Big Queer European Family? Immigration in Contemporary Spanish Gay and Lesbian Films", in POWELL, David (ed.) *21st-Century Gay Culture,* Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars, pp. 71-85.

PETRIE, Duncan (1992) S*creening Europe. Image and Identity in Contemporary European Cinema,* London, BFI Publishing.

PHILLIPS, Patrick (1996) "Spectator, Audience and Response", in NELMES, Jill (ed.) *An Introduction to Film Studies,* London, Routledge, 2003, pp. 91-127.

PINES, Jim (1996) "The Cultural Context of Black British Cinema", in BAKER, Houston, DIAWARA, Manthia and LINDEBORG, Ruth (eds.) *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 183-193.

PITMANN (2011) "Rumores que Matan", *Viaje al interior del cine español* (on line), November 9, <http://viajeinteriorcinespanol.wordpress.com/2011/11/09/ rumores-que-matan-gossip/> [April 1, 2012].

PRIETO, Carlos (2012) "Los malvados del cine español pueden con Almodóvar", *Publico.es* (on line), February 20, <http://www.publico.es/culturas/422981/los-malvados-del-cine-espanol-pueden-con-almodovar> [July 1, 2012].

PUIGDOMÉNECH, Jordi (2007) *Treinte años de cine español en democracia (1977/2007),* Madrid, Ediciones JC.

QUIJANO, Maria (2007) "El concurso musical 'Hijos de Babel' llegará en enero a TVE", *El Correo Gallego* (on line), December 11, <http://www.elcorreogallego. es/?idMenu=578&idEdicion=895&idNoticia=24227> [July 1, 2011].

RAVIV, Yael (2010) "Eating My Words: Talking About Food in Performance", *Invisible Culture: An electronic Journal for Visual Culture* (on line), 14, Winter, <http://www.rochester.edu/in_visible_culture/Issue_14/contents.html> [January 12, 2010].

REFOYO, Miguel (2005) "La humildad de unas vidas cruzadas", *La Butaca* (on line), <http://www.labutaca.net/films/32/tapas2.htm> [April 1, 2012].

---- (2005) "Princesas Cine social adulterado", *La Butaca* (on line) <http://www. labutaca.net/films/35/princesas1.htm> [August 1, 2012].

REGUILLO, Rossana (2002) "El otro antropológico. Poder y representación en una contemporaneidad sobresaltada", *Anàlisi,* 29, pp. 63-79.

RESTALL, Mathew (2003) *Los Siete Mitos de la Conquista Espanola*, trans. by Marta Pino Moreno, Barcelona, Paidós, 2004.

REX, John (2003) "Integration Policy in Great Britain", in HECKMANN, Friedrich and SCHNAPPER, Dominique (eds.) *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence, S*tuttgart, Lucius and Lucius, pp. 79-104.

RIBÉ, Sergi (2010) "Fernando Tejero con lucecitas de neon", *MasLiga.com* (on line), September 11, <http://masliga.com/1720/2010-2011/otros/futbol-y-cine/ futbol-y-cine-el-penalti-mas-largo-del-mundo/> [July 1, 2011].

RICHARDS, Eric (2005) "British Diaspora", in EMBER, Carol, EMBER, Melvin and SKOGGARD, Ian (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Diasporas,* New York, Springer, pp. 47- 56.

RONCERO MORENO, Fernando and MANCEBO ROCA, Juan Agustín (2004) "Inmigración, emigración y cine" (on line), Facultad de Humanidades de Albacete, Universidad de Castilla la Mancha, <http://www.uclm.es/profesorado /juanmancebo/descarga/publicaciones/Imnigraci%C3%B3n,%20emigraci%C3% B3n%20y%20cine%20bueno.pdf> [January 4, 2008].

ROTH, Norman (1995) *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain,* Madison and London, University of Washington Press, 2002.

RUIZ COLLANTES, Xavier, FERRÉS, Joan, OBRADORS, Matilde, PUJADAS, Eva and PÉREZ, Oliver (2006) "La imagen pública de la inmigración en las series de televisión españolas", *Política y Cultura*, 26, otoño, pp. 93-108.

SAEYS, Arne (2009a) "Imag(IN)Ing The Global City. Postnational Filmmaking in Brussels and Amsterdam", in QU, Lei, YANG, Chingwen, HUI, Xiaoxi and SEPÚLVEDA, Diego (eds.) *The New Urban Question - Urbanism Beyond Neo-*

Liberalism- The 4th International Conference of the International Forum on Urbanism (on line)*,* International Forum on Urbanism, Amsterdam and Delft, <http://newurbanquestion.ifou.org/proceedings/index.html> [July 4, 2011].

---- (2009b) "Images of Diversity: Migrant Filmmaking in Diverse Brussels", Interethnic Relations: Multidisciplinary Approaches Conference (on line), Lisbon, May, <imiscoecrosscluster.weebly.com/uploads/4/6/.../paperarne _saeys _lisbon.pdf> [July 4, 2011].

SAFAK, Elif (2010) "The Politics of Fiction", *TED Talks-TEDGlobal* (on line)*,* July <http://www.ted.com/talks/elif_shafak_the_politics_of_fiction.html> [Sept 18, 2010].

SAID, Edward W. (1978) *Orientalism,* London, Penguin Books, 1995.

SÁNCHEZ ALBORNOZ, Nicolás (2006) *Rumbo a América: gente, ideas y lengua,* México, D.F., El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos.

SÁNCHEZ-MESA MARTÍNEZ, Domingo (2008) "Nadie sabe lo que piensa un fugitivo. Imágenes de la inmigración en la literatura reciente en español", in TORREIRO, M. (ed.) *La imagen del inmigrante en la España actual,* Granada, Universidad de Granada, Servicio de Publicaciones / Festival de Cines del Sur.

---- (2011) "Imágenes del inmigrante: Proyecto Imágenes de la inmigración y educación intercultural", Powerpoint Presentation, Department of General Linguistics and Literary Theory and CICODE (Centro de Inciativas para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo), University of Granada.

---- (2012) "El dolor y la pobreza en "Biutiful", de Rodríguez Iñárritu", En el lugar del otro - Blog del proyecto Imágenes de la Inmigración (on line), University of Granada, July 15, <http://enellugardelotro.wordpress.com/2012/07/15/el-dolor-y-la-pobreza-en-biutiful-de-rodriguez-inarritu/> [September, 1, 2012].

SANCHO, Sofía (2009) "Me gustaría rodar una película sobre 'La Pepa'", in *Especiales:Constitución de 1812 camino de bicentenario*, *El mundo.es* (on line), <http://www.elmundo.es/especiales/2009/07/espana/constitucion/actualidad/entr evistas/pablo_carbonell.html> [July 1, 2011].

SANDERCOCK, Leonie (2003) *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century*, London and New York, Continuum.

SANTA ANA, Otto (2002) *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse*, Austin, University of Texas Press.

SANTAOLALLA RAMÓN, Isabel (1999) "Close Encounters: Racial Otherness in Imanol Uribe's Bwana", in FIDDIAN, R. and MICHAEL, I. (eds.) *Sound on Vision. Studies on Spanish Cinema*, Special Issue BHS LXXVI, 1, Oxfordshire, Carfax, pp. 113-24.

---- (2002) "Ethnic and Racial Configurations in Contemporary Spanish Culture", in LABANYI, Jo (ed.) *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain: Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practices,* New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 55-71.

---- (2003) "The Representation of Ethnicity and 'Race' in Contemporary Spanish Cinema", *Cineaste*, XXIX, 1, Winter, pp. 44-49.

---- (2004) "The 'Road that Turning Always…' Re-placing the Familiar and the Unfamiliar in Iciar Bollain's Flowers from Another World (1999)", *Studies in European Cinema*, 1/2, pp. 129-138.

---- (2005) *Los "otros". Etnicidad y raza en el cine español contemporáneo*, Zaragoza, Prensa Universidad de Zaragoza and Ocho y Medio.

---- (2006) "Inmigración, raza y genero en el cine español actual", *Mugak* (on line), 34, March 21, <http://revista.mugak.eu> [January 4, 2008].

---- (2007) "A Case of Split Identity? Europe and Spanish America in Recent Spanish Cinema", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 1478-2790, 15/1, pp. 67 - 78.

---- (2010) "Body Matters. Immigrants in Spanish, Greek and Italian Cinemas", in BERGAHN, Daniela and STERNBERG, Claudia (eds.) *European Cinema in Motion. Migrant and Diasporic Cinema in Contemporary Europe*, Houndsmills and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 152-174.

SANTIAGO, Roberto (2008) "El penalti más largo del mundo", *Reportajes - Fotogramas.es* (on line), June 25, <http://www.fotogramas.es/Peliculas/El-penalti-mas-largo-del-mundo/El-penalti-mas-largo-del-mundo> [July 1 2011].

SAWHNEY, Cary Rajinder (n.d.) "Asian-British Cinema: From the Margins to Mainstream", *British Film Institute Screenonline* (on line), <http://www. screenonline.org.uk/film/id/475617/index.html> [September 1, 2009].

SASSEN, Saskia (1998a) "From Globalization and Its Discontents", in BRIDGE, GARY and WATSON, Sophie. (eds.) *The Blackwell City Reader*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2002, pp. 161-170.

---- (1998b) *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money,* New York, The New Press, 2002.

SCHMIDT-NOWARA, Christopher (2008) *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century,* Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press.

SCHNEE, Heinrich (1926) *German Colonization, Past and Future: The Truth about the German Colonies,* New York, Alfred A Knopf.

SCOTT, Franklin (1988) *Sweden: The Nation's History*, Illinois, Southern Illinois University Press.

SCREEN ONLINE (n.d.a) "A Private Enterprise", *British Film Institute Screenonline* (on line), <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/490687/index. html> [April 1, 2010].

---- (n.d.b) "East is East", British Film Institute Screenonline (on line), <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/452266/index.html> [April 1, 2010].

---- (n.d.c) "Flame in the Streets", British Film Institute Screenonline (on line), <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/475471/index.html> [April 1, 2010].

---- (n.d.d) *British Film Institute* (on line), <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/ index.html> [April 1, 2010].

SEEßLEN, Georg (2003) "Home Away From Home – Immigration in German Cinema", Goethe-Institut (on line), June, <http://www.goethe.de/ kue/flm/thm/en47121.htm> [July 25, 2009].

---- (n.d.) "At Home Abroad- German Film and Migration - A History of Perception", German Films Service + Marketing GmbH (on line), <http://www.german-films.de/en/germanfilmsquaterly/focuson/athomeabroad/ index.html> [July 25, 2009].

SHERZER, Dina (1996) "Introduction", in SHERZER, Dina (ed.) *Cinema, Colonialism, Postcolonialism: Perspectives from the French and Francophone Worlds*, Austin, University of Texas Press, pp. 1-19.

SHIVELY, JoEllen (2000) "Cowboys and Indians: Perceptions of Western Films Among American Indians and Anglos", in STAM, Robert and MILLER, Toby (eds.) *Film and Theory. An Anthology,* Malden, Oxford and Victoria, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 345-360.

SHOHAT, Ella and STAM, Robert (1994) *Unthinking Eurocentrism. Multiculturalism and the Media,* London, Routledge.

---- (2003) *Multiculturalism, Postcoloniality, and Transnational Media,* Piscataway, Rutgers University Press.

SIBELMAN, Simon (2000) "Jewish Myths and Stereotypes in the Cinema of Julien Duvivier", in HARRIS, Sue and EZRA, Elizabeth (eds.) *France in Focus: Film and National Identity*, New York and Oxford, Berg, pp. 79-96.

SOCIEDAD GENERAL DE AUTORES Y EDITORES (SGAE) (2006), "ANUARIO SGAE 2006 de las Artes Escénicas, Musicales y Audiovisuales" (on line), <http://www.sgae.es/recursos/pdf/comunicacion/Anuario%202006. pdf> [July 1, 2009].

SOLANAS, Fernando and GETINO, Octavio (1969) "Towards a Third Cinema", in NICHOLS, Bill (ed.) *Movies and Methods. An Anthology*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1976, pp. 44-64.

SOMERVILLE, Will, SRISKANDARAJAH, Dhananjayan and LATORRE, Maria (2009) "Country Profiles: United Kingdom: A Reluctant Country of Immigration", *Migration Policy Institute* (on line), July, <http://www. migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=736> [November 23, 2009].

SONG, H. Rosi (2008) "Migration, Gender, and Desire in Contemporary Spanish Cinema", in SAMPEDRO, Benita, AND DOUBLEDAY, Simon (eds.) *Border Interrogations: Questioning Spanish Frontiers*, New York, Berghahn Books, pp. 42-64.

SOTO NAVARRO, Susana (2005) "La influencia de los medios en la percepción social de la delincuencia", *Revista Electrónica de Ciencia Penal y Criminología*

(on line), 07-09, pp. 1-46, <criminet.ugr.es/recpc/07/recpc07-09.pdf> [July 28, 2011].

SPENCER, Ian (1997) *British Immigration Policy Since 1939: The Making of Multi-racial Britain,* London, Routledge.

SPIVAK, Gayatri (1988) "Can the subaltern speak?", in NELSON, Cary and GROSSBERG, Larry (eds.) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Chicago, University of Illinois Press, pp. 271-313.

STAM, Robert (2000) *Film Theory. An Introduction,* Malden, Oxford and Victoria, Blackwell Publishing.

---- (2005) "Introduction: The Theory and Practice of Adaptation", in STAM, Robert and RAENGO, Alessandra (eds) *Literature and Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Film Adaptation,* Malden, Oxford and Carlton, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 1-52.

STANGOR, Charles y SCHALLER, Mark (1996) "Stereotypes as Individual and Collective Representations", in MACRAE, C. Neil, STANGOR, Charles and HEWSTONE, Miles (eds.) *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, New York, Guilford Press, pp. 3-39.

STICKLE MARTÍN, Sandra (2010) *Moroccan Women and Immigration in Spanish Narrative and Film (1995-2008)*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Kentucky, USA, Department of Hispanic Studies.

STATISKISKA CENTRALBYRåN (n.d.) *Statistics Sweden: Population: Population Statistics* (on line), <http://www.scb.se/default____2154.aspx> [August 28, 2009].

STATISTISCHES BUNDESAMT DEUTSCHLAND (n.d.a) *Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der lánder: Foreign population – Area and Population* (on line), <http://www.statistik-portal.de/Statistik-Portal/en/en_jb01_jahrtab2.asp> [August 20, 2009].

STATISTISCHES BUNDESAMT DEUTSCHLAND (n.d.b) *Foreign population* (on line), <http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/EN/Content/Statistics/Bevoelkerung/AuslaendischeBevoelkerung/Tabellen/Content 50/TOP10Liste,templateId=renderPrint.psml> [August 20, 2009].

STOKES, Jane (2003) *How to do Media and Cultural Studies*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, Sage Publications.

STRYKER, Sheldon (2000) "Identity Competition: Key to Differential Social Movement Participation?", in STRYKER, Sheldon, OWENS, Timothy, and WHITE, Robert (eds.) *Self, Identity, and Social Movements,* Minneapolis, Regents of the University of Minnesota, pp. 21-39.

SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis (1981) *Historia General de España y América: Del Antiguo Al Nuevo Régimen: Hasta la Muerte de Fernando VII,* Madrid, Ediciones Rialp.

SUNDIATA, Ibrahim (1996) *From Slaving to Neoslavery: the Bight of Biafra and Fernando Po in the Era of Abolition, 1827-1930,* Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

SWEDISH FILM INSTITUTE (n.d.) "Statistics" (on line), < http://www.sfi.se/en-gb/Statistics/> [August 2, 2010]

SZEMAN, Imre (2005) "Culture and/in Globalization", in MULLER, Adam. (ed.) *Concepts of Culture: Art, Politics & Society,* Calgary, University of Calgary Press, pp. 157-179.

TAJFEL, Henri (1981) *Human Groups & Social Categories,* Cambridge, New York and Melbourne, Cambridge University Press.

TALAVERA MILLA, Julio (n.d.) "Co-production in Europe, Multinational and Bi-national Cinema Treaties", *Film Maker South Africa* (on line), <http://www.filmmaker.co.za/news/belgium/co-production-europe-multinational-and-bi-national-cinema-treaties> [Sept 1 2010].

TARR, Carrie (1997) "French Cinema and Post-Colonial Minorities", in HARGREAVES, Alec G. and MCKINNEY, Mark (eds.) *Post-colonial cultures in France,* London and New York, Routledge, 2005, pp. 59-83.

---- (1998) "Beur Cinema", in HUGHES, Alex and READER, Keith (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Contemporary French Culture,* Cornwall, Routledge, 2002, pp. 64-66.

---- (2005) *Reframing Difference: Beur and Banlieue Filmmaking in France,* Manchester, Manchester University Press.

THOMPSON, John B. (1995) *Los media y la modernidad. Una teoría de los medios de comunicación,* Barcelona, Paidós, 1998.

TIGERVALL, Carina (2005) *Folkhemsk film: med 'invandraren' i rollen som den sympatiske andre. - Film Representations of the Sympathetic 'Immigrant'* (on line), Doctoral Dissertation, Umeå University <umu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:143500/FULLTEXT01> [August 1, 2009]

TODOROV, Tzvetan (1989) *Nosotros y los otros,* Madrid, Siglo XXI de España, 2007.

TORREIRO, Mirito (n.d.) "Princesas", *Fotogramas* (on line), <http://www.fotogramas.es/Peliculas/Princesas/Critica> [June 21, 2012].

TOSSAVAINEN, Mikael (2009) "Jews in Sweden", in EHRLICH, Mark Avrum (ed.) *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora*, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, LLC, pp. 1087-1092.

TRASHORRAS, Antonio (n.d.) "El penalti más largo del mundo", *Fotogramas.es* (on line), <http://www.fotogramas.es/Peliculas/El-penalti-mas-largo-del-mundo/Critica> [July 1 2011].

TRAVERS, James (2002) *Films de France* (on line) <http://filmsdefrance.com> [July 29, 2009].

TRIANA TORIBIO, Núria (2003) *Spanish National Cinema,* London, Routledge.

---- (2008) "Auteurism and Commerce in Contemporary Spanish Cinema", *Screen,* 49/3, Autumn, pp. 259-276.

TRUFFAUT, François, (1954) "Une certaine tendance du cinéma français", *Cahiers du cinema*, 31, January, pp. 15-30.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY (2010) *Human Genome Project* (on line), Feb 11, <http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human_Genome/elsi/humanmigration.shtml> [July 22, 2010].

VAN DIJK, Teun A. (1997) *Racismo y análisis crítico de los medios,* Barcelona, Paidós.

---- (2002) "Discourse and Racism", in GOLDBERG, David and SOLOMOS, John (eds.) *A Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies,* Malden and Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, pp. 145-159.

VERTELE (2006) "Antena 3 se adjudica el último día de las vacaciones", *Vertele* (on line), November 13, <http://www.vertele.com/noticias/detail.php?id=13292> [July 1, 2009].

---- (2007) "'Desaparecida' no para 'El penalti más largo del mundo'", *Vertele* (on line), October 11, <http://www.vertele.com/noticias/detail.php?id=16711> [July 1, 2009].

---- (2008) "María del Monte regresa con éxito a la tarde andaluza", *Vertele* (on line), August 26, <http://www.vertele.com/noticias/detail.php?id=20017> [July 1, 2009].

---- (2009a) "Audiencias del 30 y 31 de Mayo: El 'Sorpresa, Sorpresa' de Canal Sur bate nuevo récord", *Vertele* (on line), June 5, <http://www.vertele.com/noticias/detail.php?id=23031> [July 1, 2009].

---- (2009b) "Sábado 28 Febrero y Domingo 1 Marzo: 'Dr. Mateo' acusa el 'Aidazo' pero mantiene el liderazgo", *Vertele* (on line), March 4, <http://www.vertele.com/noticias/detail.php?id=22115> [July 1, 2009].

WEAVER, Matthew (2010) "Angela Merkel: German multiculturalism has 'utterly failed'", *The Guardian* (on line), October 17, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/17/angela-merkel-german-multiculturalism-failed> [July 12, 2012].

WESTIN, Charles (2006) "Country Profiles: Sweden: Restrictive Immigration Policy and Multiculturalism", *Migration Policy Institute* (on line), June, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=406> [August 11, 2009].

WESTIN, Charles and DINGU-KYRKLUND, Elena (2003) "Immigration and Integration of Immigrants and their Descendants: The Swedish Approach", in HECKMANN, Friedrich and SCHNAPPER, Dominique (eds.) *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence*, Stuttgart, Lucius and Lucius Verlagsgesellschaft, pp. 105-134.

WILLIAMS, Raymond (1976) *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1983.

WINOKUR, Mark (1996) *American Laughter: Immigrants, Ethnicity, and 1930s Hollywood Film Comedy,* New York, St Martín's Press.

WOLF, Michaela (2008) "Translation - Transculturation. Measuring the perspectives of transcultural political action", trans. by Kate Sturge, *European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies* (on line), April 4, <http://translate.eipcp.net/transversal/0608/wolf/en/#_ftnref30> [July 1, 2010].

WRIGHT, Rochelle (2005) "'Immigrant Film' in Sweden at the Millennium", in NESTINGEN, Andrew and ELKINGTON, Trevor (eds.) *Transnational Cinema in a Global North*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, pp. 55-72.

ZAMORA, Jose Antonio (2001) "La inmigración en España", *Éxodo* (on line), 58, March-April, <http://www.latex.um.es/cormu/bibliografia/Zamora_Exodo.html> [March 24, 2005].

ZAPATA BARRERO, Ricard (2009) "Policies and Public Opinion Towards Immigrants: the Spanish Case", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32/7, September, pp 1101-1120.

ZECCHI, Barbara (2010) "Veinte años de inmigración en el imaginario fílmico español: hacia un espacio liminal", in IGLESIAS SANTOS, Montserrat (ed.) Imágenes de Otro: Identidad e Inmigración en la literatura y el cine, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva.

ZIRKIN, Shoshannah (2009) "Jews in Spain", in EHRLICH, Mark Avrum (ed.) *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora*, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, LLC, pp. 900-904.

ZOVKO, Maja (2009) "La imagen del inmigrante en la novela española actual", *Saggi /Ensayos/Essais/Essays,* 2, October, pp. 163-172.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

2. Films

[Rec] (Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró, 2007) Spain

[Rec] 2 (Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró, 2009) Spain

¡A mí la Legión! (*Follow the Legion!* – Juan de Orduna, 1942) Spain

¡Ay, Carmela! (Carlos Saura, 1990) Spain

¡Harka! (Carlos Arévalo, 1941) Spain

¿Estás Ahí? (*Are You There?* – Roberto Santiago, 2010) Spain

¿Qué hace una chica como tú en un sitio como éste? (*What's a Girl Like You Doing in a Place Like This?* – Fernando Colomo, 1978) Spain

14 Kilómetros (Gerardo Olivares, 2007) Spain

21 gramos (*21 grams* – Alejandro González Iñárritu, 2003): USA

30:e November (*30th November* – Daniel Fridell, 1995) Spain

40 m2 Deutschland (*40 m2 of Germany* – Tevfik Başer, 1986) Germany

7 vírgenes (*7 Virgins* – Alberto Rodríguez, 2005) Spain

A mi madre le gustan las mujeres (*My Mother Likes Women* – Daniela Féjerman and Inés París, 2001) Spain

A Private Enterprise (Peter K. Smith, 1974) UK

Abre los ojos (*Open Your Eyes* – Alejandro Amenábar, 1997) Spain

Acción mutante (*Action Mutant* – Alex de la Iglesia, 1993) Spain

Afan-Evu - El bosque maldito (*The Woods* – José Neches, 1945) Spain

Agallas (*Guts* – Andrés Luque and Samuel Martín Mateos, 2009) Spain

Ágora (Alejandro Amenábar, 2009) Spain

Águilas de acero o los misterios de Tánger (*Iron Eagles / The Mysteries of Tangier* – Florián Rey, 1927) Spain

Al final del camino (*Road to Santiago* – Roberto Santiago, 2009) Spain

Alma gitana (*Gypsy Soul* – Chus Gutiérrez, 1995) Spain

Alma y nervio de España (*The Soul and Nerve of Spain* – Joaquín Martínez Arboleya, 1937) Spain

Amador (Fernando León de Aranoa, 2010) Spain

Amor gitano (*Gypsy Love* – Segundo de Chomón, 1911) Spain

Amores perros (*Love is a Bitch* – Alejandro González Iñárritu, 2000): Mexico

Anam (*My Mother* – Buket Alakus, 2001) German

Angst essen seele Auf (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul* – Rainer Werner Fassbinder, 1974) Germany

Angus, Thongs and Perfect Snogging (Gurinder Chadha, 2008) UK

Animales heridos (*Wounded Animals* – Ventura Pons, 2005) Spain

Atasco en el Nacional (*Traffic Jam on the National* – Josetxo San Mateo, 2007) Spain

Atraco a las 3... y media (*Bank Robbery* at 3:00…3:30 – Raúl Marchand, 2003) Spain

Atún y Chocolate (*Tuna and Chocolate* – Pablo Carbonell, 2004) Spain

Auf der anderen Seite (*The Edge of Heaven* – Fatih Akin, 2007) Germany

Azul oscuro casi negro (*Dark Blue Almost Black* – Daniel Sánchez Arévalo, 2006) Spain

Babel (Alejandro González Iñárritu, 2006): USA

Bajarse al moro (*Going Down in Morocco* – Fernando Colomo, 1988) Spain

Bajo las estrellas (*Under the Stars* – Félix Viscarret, 2007) Spain

Barrio (*Neighborhood* – Fernando León de Aranoa, 1998) Spain

Bend it Like Beckham (Gurinder Chadha, 2002) UK

Bhaji on the Beach (Gurinder Chadha, 1993) UK

Bienvenido a casa (*Welcome Home* – David Trueba, 2006) Spain

Birth of a Nation (D. W. Griffith, 1915) USA

Biutiful (Alejandro González Iñárritu, 2010) Mexico / Spain

Black Narcissus (Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, 1947): UK

Black Soul Rebels (Isaac Julien, 1991) UK

Bodas de Sangre (*Blood Wedding* – Carlos Saura, 1981) Spain

Boliche (Francisco Elías, 1933) Spain

Breaking and Entering (Anthony Minghella, 2006) UK

Brick Lane (Sarah Gavron, 2007) UK

Bride & Prejudice (Gurinder Chadha, 2004) UK

Bwana (Imanol Uribe, 1996) Spain

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cabeza de perro (*Doghead* – Santi Amodeo, 2006) Spain

Camino (*The Way* – Javier Fesser, 2008) Spain

Cándida (Guillermo Fesser, 2006) Spain

Canícula (*Dog Days* – Álvaro García-Capelo, 2002) Spain

Cantando bajo la tierra (*Singing Underground* – Rolando Ariel Pardo, 2004) Spain

Carmen (Carlos Saura, 1983) Spain

Caso cerrado (*Case Closed* – Juan Caño 1985) Spain

Celda 211 (*Cell 211* – Daniel Monzón, 2009) Spain

Celos gitanos (Jealous Gypsies – Ricardo de Baños, 1909) Spain

Chica para todo (*A Girl for Everything* – Mariano Ozores, 1963) Spain

Ciao Bella (Mani Maserrat Agah, 2007) Sweden

Cobardes (*Cowards* – José Corbacho, Juan Cruz, 2008) Spain

Cosas que dejé en la Habana (*Things that I Left in Habana* – M*anuel Gutiérrez Aragón, 1997) Spain

Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena (*Things That Make Life Worth Living* – Manuel Gómez Pereira, 2004) Spain

Crimen ferpecto (*The Perfect Crime* – Alex de la Iglesia, 2004) Spain

Deep Impact (Mimi Leder, 1998) USA

Desde que amenece apetece (*In the Mood From Sunup* – Antonio del Real, 2006) Spain

Desembarco de las tropas llegadas a Cuba (*Landing of Troops in Cuba* – Antonio de Padua Tramullas, 1898) Spain

Det nya landet (*The New Country* – Geir Hansteen Jörgensen, 2000) Sweden

Días de fútbol (*Soccer Days* – David Serrano, 2003) Spain

Dirty Pretty Things (Stephen Frears, 2002) UK

Dos novias para un torero (*Two Girlfriends for a Bullfighter*– Antonio Román, 1956) Spain

Dupont Lajoie (*Rape of Innocence/The Common Man* – Yves Boisset, 1975) France

East is East (Damien O'Donnell, 1999) UK

El amor brujo (*A Love Bewitched* – Carlos Saura, 1986) Spain

El artista emigrado (*The Emigrated Artist* – David Orejas, 2007) Spain

El club de los suicidas (*The Suicide Club* – Roberto Santiago, 2007) Spain

El día de la bestia (*The Day of the Beast* – Alex de la Iglesia, 1995) Spain

El efecto mariposa (*The Butterfly Effect* – Fernando Colomo, 1995) Spain

El emigrado (*The Emigrant* – Ramón Torrado, 1946) Spain

El faro (*The Lighthouse* – Manuel Balaguer, 1998) Spain

El inmigrante (*The Immigrant* – Sebastián Almeida, 1958) Spain

El método (*The Method* – Marcelo Piñeyro, 2005) Spain

El orfanato (*The Orphanage* – Juan Antonio Bayona, 2007) Spain

El otro lado: un acercamiento a Lavapiés (*The Other Side: an Approach to Lavapiés* – Basel Ramsis, 2002) Spain

El penalti más largo del mundo (*The Longest Penalty Shot in the World* – Roberto Santiago, 2005) Spain

El próximo oriente (*The Near East* – Fernando Colomo, 2006) Spain

El refugio del mal (*The Lodge of Evil* – Félix Cábez, 2002) Spain

El séptimo día (*The 7th Day* – Carlos Saura, 2004) Spain

El sudor de los ruiseñores (*The Sweat of Nightingales* – Juan Manuel Cotelo, 1998) Spain

El traje (*The Suit* – Alberto Rodríguez, 2002) Spain

El tren de la memoria (*The Memory Train* – Marta Arribas, Ana Pérez, 2005) Spain

El truco del manco (*The One Handed Trick* – Santiago Zannou, 2008) Spain

Elsa y Fred (Marcos Carnevale, 2005) Spain

En construcción (*Work in Progress* – José Luis Guerín, 2000) Spain

En la ciudad (*In the City* – Cesc Gay, 2003) Spain

En la puta calle (*Hitting Bottom* – Enrique Gabriel, 1996) Spain

En la puta vida (*In This Tricky Life* – Beatriz Flores Silva, 2001) Spain

Españolas en París (*Spaniards in Paris* – Roberto Bodegas, 1971) Spain

Ett öga rött (*One Eye Red* – Daniel Wallentin, 2007) Sweden

Extranjeras (*Foreigners* – Helena Taberna, 2003) Spain

Fados (Carlos Saura, 2007) Spain

Familia (Family – Fernando Leon de Aranoa, 1996) Spain

Flame in the Streets (Roy Ward Baker, 1961) UK

Flores de Otro mundo (*Flowers from Another World* – Icíar Bollaín, 1999) Spain

Föra stormen (*Before the Storm* – Reza Parsa, 2000) Sweden

Förortsungar (*Kidz in da Hood* – Ylva Gustavsson and Catti Edfeldt, 2006) Sweden

Frontera sur (*Southern Border* – Gerardo Herrero 1999) Spain

Fuera de carta (*Chef's Special* – Ignacio García Velilla, 2008) Spain

Ganz unten (*Lowest of the Low* – Jörg Gförer, 1986) German

Gegen die Wand (*Head On* – Fatih Akin, 2004) German

Gordos (*Fat People* – Daniel Sánchez Arévalo, 2009) Spain

Guarapo (Teodoro Ríos Santiago Ríos, 1988) Spain

Hable con ella (*Talk to Her* – Pedro Almodóvar, 2002) Spain

Haz conmigo lo que quieras (*Kill Me Tender* – Ramón de España, 2003) Spain

Héctor (Gracia Querejeta, 2004) Spain

Hola, ¿estás solo? (*Hi, Are You Alone?* – Icíar Bollaín, 1995) Spain

Hombres felices (*Happy Men* – Roberto Santiago, 2001) Spain

Huevos de Oro (*Golden Balls* – Bigas Luna, 1993) Spain

Hus i helvete (*All Hell Let Loose* – Susan Taslimi, 2002) Sweden

I love you baby (Alfonso Albacete and David Menkes, 2001) Spain

Ilegal (Ignacio Vilar, 2002) Spain

Incautos (*Swindled* – Miguel Bardem, 2004) Spain

Inch'Allah dimanche (*Sunday, God-willing* – Yamina Benguigui, 2001): France

Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia (*Isi/Disi - Love to the Max* – José María de la Peña, 2004) Spain

Jamón Jamón (*Jamon Jamon* – Bigas Luna, 1992) Spain

Jalla! Jalla! (Josef Fares, 2000) Sweden

Jud Süß (Jew Süss – Veit Harlan, 1940) German

Kebab connection (Anno Saul, 2005) German

King Solomon's Mines (Robert Stevenson, 1937) UK

Kopps (*Cops* – Josef Fares, 2003) Sweden

Kurz und schmerzlos (*Short Sharp Shock* – Fatih Akin, 1998) German

L627 (Bertrand Tavernier, 1992) France

La aldea maldita (*The Cursed Village* – Florián Rey, 1929) Spain

La canción de Aixa (*Song of Aixa* – Florián Rey, 1939) Spain

La carta esférica (*The Nautical Chart* – Imanol Uribe, 2007) Spain

La causa de Kripan (*Kripan's Cause* – Omer Oke, 2009) Spain

La ciudad no es para mí (*City Life Is Not for Me* – Pedro Lazaga, 1965) Spain

La comunidad (*The Community* – Alex de la Iglesia, 2000) Spain

La dama de armiño (*The Lady in Ermine* – Eusebio Fernández Ardavín, 1947) Spain

La educación de las hadas (*The Education of Fairies* – Jose Luis Cuerda, 2006) Spain

La fuente amarilla (*The Yellow Fountain* – Miguel Santesmases, 1999) Spain

La Graine et le Mulet (The Secret of the Grain – Abdel Kechiche 2007) France

La gran aventura de Mortadelo y Filemón (*Mortadelo & Filemon: The Big Adventure* – Javier Fesser, 2003) Spain

La Haine (*The Hate* – Mathieu Kassovitz, 1995) France

La hora de los hornos (*The Hour of Furnaces* – Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, 1968) Argentina

La malcasada (The Unhappy Wife – Francisco Gómez Hidalgo, 1926) Spain

La noche de los girasoles (*The Night of the Sunflowers* – Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo, 2006) Spain

La piel quemada (*Burned Skin* – José María Forn, 1967) Spain

La puerta de no retorno (*The Door of No Return* – Santiago Zannou, 2011) Spain

La soledad (*Solitary Fragments* – Jaime Rosales, 2007) Spain

La teta y la luna (*The Tit and the Moon* – Bigas Luna, 1994) Spain

La torre de los siete jorobados (*Tower of the Seven Hunchbacks* – Edgar Neville, 1944) Spain

La torre de Suso (*Suso's Tower* – Tom Fernández, 2007) Spain

La vieja musica (*The Old Music* – Mario Camus, 1985) Spain

Las cartas de Alou (*Letters from Alou* – Montxo Armendáriz, 1990) Spain

Last Resort (Pawel Pawlikowski, 2000) UK

Lejos de África (*Far From Africa* – Cecilia Bartolomé, 1996)

Leo (José Luis Borau, 2000) Spain

Lilja 4-ever (Lukas Moodysson, 2002) Sweden

Lo mejor que le puede pasar a un cruasán (*The Best Thing That Could Happen to a Croissant* – Paco Mir, 2003) Spain

Lord of the Rings Trilogy (Peter Jackson, 2001, 2002, 2003) New Zealand / USA

Los abrazos rotos (*Broken Embraces* – Pedro Almodóvar, 2009) Spain

Los judíos de patria española (*Jews of the Spanish Homeland* – Ernesto Giménez Caballero, 1931) Spain

Los lunes al sol (*Mondays in the Sun* – Fernando León de Aranoa, 2002) Spain

Los novios bulgaros (*Bulgarian Lovers* – Eloy de la Iglesia, 2002) Spain

Los ojos de Julia (*Julia's Eyes* – Guillem Morales, 2010) Spain

Los ojos vendada (*Blindfolded Eyes* – Carlos Saura, 1978) Spain

Los otros (*The Others* – Alejandro Amenábar, 2001) Spain

Lugares comunes (*Common Ground* – Adolfo Aristaráin, 2002) Spain

Män som hatar kvinnor (*Millennium Part 1: Men Who Hate Women* – Niels Arden Oplev, 2009) Sweden

Mar adentro (*The Sea Inside* – Alejandro Amenábar, 2004) Spain

Maravillas (*Wonders* – Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón, 1981) Spain

Martín (Hache) (Adolfo Aristaráin, 1997) Spain

Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad (*More Than a Thousand Cameras Are Working for Your Safety* – David Alonso, 2002) Spain

Mataharis (Icíar Bollaín, 2007) Spain

Midnight in Paris (Woody Allen, 2011) Spain / USA

Millonario por un día (*Millionaire for a Day*– Enrique Cahen Salaberry, 1963) Spain

Mision blanca (White Mission – Juan de Orduña, 1946) Spain

Mortadelo y Filemón Misión salvar la tierra (*Mortadelo and Filemon: Mission - Save the Planet – Miguel Bardem,* 2007) Spain

Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios (*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* – Pedro Almodóvar, 1988) Spain

My Beautiful Launderette (Stephen Frears, 1985) UK

Noviembre (November – Achero Mañas, 2003) Spain

Obaba (Montxo Armendáriz, 2005) Spain

Obra maestra (*Masterpiece* – David Trueba, 2000) Spain

Obsesión (*Obession* – Arturo Ruiz Castillo, 1947) Spain

Otros días vendrán (*Other Days Will Come* – Eduard Cortés, 2005) Spain

Pagafantas (*Friend Zone* – Borja Cobeaga, 2009) Spain

Pídele cuentas al rey (*Ask the King for Justice* – José Antonio Quirós, 1999) Spain

Piedras (*Stones* – Ramón Salazar, 2002) Spain

Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest (Gore Verbinski, 2006) USA

Planta 4ª (*The Fourth Floor* – Antonio Mercero, 2002) Spain

Pobladores (Settlers – Manuel García Serrano, 2006) Spain

Police (Maurice Pialat, 1985) France

Poniente (*West* – Chus Guitiérrez, 2002) Spain

Pretty Woman (Garry Marshall, 1990) USA

Princesas (*Princesses* – Fernando León de Aranoa, 2005) Spain

Que nos quiten lo bailao (*They Can't Take Away What We've Danced* – Carles Mira, 1983) Spain

Querida Bamako (*Dear Bamako* – Omer Oke, 2007) Spain

Rabia (*Rage* – Sebastian Cordero, 2009) Spain

Retorno a Hansala (*Return to Hansala* – Chus Gutiérrez, 2008) Spain

Roma (Adolfo Aristaráin, 2004) Spain

Romancero Marroquí (*Moroccan Ballads* – Enrique Domínguez Rodiño, Carlos Velo, 1939) Spain

Ruleta (*Roulette* – Roberto Santiago, 1999) Spain

Saïd (Llorenç Soler, 1999) Spain

Salvajes (*Savages* – Carlos Molinero, 2001) Spain

Sammy and Rosie Get Laid (Stephen Frears, 1987) UK

Sapphire (Basil Dearden, 1959) UK

Se upp för dårarna (*Mind the Gap* – Helen Bergström, 2007) Sweden

Shirins Hochzeit (*Shirin's Wedding* – Sanders-Brahms, 1975) Germany

Si nos dejan (*If They Let Us*– Ana Torres, 2004) Spain

Siete mesas de billar francés (*Seven Billiard Tables* – Gracia Querejeta, 2007) Spain

Sirenas (*Sirens* – Fernando Leon de Aranoa, 1994) Spain

Sólo quiero caminar (*I Only Want to Walk* – Agustín Díaz Yanes, 2008) Spain

Soylent Green (Richard Fleischer, 1973): USA

Spanish Movie (Javier Ruiz Caldera, 2009) Spain

Surcos (*Furrows* – José Antonio Nieves Conde, 1951) Spain

Susanna (Antonio Chavarrías, 1996) Spain

Tapas (Juan Cruz and Jose Corbacho, 2005) Spain

Taxi (Carlos Saura, 1996) Spain

Tchao Pantin (*So Long, Stooge* – Claude Berri, 1983) France

Te doy mis ojos (*Take My Eyes* – Iciar Bollain, 2003) Spain

The Battle of Algiers (Gillo Pontecorvo, 1966) Italy / Algeria

The Mystery of Dr Fu Manchu (A.E. Coleby, 1923) UK

Todo sobre mi madre (*All About My Mother* – Pedro Almodóvar, 1999) Spain

Tomándote (*Two for Tea* – Isabel Gardela, 2000) Spain

Torrente, El brazo tonto de la ley (*Torrente, the Dumb Arm of the Law* – Santiago Segura, 1998) Spain

Traind d'enfer (*Hell Train* – Roger Hanin, 1985) Italy

Tres metros sobre el cielo (*Three Steps Above Heaven* – Fernando González Molina, 2010) Spain

Tu y yo somos tres (*You and Me Make Three*– Rafael Gil, 1962) Spain

Un franco 14 pesetas (*Crossing Borders* – Carlos Iglesias, 2006) Spain

Un lugar en el mundo (*A Place in the World* – Adolfo Aristarain, 1992) Spain

Un novio para Yasmina (*A Fiancé for Yasmina* – Irene Cardona Bacas, 2008) Spain

Un rey en La Habana (*A King in Havana* – Alexis Valdés, 2005) Spain

Una cubana en España (A Cuban Lady in Spain – Luis Bayón Herrera, 1951)
　　Spain

Una palabra tuya (*One Word from You* – Ángeles González-Sinde, 2008) Spain

Va a ser que nadie es perfecto (*Nobody Is Perfect* – Joaquin Oristrell, 2006) Spain

Vente a Alemania, Pepe (*Come to Germany, Pepe* – Pedro Lazaga, 1971) Spain

Vicky Cristina Barcelona (Woody Allen, 2008) Spain / USA

Vingar av glas (*Wings of Glass* – Reza Bagher, 2000) Sweden

Vinterviken (*Winter Bay* – Harald Hamrell, 1996) Sweden

Volver (*Return* – Pedro Almodóvar, 2006) Spain

Welcome (Philippe Lioret 2009) France

Yo soy la Juani (*My Name Is Juani* – Bigas Luna, 2006) Spain

You Will Meet a Tall Dark Stranger (Woody Allen, 2010) Spain / USA

Zorrita Martínez (Vicente Escrivá, 1975) Spain

Zozo (Josef Fares, 2005) Sweden

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANNEXES

Annex A: Spanish National Films with Migrant and Ethnic Character Representation Listed by Year[36]

Year	*Film*	Director	Ethnicities	Spectators [37]
2010	*Amador*	Fernando León de Aranoa	Peruvian	96,555
2010	*Biutiful*	Alejandro González Iñárritu	Argentine, Chinese, Senegalese, Black, Latin American, North African	507,084
2010	*Tres metros sobre el cielo*	Fernando González Molina	Latin American	1,573,214
2009	*[Rec] 2*	Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró	Japanese, Argentine	860,523
2009	*Agallas*	Andrés Luque, Samuel Martín Mateos	Russian	118,785
2009	*Celda 211*	Daniel Monzón	Colombian, Latin American, Black	2,123,269
2009	*Gordos*	Daniel Sánchez Arévalo	Senegalese	302,716
2009	*Los abrazos rotos*	Pedro Almodóvar	Latin American, American, British	691,447
2009	*Pagafantas*	Borja Cobeaga	Argentine, Black, Latin American	342,996
2009	*Spanish Movie*	Javier Ruiz Caldera	African, Asian	1,245,250
2008	*25 kilates*	Patxi Amezcua	Mexican, Turkish, Kosovo, mix	26,978
2008	*Amateurs*	Gabriel Velázquez	Mix	3,524

---

[36] This is an incomplete listing. Further research is needed to provide a comprehensive listing of all films that include migrant and ethnic images.

[37] Information on spectators comes from the data base of the Gobierno de España - Ministerio de Cultura- Cine y audiovisuals (n.d.d).

2008	*Camino*	Javier Fesser	African	306,579
2008	*Cobardes*	José Corbacho & Juan Cruz	Latin American, Black, Italian	180,342
2008	*El patio de mi cárcel*	Belén Macías	Colombian, African	56,841
2008	*El truco del manco*	Santiago A. Zannoa	Mixed ethnicity Spaniard, African, North African	63,785
2008	*Forasteros*	Ventura Pons	Mixed ethnicity, Moroccan	22,266
2008	*Fuera de carta*	Ignacio García Velilla	Argentine, African, Korean	899,285
2008	*Retorno a Hansala*	Chus Gutiérrez	Morrocan, African	16,196
2008	*Sólo quiero caminar*	Agustín Díaz Yanes	Russian, Mexican, Asian	206,919
2008	*Un novio para Yasmina*	Irene Cardona Bacas	Moroccan	37,633
2008	*Una palabra tuya*	Ángeles González-Sinde	African	196,505
2008	*Vicky Cristina Barcelona*	Woody Allen	American, Black, Asian	1,287,827
2007	*[Rec]*	Paco Jaume Balagueró	Japanese, Argentine	1,426,688
2007	*14 Kilómetros*	Geranrdo Olivares	African	38,225
2007	*Abrígate*	Ramón Costafreda	Argentine	11,018
2007	*Atasco en la Nacional*	Josetxo San Mateo	Latin American	285,717
2007	*Barcelona (un mapa)*	Ventura Pons	Latin American	23,385
2007	*Clandestinos*	Antonio Hens	Mexican, Moroccan	28,637
2007	*Dos rivales casi iguales*	Miguel Ángel Calvo Buttini	African	39,188
2007	*El amor se mueve*	Mercedes Afonso	Argentine, African	1,688
2007	*El club de los suicidas*	Roberto Santiago	Chinese	262,881

2007	*El orfanato*	Juan Antonio Bayona	Mexican, French	4,420,636
2007	*La carta esférica*	Imanol Uribe	Argentine, Italian	381,935
2007	*La soledad*	Jaime Rosales	Latin American, African	125,830
2007	*La torre de Suso*	Tom Fernández	Dominican, Moroccan	282,383
2007	*Mataharis*	Icíar Bollaín	Cuban, North African	243,204
2007	*Mortadelo y Filemón : Misión salvar la tierra*	Miguel Bardem	Mix	1,364,080
2007	*Siete mesas de billar francés*	Gracia Querejeta	Honduran, North African, Asian	225,680
2006	*Azuloscuroca sinegro*	Daniel Sánchez Arévalo	African	209,065
2006	*Bienvenido a casa*	David Trueba	Latin American, Romanian, African	234,596
2006	*Cabeza de perro*	Santi Amodeo	African, Latin American	111,717
2006	*Cándida*	Guillermo Fesser	Latin American, American	360,965
2006	*Desde que amanece apetece*	Antonio del Real	Venezuelan	82,745
2006	*El próximo oriente*	Fernando Colomo	Bangladesh, Asian	129,617
2006	*La educación de las hadas*	Jose Luis Cuerda	Algerian, Argentine, North African, French	353,923
2006	*La noche de los girasoles*	Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo	Black Spanish	204,473
2006	*Va a ser que nadie es perfecto*	Joaquin Oristrell	Chinese, African, Latin	511,463
2006	*Volver*	Pedro Almodóvar	Cuban, Black, Latin American	1,930,840
2006	*Yo soy la Juani*	Bigas Lunas	Argentine, African, Latin American	444,820

2005	*Agua con sal*	Pedro Pérez Rosado	Cuban	13,229
2005	*Animales Heridos*	Ventura Pons	Mexican, Peruvian	44,625
2005	*El método*	Marcelo Pyñeiro	Argentine	469,079
2005	*Elsa y Fred*	Marcos Carnevale	Argentine	124,573
2005	*El penalti más largo del mundo*	Roberto Santiago	Moroccan	1,054,907
2005	*Otros días vendrán*	Eduard Cortés	Chinese	105,043
2005	*Princesas*	Fernando León de Aranoa	Dominican, Latin American, African	1,194,044
2005	*Sinfonía de ilegales*	José Luis de Damas	Romanian, Argentine	51
2005	*Tapas*	Juan Cruz & Jose Corbacho	Chinese, Argentine	737,935
2005	*Un rey en La Habana*	Alexis Valdés	Cuban	326,292
2004	*Atún y chocolate*	Pablo Carbonell	Moroccan, Black Spanish	174,154
2004	*Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena*	Manuel Gómez Pereira	Chinese, Morrocan, South East Asian	180,353
2004	*Crimen Ferpecto*	Alex de la Iglesia	Asian, African	860,710
2004	*El séptimo día*	Carlos Saura	Mixed ethnicity, Latin American	108,308
2004	*Héctor*	Gracia Querejeta	Mexican, African	196,316
2004	*Incautos*	Miguel Bardem	Argentine, Russian, French, Black	238,362
2004	*Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia*	José María de la Peña	Mexican, French	1,437,916
2004	*Mar adentro*	Alejandro Amenábar	African	4,099,442
2004	*Roma*	Adolfo Aristarain	Argentine	250,098

2004	*Rottweiler*	Brian Yuzna	Mix	85,469
2004	*Supertramps*	Jose Maria Goenaga, Iñigo Berasategui	Mix	26,894
2003	*Aunque estés lejos*	Juan Carlos Tabío	Cuban	72,099
2003	*El oro de Moscú*	Jesús Bonilla	Morrocan	1,259,885
2003	*Atraco a las 3... y media*	Raúl Marchand	German, Cuban, Argentine, Latin American	138,284
2003	*En la ciudad*	Cesc Gay	Black, Mixed ethnicity Spaniard, Asian, French	197,106
2003	*Haz conmigo lo que quieras*	Ramón de España	Black	143,345
2003	*Noviembre*	Achero Mañas	Eastern European/Romanian, Latin American, Japanese	225,245
2003	*Tanger*	Juan Madrid	Morrocan	58,331
2003	*Te doy mis ojos*	Icíar Bollaín	Scottish	1,063,389
2003	*Tiempo de tormenta*	Pedro Olea	Morrocan	76,700
2002	*800 Balas*	Álex de la Iglesia	Latin American, Morrocan	405,337
2002	*El refugio del mal*	Félix Cábez	Argentine	114,967
2002	*El traje*	Alberto Rodríguez	African	43,864
2002	*Ilegal*	Ignacio Vilar	Mix	8,841
2002	*La novia de Lázaro*	Fernando Merinero	Cuban	4,341
2002	*Los lunes al sol*	Fernando León de Aranoa	Russian	2,103,094
2002	*Los novios Búlgaros*	Eloy de la Iglesia	Bulgarian	86,520
2002	*Lugares comunes*	Adolfo Aristarain	Argentine	424,756

2002	*Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad*	David Alonso	Latin American	286,947
2002	*No dejaré que no me quieras*	Jose Luis Acosta	Chinese	51,316
2002	*Octavia*	Basilio Martín Patino	Columbian	12,320
2002	*Planta 4ª*	Antonio Mercero	Cuban	1,143,301
2002	*Poniente*	Chus Gutiérrez	North African, African	115,036
2001	*A mi madre le gustan las mujeres*	Inés París y Daniela Fejerman	Chech	431,092
2001	*Canícula*	Álvaro Garcia-Capelo	Moroccan	47,374
2001	*En la puta vida*	Beatriz Flores Silva	Uraguayan	14,621
2001	*Hombres Felices*	Roberto Santiago	Moroccan	70,108
2001	*I love you baby*	Alfonso Albacete y David Menkes	Dominican	115,548
2001	*La mujer de mi vida*	Antonio del Real	Peruvian	83,664
2001	*Mi dulce*	Jesús Mora	African	42,106
2001	*Salvajes*	Carlos Molinero	African, Moroccan	22,839
2001	*Torrente 2, Misión en Marbella*	Santiago Segura	African, Moroccan	5,321,969
2000	*Adiós con el corazón*	José Luis García Sánchez	Cuban	73,124
2000	*El árbol del penitente*	José Maria Borrell	Moroccan, Russian, Cuban	64,415
2000	*Ja me maaten*	Juan A.Muñoz	Moroccan, Chinese	356,700
2000	*Leo*	José Luis Borau	Slavic, Chinese	75,906
2000	*Sé quién eres*	Patricia Ferreira	Moroccan, Dominican, Caribbean	105,723
2000	*Tomándote*	Isabel Gardela	Indian	4,470
1999	*Flores de otro*	Icíar Bollaín	Cuban, Dominican	372,674

	mundo			
1999	*La fuente amarilla*	Miguel Santesmases	Chinese, Spanish-Chinese	84,243
1999	*Pídele cuentas al rey*	José Antonio Fernández Quirós	Moroccan, African	112,762
1999	*Saïd*	Llorenç Soler	Moroccan	7,072
1999	*Se buscan fulmontis*	Alex Calvo Sotelo	African	181,593
1999	*Shacky Carmine*	Chema de la Peña	Chinese	52,337
1999	*Sobreviviré*	Alfonso Albacete, David Menkes	Cuban	1,080,029
1999	*Todo sobre mi madre*	Pedro Almodóvar	African, mix	
1998	*Barrio*	Fernando León de Aranoa	Dominican	788,629
1998	*El Faro*	Manuel Balaguer	Moroccan	5,602
1998	*Finisterre*	Xavier Villaverde	Moroccan	73,321
1998	*Sudor de los ruiseñores, El*	Juan Manuel Cotelo	Rumanian	6,224
1998	*Torrente, El brazo tonto de la ley*	Santiago Segura	Chinese, African	3,010,664
1997	*Chevrolet*	Javier Maqua	African	21,665
1997	*Cosas que dejé en La Habana*	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	Cuban	362,623
1997	*El refugio*	Driss Deiback	Moroccan	9,482
1997	*Martín (Hache)*	Adolfo Aristaráin	Argentine	576,020
1996	*Adosados*	Mario Camus	Russian	142,517
1996	*Bwana*	Imanol Uribe	African	217,414
1996	*En la puta calle*	Enrique Gabriel	Caribbean, Mixed ethnicity	27,565
1996	*La sal de la vida*	Eugenio Martín	Latin American	71,994
1996	*Menos que cero*	Ernesto Tellería	Romanian	No data

1996	*Susanna*	Antonio Chavarrías	Moroccan	80,187
1996	*Taxi*	Carlos Saura	Mix, African	139,620
1995	*Alma Gitana*	Chus Gutiérrez	African	231,710
1995	*El techo del mundo*	Felipe Vega	African	9,392
1995	*Hijos del viento, Los*	Fernando Merinero	Cuban	1,216
1995	*Hola ¿Estás solo?*	Icíar Bollaín	Russian	300,466
1995	*Morirás en Chafarinas*	Pedro Olea	Moroccan	111,522
1993	*La búsqueda de la felicidad*	Albert Abril	African	No screening
1993	*¡Semos peligrosos! Uséase, Makinavaja 2*	Carlos Suárez	Moroccan	315,164
1992	*Makinavaja, el último chorizo*	Carlos Suárez	Moroccan	644,964
1992	*Sevilla connection*	José Ramón Larraz	Moroccan	234,849
1991	*Apariencias engañan, Las*	Carles Balagué	Moroccan	22,547
1991	*Tacones Lejanos*	Pedro Almodóvar	African	2,072,901
1990	*Las cartas de Alou*	Montxo Armendáriz	Senagalese, Moroccan, African	123,130
1990	*Superagentes en Mallorca*	José Luis Merino	Moroccan	26,687
1990	*Un submarino bajo el mantel*	Ignasi P. Ferré	Morrocan	30,476
1989	*¡Átame!*	Pedro Almodóvar	African	1,351,706
1989	*Amanece que no es poco*	José Luis Cuerda	Argentinian	305,156
1989	*El rey del mambo*	Carles Mira	Jamaican	45,316
1985	*La vieja música*	Mario Camus	Uruguyan	122,981
1978	*Los ojos vendados*	Carlos Saura	Argentine	104,249

1975	*Zorrita Martínez*	Vicente Escrivá	Venezuelan	1,010,741

Annex B: 2004-2011 Goya Nominated Films used for Migrant and Ethnic Characters in Film Analysis

1. 2004 Goya Nominated Films

Total Nominations:	84
Total Unique Films Nominated:	27
Films Excluded from Analysis:	18
Films Included in Analysis:	9

Nominations – 2004 XVIII Premios Goya

Mejor Película Best Film	*Te doy mis ojos* *Mi vida sin mí* *Planta 4ª* *Soldados de Salamina*
Mejor Dirección Best Director	*Te doy mis ojos: Icíar Bollaín* *En la ciudad: Cesc Gay* *Mi vida sin mí: Isabel Coixet* *Soldados de Salamina: David Trueba*
Mejor Dirección Novel Best New Director	*La suerte dormida: Ángeles González-Sinde* *Días de fútbol: David Serrano* *Las horas del día: Jaime Rosales* *Torremolinos 73: Pablo Berger*
Mejor Guión Original Best Original Screenplay	*Te doy mis ojos: Icíar Bollaín y Alicia Luna* *En la ciudad: Cesc Gay y Tomás Aragay* *Las horas del día: Jaime Rosales y Enric Rufas* *Torremolinos 73: Pablo Berger*
Mejor Guión Adaptado Best Adapted Screenplay	*Mi vida sin mí: Isabel Coixet* *La flaqueza del bolchevique: Lorenzo Silva y Manuel Martín Cuenca* *La luz prodigiosa: Fernando Marías* *Soldados de Salamina: David Trueba*
Mejor Música Original Best Original Score	*Al sur de Granada* *Eyengui, el dios del sueño* *Hotel Danubio* *Valentín*
Mejor Canción Original Best Original Song	*Mi vida sin mí* *Atraco a las 3... y media* *Carmen* *Cosa de brujas*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina Protagonista	*Te doy mis ojos* *Días de fútbol*

Best Leading Actor	*La luz prodigiosa* *Torremolinos 73*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina Protagonista Best Leading Actress	***Te doy mis ojos*** *La suerte dormida* *Mi vida sin mí* *Soldados de Salamina*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina de Reparto Best Supporting Actor	***En la ciudad*** *La luz prodigiosa* *Soldados de Salamina* *Torremolinos 73*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina de Reparto Best Supporting Actress	***Te doy mis ojos*** *El lápiz del carpintero* *En la ciudad* *Soldados de Salamina*
Mejor Actor Revelación Best New Actor	***Días de fútbol*** *El regalo de Silvia* *La vida mancha* *Noviembre*
Mejor Actriz Revelación Best New Actress	***La flaqueza del bolchevique*** *Al sur de Granada* *Días de fútbol* *Te doy mis ojos*
Mejor Dirección de Producción Best Production Supervision	***La gran aventura de Mortadelo y Filemón*** *Al sur de Granada* *Carmen* *El misterio Galíndez*
Mejor Dirección de Fotografía Best Photography	***Soldados de Salamina*** *Al sur de Granada* *Carmen* *El misterio Galíndez*
Mejor Montaje Best Editing	***La gran aventura de Mortadelo y Filemón*** *Carmen* *Días de fútbol* *Te doy mis ojos*
Mejor Dirección Artística Best Art Direction	***La gran aventura de Mortadelo y Filemón*** *Carmen* *El lápiz del carpintero* *La luz prodigiosa*
Mejor Diseño de Vestuario Best Costume Design	***Carmen*** *Hotel Danubio* *La gran aventura de Mortadelo y Filemón* *Noviembre*
Mejor Maquillaje y/o Peluquería Best Makeup and/or Hairstyling	***La gran aventura de Mortadelo y Filemón*** *Carmen* *Hotel Danubio* *Noviembre*

Mejor Sonido Best Sound	***Te doy mis ojos*** *La selva* *La vida mancha* *Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad*
Mejores Efectos Especiales Best Special Effects	***La gran aventura de Mortadelo y Filemón*** *Al sur de Granada* *El refugio del mal* *Soldados de Salamina*

Nominated Films Excluded from Analysis – 2004 XVIII Premios Goya

Not Set in Spain	*Eyengui, el dios del sueño* (documentary)* *La selva* *Mi vida sin mí*
Not Set in Current Period	*Al sur de Granada* *Carmen* *Cosa de brujas* *El lápiz del carpintero* *El misterio Galíndez* *La luz prodigiosa* *La gran aventura de Mortadelo y Filemón* *Soldados de Salamina* *Torremolinos 73*
Insufficient Spectators	*El regalo de Silvia* *Hotel Danubio* *La flaqueza del bolchevique* *La suerte dormida* *La vida mancha* *Las horas del día* *Valentín*

* denotes existence of migrant or ethnic character in film

Nominated Films Included in Analysis – 2004 XVIII Premios Goya

Title (Director / Script Writer, Year) – Genre; Coproduction	Spectators
Atraco a las 3... y media (Raúl Marchand / script: Pedro Masó, Joaquín Andujar, 2003) – Comedy	138,284
Días de fútbol (David Serrano / script: David Serrano, basado en the text of Jean Van de Velde and Mischa Alexander, 2003) – Comedy	2,562,132
El refugio del mal (Félix Cábez / script: Félix Cábez , 2002) – Drama	114,967
En la ciudad (Cesc Gay / script: Cesc Gay, Tomàs Aragay, 2003) – Comedy	197,106
Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad (David Alonso / script: Cristóbal Garrido, Fernando Cámara, David Alonso, Daniel García,	286,947

2002) – Suspense	
Noviembre (Achero Mañas / script: Achero Mañas, Federico Mañas, 2003) – Drama	225,245
Planta 4ª (Antonio Mercero / script: Antonio Mercero, Albert Espinosa , Ignacio del Moral, Based on the play by Albert Espinosa , 2002) – Tragicomedy	1,143,301
Te doy mis ojos (Icíar Bollaín / script: Icíar Bollaín, Alicia Luna, 2003) – Drama	1,063,389

2. 2005 Goya Nominated Films

Total Nominations:	84
Total Unique Films Nominated:	31
Films Excluded from Analysis:	21
Films Included in Analysis:	10

Nominations – 2005 XIX Premios Goya

Mejor Película Best Film	*Mar adentro* *La mala educación* *Roma* *Tiovivo c. 1950*
Mejor Dirección Best Director	*Mar adentro: Alejandro Amenábar* *La mala educación: Pedro Almodóvar* *Roma: Adolfo Aristarain* *El séptimo día: Carlos Saura*
Mejor Dirección Novel Best New Director	*Frío sol de invierno (2004) - Pablo Malo* *Astronautas (2003) - Santi Amodeo* *Fuera del cuerpo (2004) - Vicente Peñarrocha* *Haz conmigo lo que quieras (2003) - Ramón De España*
Mejor Guión Original Best Original Screenplay	*Mar adentro: Alejandro Amenábar; Mateo Gil* *Horas de luz: José Ángel Esteban; Carlos López (V); Manolo Matji* *Inconscientes: Joaquín Oristrell; Dominic Harari; Teresa Pelegri* *Roma: Adolfo Aristarain; Mario Camus; Kathy Saavedra*
Mejor Guión Adaptado Best Adapted Screenplay	*Diarios de motocicleta: José Rivera (III)* *El año del diluvio: Jaime Chávarri; Eduardo Mendoza (I)* *Non ti muovere: Margaret Mazzantini; Sergio Castellitto* *Las voces de la noche: Salvador García Ruiz*
Mejor Música Original Best Original Score	*Mar adentro* *Héctor* *Inconscientes* *El maquinista*
Mejor Canción Original Best Original Song	*El milagro de Candeal* *Atún y chocolate* *Incautos* *Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia*
Mejor Interpretación	*Mar adentro*

Masculina Protagonista Best Leading Actor	*Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* *Crimen ferpecto* *El lobo*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina Protagonista Best Leading Actress	***Mar adentro*** *Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena* *María querida* *Non ti muovere*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina de Reparto Best Supporting Actor	***Mar adentro*** *Crimen ferpecto* *Héctor* *El séptimo día*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina de Reparto Best Supporting Actress	***Mar adentro*** *Inconscientes* *El lobo* *El séptimo día*
Mejor Actor Revelación Best New Actor	***Mar adentro*** *Cachorro* *Héctor* *Tiovivo c. 1950*
Mejor Actriz Revelación Best New Actress	***Mar adentro*** *Astronautas* *Crimen ferpecto* *Héctor*
Mejor Dirección de Producción Best Production Supervision	***Mar adentro*** *Crimen ferpecto* *El lobo* *La mala educación*
Mejor Dirección de Fotografía Best Photography	***Mar adentro*** *Roma* *Romasanta* *Tiovivo c. 1950*
Mejor Montaje Best Editing	***El lobo*** *Frío sol de invierno* *Horas de luz* *Incautos*
Mejor Dirección Artística Best Art Direction	***Tiovivo c. 1950*** *La mala educación* *Mar adentro* *El séptimo día*
Mejor Diseño de Vestuario Best Costume Design	***The Bridge of San Luis Rey*** *Inconscientes* *La puta y la ballena* *Tiovivo c. 1950*
Mejor Maquillaje y/o Peluquería Best Makeup and/or	***Mar adentro*** *Inconscientes* *Seres queridos*

Hairstyling	*Tiovivo c. 1950*
Mejor Sonido Best Sound	***Mar adentro*** *Crimen ferpecto* *Incautos* *Isi/Disi*
Mejores Efectos Especiales Best Special Effects	***El lobo*** *Crimen ferpecto* *Romasanta* *Torapia*

Nominated Films Excluded from Analysis – 2005 XIX Premios Goya

Not Set in Spain	*Diarios de motocicleta* *El maquinista* *El milagro de Candeal (documentary)* *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*
Not Set in Current Period	*El lobo* *Inconscientes* *La mala educación* *Romasanta* *Tiovivo c. 1950*
Insufficient Spectators	*Astronautas* *Cachorro* *El año del diluvio* *Frío sol de invierno* *Fuera del cuerpo* *Horas de luz* *La puta y la ballena* *Las voces de la noche* *María querida* *Non ti muovere* *Seres queridos* *Torapia*

Nominated Films Included in Analysis – 2005 XIX Premios Goya

Title (Director / Script Writer, Year) – Genre; Coproduction	Spectators
Atún y chocolate (Pablo Carbonell / script: Pablo Carbonell, 2004) – Comedy; Coproduction: Spain 90% / Italy 10%	174,154
Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena (Manuel Gómez Pereira / script: Joaquín Oristrell, Yolanda García Serrano, Luis Piedrahita, Carlos Molinero, 2004) – Comedy	180,353
Crimen ferpecto (Alex de la Iglesia / script: Jorge Guerricaechevarria, Alex de la Iglesia , 2004) – Comedy	860,710

El séptimo día (Carlos Saura / script: Ray Loriga, 2004) – Drama; Coproduction: Spain 80% / France 20%	108,308
Haz conmigo lo que quieras (Ramón de España / script: Ramón de España, 2003) – Comedy	143,470
Héctor (Gracia Querejeta / script: Gracia Querejeta, David Planell Serrano, 2004) – Drama	196,316
Incautos (Miguel Bardem / script: Miguel Bardem, Carlos Martín, 2004) – Thriller/Drama; Coproduction: Spain 75% / France 25%	238,362
Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia (José María de la Peña / script: Joaquín Gorriz, Miguel Ángel Fernández Guijarro, Andrés Vicente Gómez, 2004) – Comedy	1,437,916
Mar adentro (Alejandro Amenábar / script: Alejandro Amenábar, Mateo Gil, 2004) – Drama; Coproduction: Spain 70% / France 20% / Italy 10%	4,099,442
Roma (Adolfo Aristarain / script: Adolfo Aristarain, Mario Camus, Kathy Saavedra, 2004) – Drama; Coproduction: Spain 80% / Argentina 20%	250,156

3. 2006 Goya Nominated Films

Total Nominations:	84
Total Unique Films Nominated:	32
Films Excluded from Analysis:	23
Films Included in Analysis:	9

Nominations – 2006 XX Premios Goya

Mejor Película Best Film	***7 vírgenes*** *La vida secreta de las palabras* *Obaba* *Princesas*
Mejor Dirección Best Director	***7 vírgenes: Albero Rodríguez*** *Habana Blues: Benito Zambrano* *La vida secreta de las palabras: Isabel Coixet* *Obaba: Montxo Armendariz*
Mejor Dirección Novel Best New Director	***Aupa Etxebeste!: Asier Altuna & Telmo Esnal*** *El habitante incierto: Guillem Morales* *Tapas: José Corbacho & Juan Cruz* *Vida y color: Santiago Tabernero*
Mejor Guión Original Best Original Screenplay	***7 vírgenes: Alberto Rodríguez & Rafael Cobos*** *Otros días vendrán: Eduard Cortés & Piti Español* *Princesas: Fernando León de Aranoa* *La vida secreta de las palabras: Isabel Coixet*
Mejor Guión Adaptado Best Adapted Screenplay	***Ninette: Jose Luis Garci & Horacio Valcárcel*** *El método: Marcelo Piñeyro & Mateo Gil* *Obaba: Montxo Armendáriz* *El penalti más largo del mundo: Roberto Santiago*
Mejor Música Original Best Original Score	***La noche del hermano*** *Habana Blues* *Ninette* *Frágiles*
Mejor Canción Original Best Original Song	***Sinfín, el retorno del rock*** *La noche del hermano* *Bagdad rap* *Princesas*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina Protagonista Best Leading Actor	***Camarón*** *Elsa & Fred* *El método* *7 vírgenes*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina Protagonista Best Leading Actress	***Heroína*** *Princesas* *Para que no me olvides*

	Malas temporadas
Mejor Interpretación Masculina de Reparto Best Supporting Actor	***El método*** *La vida secreta de las palabras* *Otros días vendrán* *Ninette*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina de Reparto Best Supporting Actress	***Tapas*** *Obaba* *Camarón* *Para que no me olvides*
Mejor Actor Revelación Best New Actor	***Segundo asalto*** *Princesas* *El método* *7 vírgenes*
Mejor Actriz Revelación Best New Actress	***Obaba*** *15 días contigo* *Princesas* *7 vírgenes*
Mejor Dirección de Producción Best Production Supervision	***Habana Blues*** *La vida secreta de las palabras* *Obaba* *Camarón*
Mejor Dirección de Fotografía Best Photography	***Obaba*** *Otros días vendrán* *Iberia* *Ninette*
Mejor Montaje Best Editing	***Habana Blues*** *El método* *Iberia* *Ninette*
Mejor Dirección Artística Best Art Direction	***Para que no me olvides*** *Ninette* *Obaba* *Segundo asalto*
Mejor Diseño de Vestuario Best Costume Design	***Princesas*** *El reino de los cielos* *Camarón* *Hormigas en la boca*
Mejor Maquillaje y/o Peluquería Best Makeup and/or Hairstyling	***El calentito*** *Princesas* *Los Dalton contra Lucky Luke* *Camarón*
Mejor Sonido Best Sound	***Obaba*** *Los nombres de Alicia* *Princesas* *Ninette*
Mejores Efectos Especiales	***Frágiles***

Best Special Effects	*Las llaves de la independencia* *Un rey en La Habana* *Obaba*

Nominated Films Excluded from Analysis – 2006 XX Premios Goya

Not Set in Spain	*Bagdad rap (documentary)* *Kingdom of Heaven* *Frágiles* *Habana Blues* *The Secret Life of Words* *Las llaves de la independencia* *Los Dalton contra Lucky Luke* *Ninette*
Not Set in Current Period	*Camarón* *El calentito* *Heroína* *Hormigas en la boca* *Sinfín, el retorno del rock* *Vida y color*
Insufficient Spectators	*15 días contigo* *Aupa Etxebeste!* *El habitante incierto* *Iberia (documentary)* *La noche del hermano* *Los nombres de Alicia* *Malas temporadas* *Para que no me olvides* *Segundo asalto*

Nominated Films Included in Analysis – 2006 XX Premios Goya

Title (Director / Script Writer, Year) – Genre; Coproduction	Spectators
7 vírgenes (Alberto Rodríguez / script: Alberto Rodríguez, Rafael Cobos López, 2005) – Drama	995,579
El método (Marcelo Piñeyro / script: Mateo Gil, Marcelo Pyñeiro, based on the play by Jordi Galcerán Ferrer, 2005) – Drama; Coproduction: Spain 70% / Argentina 20% / France 10%	469,082
El penalti más largo del mundo (Roberto Santiago / script: Roberto Santiago, based on a story by Osvaldo Soriano, 2005) – Comedy	1,054,907
Elsa & Fred (Marcos Carnevale / script: Marcos Carnevale, Lily Ann Martín, Marcela Guerty, 2005) – Comedy; Coproduction: Spain 80% / Argentina 20%	124,573

Obaba (Montxo Armendáriz / script: Montxo Armendáriz, based on the novel by Bernardo Atxaga, 2005) – Drama; Coproduction: Spain 80% / Germany 20%	468,808
Otros días vendrán (Eduard Cortés / script: Eduard Cortés, Piti Español, 2005) – Drama	105,043
Princesas (Fernando León de Aranoa / script: Fernando León de Aranoa, 2005) – Drama	1,194,155
Tapas (Juan Cruz, Jose Corbacho / script: Juan Cruz, Jose Corbacho, 2005) – Tragicomedy; Coproduction: Spain 70% / Argentina 20% / Mexico 10%	737,935
Un rey en La Habana (Alexis Valdés / script: Alexis Valdés, 2005) – Comedy	326,292

4. 2007 Goya Nominated Films

Total Nominations:	84
Total Unique Films Nominated:	18
Films Excluded from Analysis:	10
Films Included in Analysis:	8

Nominations – 2007 XXI Premios Goya

Mejor Película Best Film	***Alatriste*** *El laberinto del Fauno* *Salvador* *Volver*
Mejor Dirección Best Director	***Alatriste: Agustín Díaz Yanes*** *El laberinto del Fauno: Guillermo del Toro* *Salvador (Puig Antich): Manuel Huerga* *Volver: Pedro Almodóvar*
Mejor Dirección Novel Best New Director	***Un Franco 14 pesetas: Carlos Iglesias*** *Azul oscuro casi negro: Daniel Sánchez Arévalo* *Lo que sé de Lola: Javier Rebollo* *La noche de los girasoles: Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo*
Mejor Guión Original Best Original Screenplay	***Azul oscuro casi negro: Daniel Sánchez Arévalo*** *El laberinto del Fauno: Guillermo del Toro* *La noche de los girasoles: Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo* *Volver: Pedro Almodóvar*
Mejor Guión Adaptado Best Adapted Screenplay	***Alatriste: Agustín Díaz Yanes*** *El camino de los Ingleses: Antonio Soler* *La educación de las hadas: José Luis Cuerda* *Salvador (Puig Antich): Lluís Arcarazo*
Mejor Música Original Best Original Score	***Alatriste: Roque Baños por*** *El laberinto del Fauno: Javier Navarrete* *Salvador (Puig Antich): Lluis Llach* *Volver: Alberto Iglesias*
Mejor Canción Original Best Original Song	***Azul oscuro casi negro*** *Bienvenido a casa* *La educación de las hadas.* *El Próximo Oriente*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina Protagonista Best Leading Actor	***Salvador (Puig Antich)*** *Vete de mí* *El laberinto del Fauno* *Alatriste*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina Protagonista Best Leading Actress	***El laberinto del Fauno*** *Azul oscuro casi negro* *Volver*

	La dama boba
Mejor Interpretación Masculina de Reparto Best Supporting Actor	***Azul oscuro casi negro*** *Alatriste* *Vete de mí* *Salvador (Puig Antich)*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina de Reparto Best Supporting Actress	***Alatriste*** *Volver* *Volver* *Volver*
Mejor Actor Revelación Best New Actor	***El camino de los Ingleses*** *El próximo Oriente* *Azul oscuro casi negro* *La noche de los girasoles*
Mejor Actriz Revelación Best New Actress	***Cabeza de perro*** *El laberinto del Fauno* *La educación de las hadas* *Yo soy la Juani*
Mejor Dirección de Producción Best Production Supervision	***Alatriste*** *Los Borgia* *Salvador (Puig Antich)* *Volver*
Mejor Dirección de Fotografía Best Photography	***Salvador (Puig Antich)*** *El laberinto del Fauno* *Volver* *Alatriste*
Mejor Montaje Best Editing	***El laberinto del Fauno*** *Los Borgia* *Alatriste* *Salvador (Puig Antich)*
Mejor Dirección Artística Best Art Direction	***Alatriste*** *Los Borgia* *El laberinto del Fauno* *Volver*
Mejor Diseño de Vestuario Best Costume Design	***Alatriste*** *Los Borgia* *Los fantasmas de Goya* *Volver*
Mejor Maquillaje y/o Peluquería Best Makeup and/or Hairstyling	***Alatriste*** *El laberinto del Fauno* *Los fantasmas de Goya* *Volver*
Mejor Sonido Best Sound	***Alatriste*** *El laberinto del Fauno* *Salvador (Puig Antich)* *Volver*
Mejores Efectos Especiales	***Alatriste***

Best Special Effects	*El laberinto del Fauno*
	Los fantasmas de Goya
	Salvador (Puig Antich)

Nominated Films Excluded from Analysis – 2007 XXI Premios Goya

Not Set in Spain	-
Not Set in Current Period	*Alatriste*
	El camino de los Ingleses
	El laberinto del Fauno
	La dama boba
	Los Borgia
	Goya's Ghost
	Salvador
	Un Franco 14 pesetas
Insufficient Spectators	*Lo que sé de Lola*
	Vete de mí

Nominated Films Included in Analysis – 2007 XXI Premios Goya

Title (Director / Script Writer, Year) – Genre; Coproduction	**Spectators**
Azul oscuro casi negro (Daniel Sánchez Arévalo / script: Daniel Sánchez Arévalo, 2006) – Drama	209,083
Bienvenido a casa (David Trueba / script: David Trueba, 2006) – Comedy	234,601
Cabeza de perro (Santi Amodeo / script: Santi Amodeo, 2006) – Drama	111,717
El próximo Oriente (Fernando Colomo / script: Fernando Colomo, Joaquín Oristrell, 2006) – Comedy	129,617
La educación de las hadas (Jose Luis Cuerda / script: Jose Luis Cuerda, based on the novel by Didier Van Cauwelaert, 2006) – Drama; Coproduction: Spain 60% / Argentina 10% / France 20% / Portugal 10%	353,923
La noche de los girasoles (Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo / script: Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo, 2006) – Thriller; Coproduction : Spain 65% / France 15% / Portugal 20%	204,473
Volver (Pedro Almodóvar / script: Pedro Almodóvar, 2006) – Dramatic comedy	1,930,895
Yo soy la Juani (Bigas Luna / script: Bigas Luna, Carmen Chaves Gastaldo, 2006) – Drama	444,820

5. 2008 Goya Nominated Films

Total Nominations:	87
Total Unique Films Nominated:	22
Films Excluded from Analysis:	13
Films Included in Analysis:	9

Nominations – 2008 XXII Premios Goya

Mejor Película Best Film	*El orfanato* *La soledad* *Las 13 rosas* *Siete mesas de billar francés*
Mejor Dirección Best Director	*Mataharis: Icíar Bollaín* *Las 13 rosas: Emilio Martínez-Lázaro* *Siete mesas de billar francés: Gracia Querejeta* *La soledad: Jaime Rosales*
Mejor Dirección Novel Best New Director	*El orfanato: Juan Antonio Bayona* *La Torre de Suso: Tom Fernández* *Pudor: David y Tristán Ulloa* *Bajo las estrellas: Félix Viscarret*
Mejor Guión Original Best Original Screenplay	*Mataharis: Icíar Bollaín y Tatiana Rodríguez* *Las 13 rosas: Ignacio Martínez de Pisón* *Oviedo Express: Gonzalo Suárez* *Siete mesas de billar francés: Gracia Querejeta y David Planell* *El orfanato: Sergio G. Sánchez*
Mejor Guión Adaptado Best Adapted Screenplay	*Barcelona, (un mapa): Ventura Pons* *La zona: Laura Santullo* *Bajo las estrellas: Félix Viscarret* *Pudor Tristán Ulloa* *La carta esférica: Imanol Uribe*
Mejor Música Original Best Original Score	*Las 13 rosas: Roque Baños* *Oviedo Express: Carles Cases* *Bajo las estrellas: Míkel Salas* *El orfanato: Fernando Velázquez*
Mejor Canción Original Best Original Song	*Concursante* *Fados* *Cándida* *El niño de barro*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina Protagonista Best Leading Actor	*Luz de domingo* *El prado de las estrellas* *Bajo las estrellas* *Mataharis*

Mejor Interpretación Femenina Protagonista Best Leading Actress	***Siete mesas de billar francés*** *El orfanato* *Bajo las estrellas* *Siete mesas de billar francés*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina de Reparto Best Supporting Actor	***Siete mesas de billar francés*** *Las 13 rosas* *Bajo las estrellas* *La Torre de Suso* *Luz de domingo*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina de Reparto Best Supporting Actress	***Siete mesas de billar francés*** *El orfanato* *Mataharis* *Mataharis*
Mejor Actor Revelación Best New Actor	***El prado de las estrellas*** *La Torre de Suso* *El orfanato* *La soledad*
Mejor Actriz Revelación Best New Actress	***Lola, la película*** *Oviedo Express* *Las 13 rosas* *Rec*
Mejor Dirección de Producción Best Production Supervision	***Luz de domingo*** *Las 13 rosas* *Oviedo Express* *El orfanato*
Mejor Dirección de Fotografía Best Photography	***Las 13 rosas*** *Bajo las estrellas* *Siete mesas de billar francés* *Oviedo Express*
Mejor Montaje Best Editing	***Rec*** *Las 13 rosas* *El Orfanato* *Siete mesas de billar francés*
Mejor Dirección Artística Best Art Direction	***Oviedo Express*** *Las 13 rosas* *Luz de domingo* *El orfanato*
Mejor Diseño de Vestuario Best Costume Design	***Lola, la película*** *Las 13 rosas* *Luz de domingo* *El Orfanato*
Mejor Maquillaje y/o Peluquería Best Makeup and/or Hairstyling	***Oviedo Express*** *El orfanato* *Las 13 rosas* *El corazón de la tierra*
Mejor Sonido	***Las 13 rosas***

| Best Sound | *Tuya siempre*
 Siete mesas de billar francés
 El orfanato |
| Mejores Efectos Especiales
 Best Special Effects | ***El corazón de la tierra***
 Rec
 Las 13 rosas
 El orfanato |

Nominated Films Excluded from Analysis – 2008 XXII Premios Goya

Not Set in Spain	*El niño de barro*
Not Set in Current Period	*El corazón de la tierra* *Las 13 rosas* *Lola, la película* *Luz de domingo*
Insufficient Spectators	*Barcelona, (un mapa)** *Concursante* *El prado de las estrellas* *Fados* *La zona* *Oviedo Express* *Pudor* *Tuya siempre*

* denotes existence of migrant or ethnic character in film

Nominated Films Included in Analysis – 2008 XXII Premios Goya

Title (Director / Script Writer, Year) – Genre; Coproduction	Spectators
[Rec] (Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró / script: Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró, Luiso Berdejo, 2007) – Terror	1,428,572
Bajo las estrellas (Félix Viscarret / script: Félix Viscarret, based on the novel by Fernando Aramburu , 2007) – Drama	196,613
Cándida (Guillermo Fesser / script: Guillermo Fesser, Javier Fesser, 2006) – Comedy	360,965
El orfanato (Juan Antonio Bayona / script: Sergio Gutiérrez Sánchez, 2007) – Thriller	4,420,636
La carta esférica (Imanol Uribe / script: Imanol Uribe, based on the novel by Arturo Pérez-Reverte, 2007) – Adventure	381,935
La soledad (Jaime Rosales / script: Jaime Rosales, Enric Rufas, 2007) – Drama	125,856
La Torre de Suso (Tom Fernández / script: Tom Fernández, 2007) – Comedy	282,483
Mataharis (Icíar Bollaín / script: Icíar Bollaín, Tatiana Rodríguez, 2007) – Dramatic Comedy	243,204

Siete mesas de billar francés (Gracia Querejeta / script: David Planell, Gracia Querejeta, 2007) – Dramatic Comedy	225,680

6. 2009 Goya Nominated Films

Total Nominations:	84
Total Unique Films Nominated:	21
Films Excluded from Analysis:	14
Films Included in Analysis:	7

Nominations – 2009 XXIII Premios Goya

Mejor Película Best Film	***Camino*** *Los crímenes de Oxford* *Los girasoles ciegos* *Sólo quiero caminar*
Mejor Dirección Best Director	***Camino: Javier Fesser*** *Los crímenes de Oxford: Álex de la Iglesia* *Los girasoles ciegos: José Luis Cuerda* *Sólo quiero caminar: Agustín Díaz Yanes*
Mejor Dirección Novel Best New Director	***El patio de mi cárcel: Belén Macías*** *El truco del manco: Santiago A. Zannou* *Los cronocrímenes: Nacho Vigalondo* *Un novio para Yasmina: Irene Cardona Bacas*
Mejor Guión Original Best Original Screenplay	***Camino: Javier Fesser*** *Cenizas del cielo: Dionisio Pérez, José Antonio Quirós, Ignacio del Moral* *Retorno a Hansala: Chus Gutiérrez, Juan Carlos Rubio* *Sólo quiero caminar: Agustín Díaz Yanes*
Mejor Guión Adaptado Best Adapted Screenplay	***Che, el argentino: Peter Buchman*** *Los crímenes de Oxford: Jorge Guerricaechevarría y Álex de la Iglesia* *Los girasoles ciegos: Rafael Azcona y José Luis Cuerda* *Una palabra tuya: Ángeles González-Sinde*
Mejor Música Original Best Original Score	***Che, el argentino*** *El juego del ahorcado* *Los crímenes de Oxford* *Los girasoles ciegos*
Mejor Canción Original Best Original Song	***El patio de mi cárcel*** *El truco del manco* *Retorno a Hansala* *Una palabra tuya*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina Protagonista Best Leading Actor	***Che, el argentino*** *Fuera de carta* *Los girasoles ciegos*

	Sólo quiero caminar
Mejor Interpretación Femenina Protagonista Best Leading Actress	***Camino*** *El patio de mi cárcel* *Los girasoles ciegos* *Sólo quiero caminar*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina de Reparto Best Supporting Actor	***Camino*** *Fuera de carta* *Los girasoles ciegos* *Sólo quiero caminar*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina de Reparto Best Supporting Actress	***Cobardes*** *La conjura de El Escorial* *Sangre de Mayo* *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*
Mejor Actor Revelación Best New Actor	***El juego del ahorcado*** *El truco del manco* *Los girasoles ciegos* *Una palabra tuya*
Mejor Actriz Revelación Best New Actress	***Camino*** *El patio de mi cárcel* *Retorno a Hansala* *Una palabra tuya*
Mejor Dirección de Producción Best Production Supervision	***Che, el argentino*** *Los crímenes de Oxford* *Los girasoles ciegos* *Sólo quiero caminar*
Mejor Dirección de Fotografía Best Photography	***La conjura de El Escorial*** *Los girasoles ciegos* *Sangre de Mayo* *Sólo quiero caminar*
Mejor Montaje Best Editing	***Los crímenes de Oxford*** *Los girasoles ciegos* *Mortadelo y Filemón: misión salvar la tierra* *Sólo quiero caminar*
Mejor Dirección Artística Best Art Direction	***Che, el argentino*** *La conjura de El Escorial* *Los girasoles ciegos* *Sangre de Mayo*
Mejor Diseño de Vestuario Best Costume Design	***El Greco*** *La conjura de El Escorial* *Los girasoles ciegos* *Sangre de Mayo*
Mejor Maquillaje y/o Peluquería Best Makeup and/or Hairstyling	***La conjura de El Escorial*** *Los girasoles ciegos* *Mortadelo y Filemón: Misión salvar la tierra* *Sangre de Mayo*
Mejor Sonido	***3 días***

| Best Sound | *Los girasoles ciegos*
Sangre de Mayo
Sólo quiero caminar |
| Mejores Efectos Especiales
Best Special Effects | ***Camino***
Mortadelo y Filemón: Misión salvar la tierra
Sangre de Mayo
Sólo quiero caminar |

Nominated Films Excluded from Analysis – 2009 XXIII Premios Goya

Not Set in Spain	*Che, el argentino* *Los crímenes de Oxford*
Not Set in Current Period	*El Greco* *La conjura de El Escorial* *Los girasoles ciegos* *Mortadelo y Filemón: Misión salvar la tierra* *Sangre de Mayo*
Insufficient Spectators	*3 días* *Cenizas del cielo* *El juego del ahorcado* *El patio de mi cárcel** *El truco del manco** *Los cronocrímenes* *Retorno a Hansala** *Un novio para Yasmina**

* denotes existence of migrant or ethnic character in film

Nominated Films Included in Analysis – 2009 XXIII Premios Goya

Title (Director / Script Writer, Year) – Genre; Coproduction	Spectators
Camino (Javier Fesser / script: Javier Fesser, 2008) – Drama	314,982
Cobardes (José Corbacho, Juan Cruz / script: José Corbacho, Juan Cruz, 2008) – Drama	183,084
Fuera de carta (Ignacio García Velilla / script: Antonio Sánchez, David Sánchez, Ignacio García Velilla, Oriol Capel Mir, 2008) – Comedy	899,779
Sólo quiero caminar (Agustín Díaz Yanes / script: Agustín Díaz Yanes, 2008) – Thriller; Coproduction: Spain 80% / Mexico 20%	210,206
Una palabra tuya (Ángeles González-Sinde / script: Ángeles González-Sinde, Based on the novel of Elvira Lindo, 2008) – Tragicomedy	197,343
Vicky Cristina Barcelona (Woody Allen / script: Woody Allen, 2008) – Tragicomedy; Coproduction: Spain 50%/ USA 50%	1,295,492

7. 2010 Goya Nominated Films

Total Nominations:	84
Total Unique Films Nominated:	19
Films Excluded from Analysis:	12
Films Included in Analysis:	7

Nominations – 2010 XXIV Premios Goya

Mejor Película Best Film	*Celda 211* *Agora* *El baile de la Victoria* *El secreto de sus ojos*
Mejor Dirección Best Director	*Celda 211: Daniel Monzón* *Agora: Alejandro Amenábar* *El baile de la Victoria: Fernando Trueba* *El secreto de sus ojos: Juan José Campanella*
Mejor Dirección Novel Best New Director	*Tres dies amb la família: Mar Coll* *La vergüenza: David Planell* *Pagafantas: Borja Cobeaga* *Yo, también: Antonio Naharro, Álvaro Pastor*
Mejor Guión Original Best Original Screenplay	*Agora: Alejandro Amenábar, Mateo Gil* *After: Alberto Rodríguez, Rafael Cobos* *Gordos: Daniel Sánchez Arévalo* *Los abrazos rotos: Pedro Almodóvar*
Mejor Guión Adaptado Best Adapted Screenplay	*Celda 211: Daniel Monzón, Jorge Guerricaechevarría* *El baile de la Victoria: Fernando Trueba, Antonio Skármeta, Jonás Trueba* *El cónsul de Sodoma: Joaquín Górriz, Miguel Dalmau, Sigfrid Monleón, Miguel Ángel Fernández* *El secreto de sus ojos: Eduardo Sacheri, Juan José Campanella*
Mejor Música Original Best Original Score	*Los abrazos rotos* *Agora* *Celda 211* *El secreto de sus ojos*
Mejor Canción Original Best Original Song	*Yo, también* *Agallas* *Planet 51* *Spanish Movie*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina Protagonista Best Leading Actor	*Celda 211* *El cónsul de Sodoma* *El secreto de sus ojos* *Gordos*

Mejor Interpretación Femenina Protagonista Best Leading Actress	*Yo, también* *Agora* *Los abrazos rotos* *Tetro*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina de Reparto Best Supporting Actor	*Gordos* *Celda 211* *Celda 211* *El baile de la Victoria*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina de Reparto Best Supporting Actress	*Celda 211* *El cónsul de Sodoma* *Gordos* *Gordos*
Mejor Actor Revelación Best New Actor	*Celda 211* *Gordos* *Pagafantas* *Yo, también*
Mejor Actriz Revelación Best New Actress	*El secreto de sus ojos* *After* *Gordos* *Tres dies amb la família*
Mejor Dirección de Producción Best Production Supervision	*Agora* *Celda 211* *Che: Part Two* *El baile de la Victoria*
Mejor Dirección de Fotografía Best Photography	*Agora* *After* *Celda 211* *El secreto de sus ojos*
Mejor Montaje Best Editing	*Celda 211* *Agora* *El baile de la Victoria* *Gordos*
Mejor Dirección Artística Best Art Direction	*Agora* *Celda 211* *El baile de la Victoria* *El secreto de sus ojos*
Mejor Diseño de Vestuario Best Costume Design	*Agora* *El baile de la Victoria* *El cónsul de Sodoma* *Los abrazos rotos*
Mejor Maquillaje y/o Peluquería Best Makeup and/or Hairstyling	*Agora* *Celda 211* *El cónsul de Sodoma* *Los abrazos rotos*
Mejor Sonido Best Sound	*Celda 211* *Agora*

	El baile de la Victoria Map of the Sounds of Tokyo
Mejores Efectos Especiales Best Special Effects	**_Agora_** _Celda 211_ _Spanish Movie_ _[Rec] 2_

Nominated Films Excluded from Analysis – 2010 XXIV Premios Goya

Not Set in Spain	_Map of the Sounds of Tokyo_ _Planeta 51_ _Tetro_
Not Set in Current Period	_Agora_ _Che: Part Two_ _El baile de la Victoria_ _El cónsul de Sodoma_ _El secreto de sus ojos_
Insufficient Spectators	_After_ _La vergüenza_ _Tres dies amb la família_ _Yo, también_

Nominated Films Included in Analysis – 2010 XXIV Premios Goya

Title (Director / Script Writer, Year) – Genre; Coproduction	Spectators
[Rec] 2 (Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró/ script: Jaume Balagueró, Paco Plaza, Manuel Díez, 2009) – Terror	860,523
Agallas (Andrés Luque, Samuel Martín Mateos/ script: Juan Antonio Gil Bengoa, Javier Echániz Petralanga, 2009) – Drama	118,785
Celda 211 (Daniel Monzón / script: Jorge Guerricaechevarría, Daniel Monzón, based on the novel by Francisco Pérez Gandul, 2009) – Thriller; Coproduction: Spain 90% / Francia 10%	2,123,269
Gordos (Daniel Sánchez Arévalo / script: Daniel Sánchez Arévalo , 2009) – Comedy	302,716
Los abrazos rotos (Pedro Almodóvar / script: Pedro Almodóvar , 2009) – Drama	691,447
Pagafantas (Borja Cobeaga / script: Borja Cobeaga, Diego San José, 2009) – Comedy	342,996
Spanish Movie (Javier Ruiz Caldera/ script: PacoCabezas, Eneko Lizarraga , 2009) – Comedy	1,245,250

8. 2011 Goya Nominated Films

Total Nominations:	84
Total Unique Films Nominated:	17
Films Excluded from Analysis:	14
Films Included in Analysis:	3

Nominations – 2011 XXV Premios Goya

Mejor Película Best Film	***Pa negre (Pan negro)*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Enterrado (Buried)* *También la lluvia*
Mejor Dirección Best Director	***Pa negre (Pan negro): Agustí Villaronga*** *Balada triste de trompeta: Álex de la Iglesia* *Enterrado (Buried): Rodrigo Cortés* *También la lluvia: Icíar Bollaín*
Mejor Dirección Novel Best New Director	***Bon appétit: David Pinillos*** *Pájaros de papel: Emilio Aragón* *Planes para mañana: Juana Macías* *Todas las canciones hablan de mí: Jonás Trueba*
Mejor Guión Original Best Original Screenplay	***Enterrado (Buried): Chris Sparling*** *Balada triste de trompeta: Álex de la Iglesia* *Biutiful: Alejandro González Iñarritu, Armando Bó,* *Nicolás Giacobone* *También la lluvia: Paul Laverty*
Mejor Guión Adaptado Best Adapted Screenplay	***Pa negre (Pan negro): Agustí Villaronga*** *Elisa K: Jordi Cadena* *Habitación en Roma: Julio Medem* *Tres metros sobre el cielo: Ramón Salazar*
Mejor Música Original Best Original Score	***También la lluvia*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Biutiful* *Enterrado (Buried)*
Mejor Canción Original Best Original Song	***Lope*** *Enterrado (Buried)* *Habitación en Roma* *Pájaros de papel*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina Protagonista Best Leading Actor	***Biutiful*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Enterrado (Buried)* *También la lluvia*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina Protagonista	***Pa negre (Pan negro)*** *Habitación en Roma*

Best Leading Actress	*La mosquitera* *Los ojos de Julia*
Mejor Interpretación Masculina de Reparto Best Supporting Actor	***También la lluvia*** *Biutiful* *El gran Vázquez* *Pa negre (Pan negro)*
Mejor Interpretación Femenina de Reparto Best Supporting Actress	***Pa negre (Pan negro)*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Biutiful* *Lope*
Mejor Actor Revelación Best New Actor	***Pa negre (Pan negro)*** *Entrelobos* *También la lluvia* *Todas las canciones hablan de mí*
Mejor Actriz Revelación Best New Actress	***Pa negre (Pan negro)*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Habitación en Roma* *Planes para mañana*
Mejor Dirección de Producción Best Production Supervision	***También la lluvia*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Lope* *Pa negre (Pan negro)*
Mejor Dirección de Fotografía Best Photography	***Pa negre (Pan negro)*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Biutiful* *Enterrado (Buried)*
Mejor Montaje Best Editing	***Enterrado (Buried)*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Biutiful* *También la lluvia*
Mejor Dirección Artística Best Art Direction	***Pa negre (Pan negro)*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Biutiful* *Lope*
Mejor Diseño de Vestuario Best Costume Design	***Lope*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Pa negre (Pan negro)* *También la lluvia*
Mejor Maquillaje y/o Peluquería Best Makeup and/or Hairstyling	***Balada triste de trompeta*** *Lope* *Pa negre (Pan negro)* *También la lluvia*
Mejor Sonido Best Sound	***Enterrado (Buried)*** *Balada triste de trompeta* *Pa negre (Pan negro)* *También la lluvia*

Mejores Efectos Especiales Best Special Effects	***Balada triste de trompeta*** *Enterrado (Buried)* *Lope* *También la lluvia*

Nominated Films Excluded from Analysis – 2011 XXV Premios Goya

Not Set in Spain	*Bon appétit** *Enterrado (Buried)* *Habitación en Roma** *También la lluvia**
Not Set in Current Period	*Balada triste de trompeta* *El gran Vázquez* *Entrelobos* *Lope* *Pájaros de papel* *Pan negro (Pa negre)*
Insufficient Spectators	*Elisa K* *La mosquitera* *Planes para mañana* *Todas las canciones hablan de mí*

* denotes existence of migrant or ethnic character in film

Nominated Films Included in Analysis – 2011 XXV Premios Goya

Title (Director / Script Writer, Year) – Genre; Coproduction	Spectators
Biutiful (Alejandro González Iñárritu / script: Alejandro González Iñarritu, Armando Bó, Nicolás Giacobone, 2010) – Drama; Coproduction: Mexico 55% /Spain 45%	507,084
Los ojos de Julia (Guillem Morales / script: Guillem Morales Oriol Paulo, 2010) – Thriller	1,106,626
Tres metros sobre el cielo (Fernando González Molina / script: Ramón Salazar, based on the novel of Federico Moccia, 2010) – Drama	1,573,214

Annex C: Content Analysis Corpus: General Film Information and Point of View Listed in Alphabetical Order

Title	Film Year	Goya Year	Director	Spectators	Genre	Director Heritage	Writer Heritage	Director Gender	Funding
[Rec]	2007	2008	Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró	1,428,572	Terror	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
[Rec] 2	2009	2010	Paco Plaza, Jaume Balagueró	860,523	Terror	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
7 vírgenes	2005	2006	Alberto Rodríguez	995,579	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Agallas	2009	2010	Andrés Luque, Samuel Martín Mateos	118,785	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Atraco a las 3... y media	2003	2004	Raúl Marchand	138,284	Comedy	International Director from Puerto Rico	National Heritage	Male	National
Atún y chocolate	2004	2005	Pablo Carbonell	174,154	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	Spain 90% / Italy 10%
Azul oscuro casi negro	2006	2007	Daniel Sánchez Arévalo	209,083	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Bajo las estrellas	2007	2008	Félix Viscarret	196,613	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Bienvenido a casa	2006	2007	David Trueba	234,601	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Biutiful	2010	2011	Alejandro González Iñárritu	507,084	Drama	International Director from Mexico	Alejandro González Iñárritu:	Male	Mexico 55% /Spain

							Mexican, Armando Bo & Nicolás Giacobone: Argentine		45%
Cabeza de perro	2006	2007	Santi Amodeo	111,717	Drama	National Heritage	Based on foreign adaptation by Didier Van Cauwelaert - France	Male	National
Camino	2008	2009	Javier Fesser	314,982	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Cándida	2006	2008	Guillermo Fesser	360,965	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Celda 211	2009	2010	Daniel Monzón	2,123,269	Thriller	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	Spain 90% / Francia 10%
Cobardes	2008	2009	José Corbacho, Juan Cruz	183,084	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena	2004	2005	Manuel Gómez Pereira	180,353	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Crimen ferpecto	2004	2005	Alex de la Iglesia	860,710	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Días de fútbol	2003	2004	David Serrano	2,562,132	Comedy	National	Based on	Male	National

						Heritage	foreign adaptation "All Stars" by Jean Van de Velde & Mischa Alexander: Netherlands		
El método	2005	2006	Marcelo Piñeyro	469,082	Drama	International Director from Argentina	Mateo Gil: Spanish, Marcelo Pyñeiro: Argentine. Based on the theater work "El método Grönholm" by Jordi Galcerán Ferrer: Spanish	Male	Coproduction: Spain 70% / Argentina 20% / France 10%
El orfanato	2007	2008	Juan Antonio Bayona	4,420,636	Thriller	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
El penalti más largo del mundo	2005	2006	Roberto Santiago	1,054,907	Comedy	National Heritage	Based on the adaption of the story "El penal más largo	Male	National

545

							del mundo" by Osvaldo Soriano - Argentina	
El próximo oriente	2006	2007	Fernando Colomo	129,617	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
El refugio del mal	2002	2004	Félix Cábez	114,967	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
El séptimo día	2004	2005	Carlos Saura	108,308	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	Spain 80% / France 20%
Elsa & Fred	2005	2006	Marcos Carnevale	124,573	Comedy	International Director from Argentina	Marcos Carnevale & Lily Ann Martín & Marcela Guerty: Argentines	Male	Spain 80% / Argentina 20%
En la ciudad	2003	2004	Cesc Gay	197,106	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Fuera de carta	2008	2009	Ignacio García Velilla	899,779	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Gordos	2009	2010	Daniel Sánchez Arévalo	302,716	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Haz conmigo lo que quieras	2003	2005	Ramón de España	143,470	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Héctor	2004	2005	Gracia Querejeta	196,316	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Female	National

Incautos	2004	2005	Miguel Bardem	238,362	Thriller/ Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	Spain 75% / France 25%
Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia	2004	2005	José María de la Peña	1,437,916	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
La carta esférica	2007	2008	Imanol Uribe	381,935	Adventure	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
La educación de las hadas	2006	2007	Jose Luis Cuerda	353,923	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	Spain 60% / Argentina 10% / France 20% / Portugal 10%
La noche de los girasoles	2006	2007	Jorge Sánchez-Cabezudo	204,473	Thriller	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	Spain 65% / France 15% / Portugal 20%
La soledad	2007	2008	Jaime Rosales	125,856	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
La torre de Suso	2007	2008	Tom Fernández	282,483	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Los abrazos rotos	2009	2010	Pedro Almodóvar	691,447	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Los ojos de Julia	2010	2011	Guillem Morales	1,106,626	Thriller	National	National	Male	National

						Heritage	Heritage		
Mar adentro	2004	2005	Alejandro Amenábar	4,099,442	Drama	Migrant Heritage: Spanish Chilean	Alejandro Amenábar: Spanish-Chilean, Mateo Gil: Spanish	Male	Spain 70% / France 20% / Italy 10%
Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad	2002	2004	David Alonso	286,947	Suspense	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Mataharis	2007	2008	Icíar Bollaín	243,204	Dramatic Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Female	National
Noviembre	2003	2004	Achero Mañas	225,245	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Obaba	2005	2006	Montxo Armendáriz	468,808	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	Spain 80% / Germany 20%
Otros días vendrán	2005	2006	Eduard Cortés	105,043	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Pagafantas	2009	2010	Borja Cobeaga	342,996	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Planta 4ª	2002	2004	Antonio Mercero	1,143,301	Tragicomedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Princesas	2005	2006	Fernando León de Aranoa	1,194,155	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Roma	2004	2005	Adolfo Aristarain	250,156	Drama	International Director from Argentina	Adolfo Aristarain: Argentine,	Male	Spain 80% / Argentin

								Mario Camus: Spanish, Kathy Saavedra: unknown	a 20%
Siete mesas de billar francés	2007	2008	Gracia Querejeta	225,680	Dramatic Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Female	National
Sólo quiero caminar	2008	2009	Agustín Díaz Yanes	210,206	Thriller	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	Spain 80% / Mexico 20%
Spanish Movie	2009	2010	Javier Ruiz Caldera	1,245,250	Comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Tapas	2005	2006	Juan Cruz, Jose Corbacho	737,935	Tragico medy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	Spain 70% / Argentin a 20% / Mexico 10%
Te doy mis ojos	2003	2004	Icíar Bollaín	1,063,389	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Female	National
Tres metros sobre el cielo	2010	2011	Fernando González Molina	1,573,214	Drama	National Heritage	Based on the adaption of the novel by Federico Moccia and the film "Tre metri	Male	National

							sopra il cielo" - Italian		
Un rey en La Habana	2005	2006	Alexis Valdés	326,292	Comedy	International Director from Cuba	Alexis Valdés: Cuban	Male	National
Una palabra tuya	2008	2009	Ángeles González-Sinde	197,343	Tragico medy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Female	National
Vicky Cristina Barcelona	2008	2009	Woody Allen	1,295,492	Tragico medy	International Director from Argentina	Woody Allen: American	Male	Spain 50%/ USA 50%
Volver	2006	2007	Pedro Almodóvar	1,930,895	Dramatic comedy	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National
Yo soy la Juani	2006	2007	Bigas Luna	444,820	Drama	National Heritage	National Heritage	Male	National

Annex D: Content Analysis Corpus: Inclusion and Character Level of Migrant and Ethnic Characters

Title	Inclusion	Number of Characters	Highest Character Level Represented
[Rec]	Yes	3 or more	Third level
[Rec] 2	Yes	3 or more	Background
7 vírgenes	**NO**	-	-
Agallas	Yes	1	Third level
Atraco a las 3... y media	Yes	3 or more	Secondary
Atún y chocolate	Yes	3 or more	Secondary
Azul oscuro casi negro	Yes	3 or more	Background
Bajo las estrellas	**NO**	-	-
Bienvenido a casa	Yes	3 or more	Third level
Biutiful	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Cabeza de perro	Yes	3 or more	Secondary
Camino	Yes	2	Third level
Cándida	Yes	3 or more	Secondary
Celda 211	Yes	3 or more	Secondary
Cobardes	Yes	3 or more	Third level
Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena	Yes	3 or more	Secondary
Crimen ferpecto	Yes	3 or more	Background
Días de fútbol	**NO**	-	-
El método	Yes	1	Principal
El orfanato	Yes	2	Third level
El penalti más largo del mundo	Yes	2	Secondary
El próximo oriente	Yes	3 or more	Principal
El refugio del mal	Yes	1	Principal
El séptimo día	Yes	2	Third level
Elsa & Fred	Yes	3 or more	Principal
En la ciudad	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Fuera de carta	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Gordos	Yes	3 or more	Third level
Haz conmigo lo que quieras	Yes	3 or more	Background
Héctor	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Incautos	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia	Yes	3 or more	Secondary

La carta esférica	Yes	2	Secondary
La educación de las hadas	Yes	3 or more	Principal
La noche de los girasoles	Yes	1	Principal
La soledad	Yes	2	Background
La torre de Suso	Yes	3 or more	Third level
Los abrazos rotos	Yes	3 or more	Third level
Los ojos de Julia	**NO**	-	-
Mar adentro	Yes	1	Background
Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad	Yes	1	Background
Mataharis	Yes	2	Background
Noviembre	Yes	3 or more	Background
Obaba	**NO**	-	-
Otros días vendrán	Yes	3 or more	Third level
Pagafantas	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Planta 4ª	Yes	1	Third level
Princesas	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Roma	Yes	1	Principal
Siete mesas de billar francés	Yes	3 or more	Secondary
Sólo quiero caminar	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Spanish Movie	Yes	3 or more	Background
Tapas	Yes	3 or more	Secondary
Te doy mis ojos	Yes	1	Secondary
Tres metros sobre el cielo	Yes	1	Third level
Un rey en La Habana	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Una palabra tuya	Yes	2	Background
Vicky Cristina Barcelona	Yes	3 or more	Principal
Volver	Yes	3 or more	Third level
Yo soy la Juani	Yes	3 or more	Third level

Annex E: Content Analysis Corpus: Character Construction

Title	Ethnicity	Gender	Age Group	Setting Location	Labor Situation	Speaking Treatment[38]
[Rec]	Multi: Japanese, Argentine	BOTH	Adult + Child	Urban	**NO** - Unspecified	Multi: Spanish with accent, Latin Spanish, Native L no sub
[Rec] 2	Multi: Japanese, Argentine	BOTH	Adult	Urban	**NO** - Unspecified	**NO**
7 vírgenes	-	-	-	Urban	-	-
Agallas	Russian	MALE	Adult	Pueblo	**NO** - Unspecified	Spanish with accent
Atraco a las 3... y media	Multi: German + Cuban + Argentine + Latin American	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Multi: professional, prostitution, service industry, entertainment, criminal activity	Multi: Latin Spanish, Spanish with accent
Atún y chocolate	Multi: Moroccan + Black Spanish + W. European	BOTH	Adult	Pueblo	Multi: unspecified, police	Multi: No accent, Spanish with accent
Azul oscuro casi negro	Black	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Multi: prison inmate, unspecified	**NO**
Bajo las estrellas	-	-	-	Pueblo	-	-
Bienvenido a casa	Multi: Latinamerican + Romanian + black	BOTH	Adult + Child	Urban	Multi: professional athlete, prostitute, service industry, street	Multi: Native L no sub, Spanish with accent, Latin Spanish

---

[38] Codes for Speaking Treatments: Speaks Spanish with Accent (Spanish with accent), Speaks Spanish with no Accent (No accent), Speaks Latin Spanish (Latin Spanish), Non-Spanish Native Language used with No Subtitles (Native L no sub), Non Spanish Native Language Used with Subtitles (Native L with sub); NO (No speaking role)

					sales	
Biutiful	Multi: Argentine, Chinese, Senegalese, Black, Latin American, North African	BOTH	Adult + Children	Urban	Multi: street sales, factory worker, construction, professional, criminal activity, service industry	Multi: Native L no sub, Native lang with sub, Spanish with accent
Cabeza de perro	Multi: Black + Latinamerican	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Service industry	Spanish with accent
Camino	Black	BOTH	Children	Urban	**NO** - Student	**NO**
Cándida	Multi: Black latin man + American	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Multi: professional, entertainment	Multi: Native L no sub, Spanish with accent, Latin Spanish
Celda 211	Multi: Colombian, Latin American + Black	MALE	Adult	Urban	**NO** - Prison inmate	Latin Spanish
Cobardes	Multi: Latin American + Black + Italian	BOTH	Adult + Children	Urban	Multi: Service industry management, service industry, students	Latin Spanish
Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena	Multi: Chinese + Moroccan + Black + South East Asian man	MALE	Adult	Urban	Multi: service Industry management, service industry, unemployed, unspecified	Multi: Native L no sub, Spanish with accent
Crimen ferpecto	Multi: Asian + Black	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Multi: service industry, unspecified	**NO**
Días de fútbol	-	-	-	Urban	-	-
El método	Argentine	MALE	Adult	Urban	Professional	Latin Spanish
El orfanato	Multi: Mexican +	BOTH	Adult	Rural	Professional	Multi: Latin Spanish,

	French					Spanish with accent
El penalti más largo del mundo	Moroccan	MALE	Adult + child	Urban	Service industry	Spanish with accent
El próximo oriente	Multi: Bangladesh + Bangladesh/Spanish + Asian + Black + Latin american + S Asia	BOTH	Adult + Senior + adult Children + child (mixed child)	Urban	Multi: service industry management, service industry, professional, entertainment	Multi: Native lang with sub, Latin Spanish, Spanish with accent, No accent
El refugio del mal	Argentine	MALE	Adult	Rural Mountain	Professional	Latin Spanish
El séptimo día	Latin American	FEMALE	Adult	Pueblo	Prostitution	Latin Spanish
Elsa & Fred	Multi: Argentine + Argentine Spanish	BOTH	Adult + Senior + adult children + child (mixed child)	Urban	**NO** - retired	Latin Spanish
En la ciudad	Multi: Black, Mixed ethnicity Spaniard + Asian + French	BOTH	Adult + Senior + adult child	Urban	Entertainment	Multi: No accent, Spanish with accent
Fuera de carta	Multi: Argentine + Black + Asian	MALE	Adult	Urban / Pueblo. Migrants in urban setting	Multi: professional athlete, professional cook	Multi: Latin Spanish, Spanish with accent

Gordos	Senegal	BOTH	Adult	Urban	**NO** - unspecified	Multi: Native L no sub, Spanish with accent
Haz conmigo lo que quieras	Multi: Black (+ Morocan in Moroco)	BOTH	Adult	Urban / Pueblo. Migrants in urban setting	Street sales	**NO**
Héctor	Multi: Mexican + Mexican Spanish + Black	MALE	Adult + Child (mixed child)	Urban	Multi: professional, student	Multi: Latin Spanish, No accent
Incautos	Multi: Agentine + Russian + French + Black	BOTH	Adult + Senior	Urban	Professional	Multi: Latin Spanish, Spanish with accent
Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia	Multi: Mexican + French	BOTH	Adult	Urban	**NO** - student	Multi: Latin Spanish, Spanish with accent
La carta esférica	Multi: Argentine + Italian	MALE	Adult	Urban	Professional	Multi: Latin Spanish, Spanish with accent
La educación de las hadas	Multi: Argentine + Algerian + North African + Black + French	BOTH	Adult + Child	Rural / Urban	Multi: professional, sales, entertainment, criminal	Multi: Latin Spanish, Spanish with accent
La noche de los girasoles	Black Spanish	FEMALE	Adult	Pueblo	Professional	No accent
La soledad	Multi: Latin American + Black	FEMALE	Adult	Urban	**NO** - Unspecified	**NO**
La torre de Suso	Multi: Dominican + Latin American	BOTH	Adult	Pueblo	Multi: construction, prostitution	Latin Spanish

Los abrazos rotos	Multi: latin american + American + British	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Multi: service industry, professional, service industry management	Latin Spanish
Los ojos de Julia	-	-	-	Rural	-	-
Mar adentro	Black	FEMALE	Adult	Pueblo	Factory worker	**NO**
Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad	Latin American	FEMALE	Adult	Urban	Service industry	Latin Spanish
Mataharis	Multi: Cuban + North African	FEMALE	Adult	Urban	Service industry	**NO**
Noviembre	Multi: Eastern European/Romanian + Latin American + Japanese	BOTH	Adult	Urban	**NO** - Unspecified	**NO**
Obaba	-	-	-	Pueblo	-	-
Otros días vendrán	Multi: Chinese + South Asian	BOTH	Adult + Senior	Urban	Multi: sales, service industry	Multi: Native lang with sub, Spanish with accent
Pagafantas	Multi: Argentine + Black + Latin american	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Professional, student	Latin Spanish
Planta 4ª	Cuban	MALE	Adult	Urban	Maintenance	Latin Spanish
Princesas	Multi: Black + Latin American + Dominican	BOTH	Adult + Child	Urban	Prostitution	Latin Spanish
Roma	Argentine (+ Argentines in Argentina)	MALE	Adult	Urban	Professional	No accent

Siete mesas de billar francés	Multi: Honduran + North African? + Asian	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Service industry	Multi: Latin Spanish, Spanish with accent
Sólo quiero caminar	Multi: Russian + Mexican	MALE	Adult	Urban	Criminal activity	Multi: Native lang with sub, Latin Spanish, Spanish with accent
Spanish Movie	Multi: African + Asian	BOTH	Adult	Pueblo, Urban	Street sales	Spanish with accent
Tapas	Multi: Chinese + Argentine	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Service undustry	Spanish with accent
Te doy mis ojos	Scottish	MALE	Adult	Urban - Toledo	**NO** - Unspecified	Spanish with accent
Tres metros sobre el cielo	Latin American	FEMALE	Adult	Urban	Service undustry	Latin Spanish
Un rey en La Habana	Multi: Cuban + Bulgaro + Latin american + Black	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Multi: Entertainment, criminal activity, prostitutes	Latin Spanish
Una palabra tuya	Black	BOTH	Adult	Urban	Sanitation	**NO**
Vicky Cristina Barcelona	Multi: American + Black + Asian	BOTH	Adult + Child	Urban	Multi: Professional, artist, student	Native lang with sub
Volver	Multi: Cuban + Black + Latin american	BOTH	Adult	Urban / Pueblo. Migrants in urban setting	Prostitution	Multi: Native L no sub, Native lang with sub
Yo soy la Juani	Multi: Argentine + Black + Latin american	MALE	Adult	Urban	Professional	Latin Spanish

Annex F**: Content Analysis Corpus: Rhetorical Treatment of Migrant and Ethnic Characters**

Title	Mania, Filia, Phobia	Eating Together and Consumption of Ethnic Food/Drink	Romantic and Sexual Relationships
[Rec]	Philia, Phobia	NO	Migrant + Migrant
[Rec] 2	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
7 vírgenes	-	-	-
Agallas	Philia, Phobia	NO	NO
Atraco a las 3... y media	Phobia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; prostitution
Atún y chocolate	Phobia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	NO
Azul oscuro casi negro	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
Bajo las estrellas	-	-	-
Bienvenido a casa	Phobia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; prostitution
Biutiful	Philia	Both Spaniard and Character consuming food/drink from other's culture	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; Migrant + Migrant
Cabeza de perro	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	NO
Camino	Philia	NO	NO
Cándida	Mania, Philia, Phobia	Spaniard eating/drinking ethnic food or drink	Spaniard + Migrant
Celda 211	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	NO
Cobardes	Philia, Phobia	NO	NO
Cosas que hacen que la vida valga la pena	Phobia	Spaniard eating/drinking ethnic food or drink	Spaniard + Migrant

Crimen ferpecto	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
Días de fútbol	-	-	-
El método	Philia, Phobia	Spaniard eating/drinking ethnic food or drink	NO
El orfanato	Philia	NO	NO
El penalti más largo del mundo	Philia, Phobia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Spaniard + Migrant
El próximo oriente	Philia, Phobia	Spaniard eating/drinking ethnic food or drink	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; Migrant + Migrant
El refugio del mal	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Spaniard + Migrant
El séptimo día	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Prostitution
Elsa & Fred	Philia, Phobia	Both Spaniard and Character consuming food/drink from other's culture	Spaniard + Migrant
En la ciudad	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Spaniard + Spaniard of Migrant Heritage
Fuera de carta	Mania, Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Spaniard + Migrant
Gordos	Philia	NO	NO
Haz conmigo lo que quieras	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
Héctor	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Spaniard + Migrant ex
Incautos	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Spaniard + Migrant
Isi/Disi - Amor a lo bestia	Mania, Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; Migrant + Migrant
La carta esférica	Philia, Phobia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Spaniard + Migrant ex
La educación de las hadas	Philia, Phobia	Both Spaniard and Character consuming food/drink from other's culture	Multi: Migrant + Migrant
La noche de los girasoles	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Spaniard + Spaniard of Migrant Heritage

La soledad	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
La torre de Suso	Philia, Phobia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; prostitution
Los abrazos rotos	Philia	NO	NO
Los ojos de Julia	-	-	-
Mar adentro	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
Más de mil cámaras velan por tu seguridad	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
Mataharis	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	NO
Noviembre	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
Obaba	-	-	-
Otros días vendrán	Philia	Spaniard eating/drinking ethnic food or drink	NO
Pagafantas	Mania, Philia, Phobia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; Migrant + Migrant
Planta 4ª	Philia	NO	NO
Princesas	Philia, Phobia	Both Spaniard and Character consuming food/drink from other's culture	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; prostitution
Roma	Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	NO
Siete mesas de billar francés	Philia, Phobia	Both Spaniard and Character consuming food/drink from other's culture	Spaniard + Migrant
Sólo quiero caminar	Philia	Spaniard eating/drinking ethnic food or drink	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; prostitution
Spanish Movie	Phobia	NO	NO
Tapas	Mania, Phobia	Spaniard eating/drinking ethnic food or drink	Migrant + Migrant
Te doy mis ojos	Mania	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Spaniard + Migrant

Tres metros sobre el cielo	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
Un rey en La Habana	Mania, Philia, Phobia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant; Migrant + Migrant; prostitution
Una palabra tuya	- Insufficient screen time	NO	NO
Vicky Cristina Barcelona	Mania, Philia	Character eating/drinking with Spaniard	Multi: Spaniard + Migrant, Migrant + Migrant
Volver	Philia, Phobia	Spaniard eating/drinking ethnic food or drink	Prostitution
Yo soy la Juani	Philia, Phobia	NO	NO